A GENERAL

HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE

CREATION to the preſent Time.

VOLUME XII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLUTIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS, CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARNING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE, and TRADE.

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——cui lecta potenter erit res
Nec facundia deſeret hunc, nec lucidus ordo. HOR.

VOLUME XII.

LONDON:

Printed for J. NEWBERY, R. BALDWIN, S. CROWDER, J. COOTE, R. WITHY, J. WILKIE, J. WILSON and J. FELL, W. NICOLL, B. COLLINS, and R. RAIKES.

MDCCLXVII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

BOOK III.

Lewis *the Fourteenth, ſurnamed the* Great.

State of the *French* court.

ANNE of *Auſtria* being left ſole regent of *France*, during the minority of her ſon, who was not five years of age when his father died, courted the parliament, and they not only confirmed, but encreaſed her powers of regency, with the conſent of the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*. The late king's declaration in favour of the former, and of cardinal *Mazarine* was cancelled; but it was ſoon viſible that *Mazarine* had the direction of public affairs. His ſupple character was the reverſe of that of *Richelieu*, and he prevailed with the queen to tranſgreſs her huſband's orders by pardoning *Chateauneuf*, the dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe*, and others, whom *Lewis* never could be brought to forgive. The count de *Brienne*, who had ſacrificed every thing in her ſervice, was at firſt conſulted and truſted, and he introduced to her the duke of *Vendoſme*, and his ſon the duke of *Beaufort*, who had been particularly obnoxious during the late reign, but ſhe entruſted them with the cuſtody even of her ſon's perſon. The complaiſance ſhewn to her by the parliament, was intended by its members only to raiſe their own importance, though in fact they made her abſolute, and left the duke of *Orleans*, with the other princes of the blood, without either power or authority.

We have already mentioned the conduct of marſhal *Guebriant* and his death, which was one of the moſt remarkable See Vol. IX. p. 178.

and of the war with *Spain.*

able events in the beginning of this reign. The *Spaniards* took the caſtle of *Tortona*, and the viſcount de *Turenne*, who ſerved under prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, was recalled out of *Piedmont*, where the *French* became maſters of *Aſti*, and *Du Pleſſis Praſlin* commanded their armies in *Italy*. In *Spain* the marſhal de la *Mothe-Houdincourt* continued to act with great reputation, and his nephew de *Breze*, now duke of *Fronſac*, beat the *Spaniſh* fleet off *Carthagena*.

The duke of *Anguien*, young as he was, commanded the *French* army on the ſide of *Flanders*, where don *Franciſco de Mello*, the old and experienced *Spaniſh* general, beſieged *Rocroi*, at the head of twenty-ſix thouſand veteran troops. The court of *Spain* had flattered itſelf that their general, after taking *Rocroi*, would lead his army to the gates of *Paris*, as it was greatly ſuperior to that under the duke of *Anguien*. *Gaſſion* and the marſhal *l'Hoſpital* commanded under him. A council of war was held, in which the duke was ſingular in his opinion of attacking the *Spaniards*. *L'Hoſpital* oppoſed him, but *Gaſſion* at laſt ſided with him, and a battle was reſolved on, though orders were produced from court not to riſk one. The diſpoſitions being made, the duke went to bed, and ſlept ſo ſound that he was obliged to be awaked to begin the engagement. It was the moſt bloody and obſtinate that had been ſeen for many years. The *Spaniſh* foot was deemed invincible, and beat the left wing of the *French* army under *l'Hoſpital*, but the young duke of *Anguien*'s activity and courage repaired this misfortune; for he attacked the *Spaniſh* foot, though they were formed into a phalanx, with their general the count de *Fuentes* in their center; killed him, and after three charges routed that formidable body, and proved to the world that the *Caſtilian* infantry might be beaten. Nine thouſand of them were killed; but the duke of *Anguien* no ſooner was aſſured of the victory, than he put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. The *French* hiſtorians dwell with fondneſs upon their victory of *Rocroi*, becauſe it was in a manner deciſive in their favour, and it being gained by a young prince againſt the opinion of able generals, added to its luſtre. *Turenne*, who had ſerved with great reputation in *Piedmont*, and *Gaſſion*, were made marſhals of *France*. *Thionville* was taken on the 10th of *Auguſt*, and *Crique* on the 2d of *September*. The duke of *Anguien* was univerſally conſidered as a genius, born to ſhine in war without the advantages of experience and education.

The duke of *Anguien* gains the battle of *Rocroi.*

Negociations begun in *Germany.*

The turn of the *French* court at this time was as ſingular as it was ridiculous. The queen, though in a manner abſolute, was not formed for government. The capacities of the princes of the blood did not riſe above the pitch of intrigue, and the whole court was divided into factions. The duke of *Vendoſme* formed a party, the duke of *Beaufort* was arreſted on pretence of his deſigning to murder cardinal *Mazarine*, and at laſt his father and his brother the duke of *Mercoeur* were confined to their houſes, and the dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* and madam de *Hautfort*,

Hautfort, the late king's miſtreſs, were diſgraced. All this was done through the violence, or rather weakneſs of the queen regent, who repoſed her whole confidence in *Mazarine*. He pretended to vaſt moderation, and had the art to throw all the unpopularity of government upon the queen, while every meaſure that was of a contrary tendency was aſcribed to his counſels. He deviated from all the maxims of the late reign, for *Richelieu* never ſerved or ruined a man by halves. *Mazarine* hated and feared *Chauvigni* for his abilities, but he admitted him into the council, even after he had been ordered to ſell his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate to the count de *Brienne*, who was a favourite with the queen regent. *Chauvigni*'s father, *Bouthillier*, was removed from the ſuperintendency of the finances, and the preſident *Bailleul* ſucceeded him. In the mean while, preliminaries of a general peace were ſigned at *Ratiſbon*, and *Longueville*, *Servienne* and *d'Avaux* were named plenipotentiaries for the negociation, which terminated five years after in *Weſtphalia*.

The duke of *Orleans* commanded an army that was to act on the ſide of the *Low Countries*, but the duke of *Anguien*, with the marſhals *Grammont* and *Turenne* ſerving under him, was appointed to retrieve the reputation of the *French* arms in *Germany*. The prince of *Orange* undertook to act in concert with the duke of *Orleans*, in attacking *Dunkirk* and *Graveline*. A new treaty was concluded between *France* and the States general; a ſubſidy was granted to *Ragotſki*, which enabled him to make a diverſion in *Hungary* to favour the *Swedes* in *Germany*, and another treaty was formed, between the *French* and the newly recovered crown of *Portugal*. Campaign in the *Low Countries*,

All thoſe were wiſe meaſures, and ſeconded by ſucceſs. The duke of *Anguien* drove the *Germans* acroſs the *Rhine* and marched to *Friburg*, where he found the imperial general *Merci*, ſtrongly encamped; but after a battle of three days, the imperialiſts were obliged to retreat. The conſequence of that bloody battle was the reduction of *Philipſbourg* and *Mentz*, *Worms* and *Oppenheim*, and the duke of *Anguien* returned to *Paris* covered with laurels, leaving the command of his army to marſhal *Turenne*. In *Spain*, the *French* loſt *Lerida*, and marſhal de la *Mothe* was beaten with great loſs. The public and he himſelf threw the blame upon *Mazarine*'s partiality for the *Spaniards*, and de la *Mothe* was put in arreſt, under which he continued four years, when he was honourably acquitted. In the *Low Countries* the duke of *Orleans*, aſſiſted by the marſhals *Meilleray* and *Gaſſion*, took *Graveline*, and returning to court, was well received there. and in *Germany*.

The ſpirit of intrigue which had for ſome time governed the court, now infected the people, who were backed by the parliament. That body imagined they ſaw a ſettled deſign in the government to reduce their importance, and that *Mazarine* was following the footſteps of *Richelieu*, in rendering them a court of mere form. An inſurrection of the *Pariſians* happened; it was ſuppreſſed, and the inſurgents pardoned, but Difference between the court and parliament.

the parliament was reprimanded for having favoured it. This produced a trial of intereſt between that body and the court. *Chateauneuf*, who was now releaſed from his impriſonment, and who had been diſappointed in ſucceeding *Richelieu* as firſt miniſter, directed the parliament, and it ſoon appeared that *Mazarine* was unequal to the internal government of *France*. When the diſpute between the court and parliament began, he was taken dangerouſly ill; but when he recovered, the mediocrity of his meaſures rather inflamed than abated the public diſorders. In the mean while, *Turenne* was beaten by the imperial general *Merci*, at *Mariendal*, and obliged to retire under the walls of *Philipſbourg*. The duke of *Anguien* flew to relieve him, and after laying ſiege to *Heilbron*, he advanced to *Nordlingen*, where he found *Merci*, who was one of the beſt generals of that age, ſtrongly entrenched. The duke, notwithſtanding his advantageous ſituation, attacked and defeated him, after an obſtinate engagement, in which the imperialiſts loſt five thouſand killed or priſoners. *Merci* himſelf was among the former, and *Glen* his ſecond in command, with the marſhal *Grammont*, were among the latter; *Nordlingen*, with ſome other places were ſurrendered, but ſoon after fell into the hands of the imperialiſts under arch-duke *Leopold*, who raiſed the ſiege of *Heilbron*. The duke of *Anguien* was then indiſpoſed, and *Turenne* commanded in his ſtead. After the imperialiſts had gone into winter quarters, he ſurprized and took *Treves*; the elector of which gained his liberty by the negociations which were then carrying on in *Weſtphalia*. In proportion as the war was carried on with vigour in *Germany*, it languiſhed in *Italy*. The young duke of *Savoy* was put in poſſeſſion of *Turin*, and the other places in his dominions held by the *French*; and prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* continued to command againſt the *Spaniards*. The campaign in *Catalonia* was opened by the count of *Harcourt*, who governed that province with the title of viceroy, and took *Roſes*, though the place was ſtrongly garriſoned, and well defended. That important acquiſition was owing chiefly to *Pleſſis Praſlin*, who thereby obtained a marſhal's baton, and was ſent to ſerve with prince *Thomas* in *Savoy*. The count of *Harcourt* afterwards beat the *Spaniards* in a pitched battle, took ſeveral places, and diſappointed a conſpiracy for giving up *Barcelona* to the catholic king.

The imperialiſts defeated.

The duke of *Orleans* continued to have the nominal command on the ſide of *Flanders*; but the executive part of it fell to marſhal *Gaſſion* and the count de *Rantzau*. We have already ſeen the ſucceſs of their operations, which were greatly forwarded by the vigour of the prince of *Orange*. The valour and the beſt concerted ſchemes of the *Spaniards* yielded as uſual to *French* vivacity, and at the end of the campaign, they found themſelves ſtript of *Hulſt*, and many other places of importance.

Vol. IX. p. 373, & ſeq.

Character of *Maza-*

Every day added to the diſagreement between the court and the parliament. *Mazarine* had no idea of the *French* conſti-

tution,

tution, and far leſs of the liberties of mankind; and the members of the parliament on the other hand, had as little regard to the regal authority, which they every day endeavoured to curtail. They talked in a ſtrain as if their body repreſented the aſſembly of the ancient ſtates of *France*; the queen mother was obliged to carry the king in perſon to hold a bed of juſtice, before ſhe could prevail with that court to regiſter the money edicts; but ſhe could not prevent hearing her own authority, and that of her ſon, treated with very free language. *Mazarine* was as dexterous in managing the foreign, as he was ignorant of the domeſtic, concerns of *France*. He conducted the negotiations which were then going on at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, with great abilities; and notwithſtanding all the intrigues of both branches of the houſes of *Auſtria*, he preſerved the *Dutch* and the *Swedes* in the friendſhip of *France*. When the king was ſeven years of age, *Mazarine* was by letters patent appointed to the ſuperintendency of his education; but the marſhal *Villeroy* was made his governor, and the famous *Perefixe*, afterward archbiſhop of *Paris*, his preceptor. Neither this triumvirate, nor the queen mother had the ſmalleſt notion of giving *Lewis* a tincture of literature. They formed him to a lofty ſedate behaviour, and to that kind of knowledge which they thought was moſt likely to contribute to his future glory and greatneſs, but without attending to any perſonal accompliſhments. *rine*'s miniſtry.

Upon the death of the two preſidents of the parliament, that body complained that their places were filled up by two young men who were diſpenſed with for want of age, and they began to quarrel among themſelves, though all of them ſeemed to unite in thinking that during the minority of the king, they had a power to check the authority of the queen regent. *Mazarine* gave himſelf little or no concern in controuling or cruſhing this maxim, which was ſo deſtructive to the *French* conſtitution. He applied himſelf entirely to the negociations at *Munſter*, and making head againſt the imperialiſts in *Germany*. We have already related the ſtate of affairs in that country, where *Turenne* commanded the *French* army, which conſiſted of no more than eight thouſand men. Having joined the *Swedes* with wonderful addreſs, he obliged the electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to enter into a neutrality at *Ulm*, which left him at liberty to point his march towards the *Low Countries*. We cannot without aſtoniſhment reflect on the condition of *France* at this time. The queen regent was guided ſolely by *Mazarine*, who had views very different from thoſe of the *French* nation, and was deteſted by the princes of the blood, the parliament and the people. He obliged her to carry on a bloody war againſt her brother, the king of *Spain*, whom ſhe loved with the moſt tender affection, and ſecretly to embarraſs the negociations at *Munſter*, after that prince had offered to ſubmit to her arbitration between him and her ſon. The true reaſon of this was, that *Mazarine* thought all parties would He embarraſſes the negotiations at *Munſter*. Vol. IX. p. 181.

unite againſt him, if the public tranquillity was reſtored. *Mazarine* had quarrelled with *Barbarini*, who had been inſtrumental in advancing to the popedom *Innocent* the 10th, a friend of the houſe of *Auſtria*. That pontif having ungratefully diſcarded the *Barbarini*, *Mazarine* took them into his protection, and reſolved to neglect nothing for humbling his holineſs; for which reaſon, he ſtarved the war on the ſide of *Germany*, that he might feed it on that of *Italy*. He harboured likewiſe a private pique againſt *Innocent*, becauſe he had refuſed a cardinal's hat to his brother, the archbiſhop of *Aix*, and had threatened to oblige himſelf to appear at *Rome* in perſon, to anſwer for his conduct.

Vol. X. p. 332.

The duke de *Breze* was the *French* admiral on the *Italian* coaſts, and appeared off *Orbitello*, to aſſiſt prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, in beſieging that place. The *Spaniſh* fleet under admiral *Pimentel* ſailed to relieve the town, and an engagement enſued, in which the duke of *Breze* was killed, and the count *d'Oignon*, who was next to him in command, bore away for the *French* coaſt, on pretence of ſecuring it againſt an invaſion; but in the mean time, prince *Thomas* was forced to raiſe the ſiege after loſing almoſt all his army. Thoſe checks did not diſcourage *Mazarine* from ſending into *Italy* freſh armies under the marſhals *Meilleray* and *Pleſſis Praſlin*, who took *Piombino* and *Porto Longone*, ſecured the duke of *Modena* to the *French* intereſt, reſtored the *Barbarini* to their ſtates and honours at *Rome*, and forced the pope to accept of the terms preſcribed by *Mazarine*.

The *French* defeated by ſea.

On the ſide of *Spain* the *French* general the count de *Harcourt* beſieged *Lerida*, but was obliged by the *Spaniſh* general *Leganez* to raiſe the ſiege with the loſs of his artillery and baggage, on which he was recalled from his command. The duke of *Orleans* continued to be at the head of the war in the *Low Countries*, where the marſhal *Gaſſion* in the beginning of the campaign beat the *Spaniards*. The duke having under him the duke of *Anguien*, beſieged and took *Courtray*, but his favourite, the abbe la *Riviere*, prevailed with him not to fight the *Spaniards* under the duke of *Lorrain*, who had no more than twenty-five thouſand troops, while thoſe of *France* amounted to thirty thouſand. Upon the *French* and the *Dutch* army joining, the duke of *Lorrain*'s army muſt have been ruined, had not the prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch* conſidered *France* as being now too formidable an ally, and quarrelled with her troops. The latter continued their operations, took *Bergues*, and beſieged *Mardyke*. The vicinity of that place to *Dunkirk*, made the ſiege a matter of great difficulty, and the duke of *Orleans* committing the command of it to the duke of *Anguien*, returned home. A *Dutch* fleet under *Van Tromp* blocking up *Dunkirk*, *Mardyke* was ſurrendered, and the duke of *Anguien*, who had been wounded at the ſiege, reduced before the end of the campaign, the important town of *Dunkirk* likewiſe. About this time, died the prince of *Condé*, and was ſucceeded in his

War in the *Netherlands*,

his honour and eſtate, which was very great, by the duke of *Anguien*, commonly called the great *Condé*. That prince had married the duke of *Breze*'s ſiſter, and in her right he claimed *Brouage* and the adjacent iſlands; but the queen mother and *Mazarine* got poſſeſſion of them by the aſſiſtance of the fleet under the count *d'Oignon*. The prince of *Condé* complained of this; but he was ſoon made eaſy, by being ſuffered to retain all the poſts he held under the government during his father's life time.

And in *Germany*.

The *French* affairs in *Germany* were then in a dangerous ſituation, by the open breach that happened between marſhal *Turenne* and the *Swedes* under *Wrangel*. The latter had perſuaded general *Roſen*, who commanded the few *Weimarian* troops who ſerved with *Turenne*, to attempt to detach them from the *French* ſervice. This happened while *Turenne* was upon his march to the *Low Countries*, and though the *Weimarians* were reduced, yet the elector of *Bavaria* was encouraged to declare the late neutrality he had made with *Turenne* to be void, and to attack the *Swedes*. *Turenne* repreſented to *Mazarine* the conſequences that muſt attend the defeat of the latter, and having received reinforcements he repaſſed the *Rhine*, and relieved the *Swedes*, when they were on the point of ſinking under the power of their enemies; a ſervice ſo ſeaſonable, and ſo generous, that it entirely deſtroyed all miſunderſtandings between the two nations.

Oppoſition to *Mazarine* continues.

The great ſervices performed by the prince of *Condé*, rendered him obnoxious to the miniſter, and he was ſent with a very indifferent army to command in *Catalonia*, where he beſieged *Lerida*. He was ſo ill ſupported, that the *Spaniards* had time to aſſemble an army, and the prince was forced to raiſe the ſiege. All he could do during the remainder of the campaign, was to check the progreſs of the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, while the marſhal de *Grammont* obtained ſeveral advantages over them on the ſide of *Arragon*. The farther that the negociations for peace in *Weſtphalia* advanced, all parties ſeemed to be the more determined to carry on the war. The marſhals *Gaſſion* and *Rantzau*, the *French* generals in the *Low Countries*, could not prevent the archduke *Leopold* from taking *Armentiere*, and beſieging *Landrecy*, which he likewiſe took. Several other places in the *Low Countries* were taken and retaken, and marſhal *Gaſſion* was killed in one of thoſe ſieges; but upon the whole, the campaign was not unfavourable to *France*, though *Dixmuyde* was taken by the archduke. The intrigues at court continued to embarraſs *Mazarine*, and he was ſtill more perplexed in the oppoſition he met with from the parliament, who oppoſed his moſt unexceptionable bills. His ruin muſt have been completed, had not the king and the duke of *Anjou* recovered from a dangerous illneſs, which each was ſeized with about this time.

Partiality of the court

The troubles of *England* encreaſing, *Charles* prince of *Wales*, and his brother, the duke of *York*, took refuge at the

queen mother for *Mazarine*.

court of *France*. They had flattered themſelves that two grandſons of *Henry* the Great, could not fail of relief from the *French* nation. Their reception was civil, but *Mazarine* had no feeling for their diſtreſs; and the parliament of *Paris*, who had begun to imitate that of *England*, gave them little or no countenance. It appears from the papers of thoſe times, that *Mazarine* was then employing agents to foment the differences between *Charles* and his people. The truth is, that *Mazarine*, who ever ſince his acceptance of the miniſtry, had not diſtinguiſhed himſelf by any maſterly ſtroke that was of ſervice to *France*, had now begun to amaſs that immenſe ſum of wealth, which, at his death, he left to his relations. He had ſent to *Italy* for three neices and a nephew, and their appearance in *France* encreaſed the popular hatred againſt him, but he ſtill ſtood his ground, through the partiality of the queen mother in his favour, and the conceſſions which he made to the parliament. He had created twelve new maſters in the chamber of inqueſts, who refuſed to receive them, and though they were for that reaſon forbidden to reaſſemble, they continued their ſeſſions; upon which the differences between the court and the parliament aroſe to ſuch a height, that they appeared to be irreconcileable. *Mazarine* would have gone great lengths to bring them to reaſon, becauſe he could not, without their conſent, raiſe the money neceſſary to carry on his operations. The viſcount *Turenne* was the only general who, at this juncture, ſuſtained the glory of the *French* arms. He beat the duke of *Wirtemberg* and the imperial general *Melander*, and drove the elector of *Bavaria* out of his dominions.

Vol. IX. p. 182.

The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, may ſee the contents of the famous treaty of *Munſter*, which was at laſt concluded

1648.

in 1648.

Ibid.

The conſequences of that treaty were by no means favourable for the cardinal's ſchemes, for the *Dutch* joined *Spain*, as being an ally preferable to *France*, the vanity and overbearing behaviour of whoſe miniſters, rendered their deſigns odious to, and ſuſpected by, thoſe republicans.

State of *France* after the treaty of *Munſter*.

But the intereſts of *France* and the cardinal, after the peace of *Munſter*, were very different; for though the latter loſt, the former gained by that treaty. It left *France* in a ſtate of tranquillity, which gave *Mazarine*'s enemies an opportunity of uniting againſt him; the only point in which they could agree. The *Spaniards* were defeated in *Italy* by the *French*, tho' the latter were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Cremona*; but through the growing parties againſt him, *Mazarine* found himſelf unable to ſupport the duke of *Guiſe*, in his more than romantic attempt to get poſſeſſion of the city and kingdom of *Naples*, which we have already amply deſcribed. In *Catalonia*, the marſhal *de Schomberg* took *Tortoſa* by ſtorm, where its biſhop and many of its clergy were killed in bravely defending their city. This gave *Schomberg* great credit at the *French* court, though *Mazarine* was his enemy. The prince of *Condé*'s defeat before *Lerida* had rendered him the only general upon the

Vol. X. p. 318. & *ſeq.*

the continent who was comparable to *Turenne*, becauſe it had taught him circumſpection, and having this year the command of the *French* army in the *Low Countries*, with the marſhals *Grammont* and *Rantzau* ſerving under him, he beſieged and took *Ypres*; but archduke *Leopold* took *Courtray* and *Furnes*. *Rantzau* formed an attack upon *Oſtend*, but he was beaten, and loſt the flower of the *French* army in the *Low Countries*. The campaign there languiſhed on the part of the *French*, becauſe the prince of *Condé* finding that a faction was forming by the duke of *Orleans* againſt him at court, had taken a ſhort journey to *Paris*. Returning from thence, he heard that the archduke *Leopold* was beſieging *Lens*. The prince collected his army, conſiſting of no more than fourteen thouſand men, and marched to give battle to the archduke, who, by that time, was maſter of the place. *Lens* taken.

Notwithſtanding that, *Condé* perſiſted in the reſolution he had formed to attack him. He placed himſelf at the head of his right line. He gave the command of his left to marſhal *Grammont*, and of the center to the marquis *de Chatillon*. The battle was well fought on both ſides, but victory declared itſelf on the ſide of the *French*, chiefly through the amazing activity and judgment of the prince of *Condé*, who was preſent in every poſt of danger. The loſs of his enemies amounted to four thouſand men, beſides their artillery and baggage, and *Lens*, with *Furnes*, returned to their former maſters.

The turbulent diſpoſition of the duke of *Beaufort*, had in a manner forced the queen regent to confine him in the caſtle of *Vincennes*, from whence he made his eſcape; but matters were now come to extremities between the court and parliament, which now threw off all regard to the royal authority, and from oppoſition proceeded to rebellion. Two parties were formed, the one called the *Mazarines*, and the other the *Frondeurs* or *Slingers*, each a profeſt enemy to the other. Through all thoſe heats and debates, the queen ſhewed a ſounder judgment than the cardinal. She was for cruſhing the oppoſition, but *Mazarine* endeavoured to manage it, till he found that all the conceſſions he made ſerved only to encreaſe the inſolence of his enemies. He had the art, by his humble unaſpiring behaviour, to elude the jealouſy of the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*, and they were ſo firmly attached to the queen, that all the public odium fell upon the cardinal. He now found the neceſſity of acting with vigour, and he gave orders to arreſt the preſident *Blancmenil*, and a counſellor, one *Brouſſel*. The latter was an ignorant, headſtrong, firebrand of faction, but the life of the party was the celebrated cardinal *de Retz*, coadjutor to the archbiſhop of *Paris*. The unpopularity of *Mazarine* was further encreaſed by the perpetual demands he made for money upon the parliament, and by his curtailing certain perquiſites, the whole not amounting to eight thouſand crowns, from the ſuperior companies of that body. Members of parliament arreſted.

The

The queen mother libelled.

The impriſonment of *Brouſſel* had immediate and incredible effects; the cauſe of the people and parliament of a ſudden became the ſame, and both were animated by the cardinal *de Retz*. The barricades were renewed, all the citizens of *Paris* were under arms, and the queen, through the puſillanimity of her miniſter, was in a few hours reduced to the miſerable neceſſity of promiſing to deliver the priſoners. Even this conceſſion could not protect the queen's perſon and dignity from inſults. The moſt illiberal and vilifying libels, accuſing her of a criminal intimacy with *Mazarine*, reſounded through the ſtreets of *Paris*, and the better ſort of the inhabitants thought they preſerv'd decency, when they were contented with calling her by no worſe an appellation than the ſimple one of dame *Anne*. On

1649. the 6th of *January* 1649, ſhe made her eſcape from *Paris* to *Fontainebleau*; while *Mazarine*, ignorant of the ſtate and true diſpoſition of the parties, ſent *Chateauneuf* into exile, and *Chauvigni* priſoner to *Havre de Grace*, the two ableſt miniſters about the court. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé* ſeemed to enjoy the queen's diſtreſſes, that they might render themſelves more neceſſary to her ſervice. The parliament proceeded more violently than ever againſt *Mazarine*, who made the moſt ample pecuniary conceſſions to diminiſh the public burdens, and by a profuſe creation of dignities and titles, to break the oppoſition, and at laſt, on the 24th of *October*, a declaration was emitted, which occaſioned a temporary calm, and the court returned to *Paris*. It was ſoon found that there was no end of conceſſions: The more demands were gratified, the more numerous and the more exorbitant they grew. The queen alone preſerved preſence of mind, and had a true ſenſe of her own and her ſon's condition. When ſhe laid it before the duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé*, ſhe obtained from them only profeſſions of

She leaves *Paris*.

ſervice; and on the 6th of *January*, at four in the morning, ſhe again privately left *Paris*, and eſcaped to *St. Germain en Laye*. Two days after, the parliament, who loaded *Mazarine* with the blame of all that was done, though he really was innocent, declared him an enemy to the ſtate, and it ſoon appeared that the queen's apprehenſions were better grounded than even ſhe could imagine. The prince of *Conti*, brother to the great *Condé*, the duke of *Beaufort*, the demagogue of the mob, the duke of *Longueville*, who had parts, the duke of *Bouillon*, one of the ableſt men, as well as greateſt ſubjects in *France*, the duke of *Rochefoucault*, ſo renowned for his wit and writings, the duke of *Elbeuf*, with many other perſons of the higheſt diſtinction, declared themſelves openly for the parliamentary faction (for we can call it no other) and the prince of *Conti* was appointed commander in chief, or generaliſſimo of their forces, with the dukes of *Elbeuf* and *Bouillon*, and the marſhal *de la Mothe* to act under him. The ſpirit of faction was now ſuch, that the parliament voluntarily raiſed ten times

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the money to pay their own troops, that had been demanded to carry on foreign wars, and to ſupport the dignity of the ſtate.

This many headed monſter was chiefly guided by cardinal *de Retz*, but the ſpirit of the time appears plainly to have infected its hiſtorians. Low, dark and intricate intrigues, amours, bargains, matches and intermarriages, without a ſingle principle of virtue or honour to influence them, fill up their moſt authentic memoirs. The tranſactions of the agents are the reſult of the moſt limited and deſpicable talents, both political and perſonal, and yet they have been tranſmitted with all the pomp of grave and ſerious narrative. Repartees and ſayings, which can ſcarcely claim notice in an enlightened age, are mentioned as the emanations of true wit, ſolid judgment, or ſound policy. The characters of the chief agents all partake of the ſame extravagant ſtrain. The great *Condé* deſerves that epithet only comparatively, becauſe many of his cotemporaries were inferior to him in courage and vivacity; but we find him every hour committing actions and miſtakes that could proceed only from a wrong head and a bad heart. Even *Turenne*, one of the moſt amiable characters in the *French* hiſtory, was ſubject to the like weakneſſes, and was great and good, only becauſe he lived in a court, and at a juncture when others were vain, venal and profligate. Even the cardinal *de Retz*, in his conduct, diſcovers no abilities that ought to raiſe his character above the middling rate of mankind, and all that can be juſtly allowed to him, is an exquiſite diſcernment of the tempers, inclinations and foibles of thoſe he dealt with, when at the ſame time he was ignorant of his own; for he certainly became the dupe of thoſe he affected to deſpiſe.

The great men of *France* characterized.

We have thrown out thoſe general reflections, that we may avoid the minuteneſſes and prolixity of the authors we follow. The other parliaments of *France* ſeemed to copy from the ſpirit of that of *Paris*, and in an inſtant, all the kingdom was in commotion rather than in ams, for very little blood was ſhed, and the moſt material differences were often compromiſed by a private aſſignation or an amorous intrigue. The prince of *Conti* took poſſeſſion of *Charenton*; his brother, with about ſeven thouſand men, ſhut up about half a million of his fellow ſubjects in *Paris*. Sometimes they ſallied out fantaſtically dreſt, as if going to a maſquerade, and when they were beaten and driven back, as they always were, their party, and often they themſelves, laughed at the ridiculous figure they made. A troop of the royaliſts drove two thouſand of the prince of *Conti*'s troops out of *Charenton*, and after both parties had ſufficiently fatigued, or rather amuſed themſelves, they came to an accommodation, and a general amneſty paſſed on all ſides. It is obſerved, that *Molé*, the firſt preſident of the parliament, diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion, from his collegues, by a noble dignity of behaviour and ſentiment, which gained him the eſteem of all parties.

The prince of *Condé* beſieges *Paris*.

Turenne,

Turenne declares for the rebels.

Turenne, when this accommodation was concluded, commanded in *Germany*, and the weakneſs he had for the dutcheſs of *Longueville*, who deſpiſed his homely perſon, together with the private intereſts of his family and the perſuaſions of his brother, determined him to declare for the parliament. The duke of *Bouillon* had adviſed his party to ſupply *Turenne* with money to pay his army, but their frenzy diſregarded his counſel, which more than probably would have given them a deciſive ſuperiority over their antagoniſts. *Mazarine* had intelligence of *Turenne*'s wavering, and employed *Erlach*, who had the chief command of the *Swedes* under him, to diſtribute among the troops five hundred thouſand livres, which were ſent him by *Hervert*, an intendant of the finances, and which depriving *Turenne* of all authority over his troops, he was forced to make his eſcape to avoid being made a priſoner. In the beginning of *May* the *Spaniards* took *Ypres* and *St. Venant*; but, the peace being made, the *French* troops, to the number of thirty thouſand men, united under the count of *Harcourt*, who beſieged, but could not take *Cambray*, as he durſt not depend upon the mercenaries of his army. *Mazarine* thought to render himſelf agreeable to this army by paying it a viſit, during which he behaved with the moſt engaging affability, and was treated with the higheſt reſpect; but this army could do little more than take *Condé*, that campaign, which was unſucceſsful for the *French* on the ſide both of *Spain* and *Italy*, for all that *Marſin*, their general, could do, was to prevent *Barcelona* from falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*.

The queen returns to *Paris*.

While the *French* government was in this fluctuating ſituation, *Mazarine* inſtructed himſelf ſo well in the character of the court and people, as to know that he had miſtaken his meaſures; that his lenity and expedients had ſerved only to ſtrengthen his enemies, and that he was the jeſt and the ridicule of his pretended friends, the prince of *Condé* eſpecially. He was afraid that the queen, by her perpetual vexations, and by being forced to diſſemble her true ſituation, both in mind and power, might reſign herſelf wholly into the hands of the princes, and render his ſervices uſeleſs. He adviſed her to return to *Paris* with the royal family, but took care that the *Pariſians* ſhould believe that their return was owing to his counſel, and this rendered him more acceptable there than he had ever been before. The duke of *Orleans* and the prince of *Condé* perceived that the cardinal aimed at popularity; that he had more than ever the ear of the queen, and was beginning to take the lead in all public buſineſs. The conduct and principles of the duke of *Orleans* were directed by his favourites. Thoſe of the prince of *Condé* were arbitrary, deſpotic, and diſreſpectful to the queen in the higheſt degree. He had inſulted her, by encouraging one of his domeſtics, the marquis of *Jarſay*, to make love to her, and he affected to be angry that his addreſſes were not well received, and that the queen was inclined to puniſh her courtier's preſumption. *Mazarine* diſcovered

covered no inclination to check this intolerable behaviour, because he knew it muſt ſoon lay the queen under a neceſſity of exerting herſelf. The diſregard to all ſubordination was ſuch, that the royal family was not only without reſpect, but without neceſſary attendants. The daughter and grand-daughter of *Henry* the Great (the queen and princeſs of *England*) were in a manner ſtarving at *Paris*, and the latter was obliged to lie in bed for want of money to purchaſe firing.

The queen mother ſaw her melancholy ſituation, but could not mend it without fortifying herſelf by the duke of *Orleans* and the coadjutor. The latter knew that the prince of *Condé* had now formed a party independent both of the queen and the *Frondeurs*, and that he had brought over to it his brother, and the duke of *Longueville*. The prince carried his complaint into the parliament, that the *Frondeurs* had attempted to aſſaſſinate him, and the coadjutor ſaw that the party's ſafety was incompatible with that of the prince. He managed ſo artfully, that he brought the duke of *Orleans* into his meaſures, and the queen agreed that the princes of *Condé* and *Conti*, with the duke of *Longueville*, ſhould be arreſted, which they accordingly were, as they ſate at council on the 18th of *January* 1650. Theſe three princes were now ſo unpopular in *Paris*, that bonfires and illuminations were made when it was known that they were ſent priſoners to the caſtle of *Vincennes*. The intriguing dutcheſs of *Longueville* eſcaped, the duke of *Bouillon* retired to his eſtates, and his brother, the great *Turenne*, was forced to accept of a command under a *Spaniſh* general, *don Eſtevan de Gamara*. Though *Mazarine* did not aſſume much merit to himſelf in this wonderful revolution, yet it certainly was brought about chiefly by his intrigues, though the ſucceſs of it was, no doubt, in ſome meaſure, owing to the fire and ambition of the coadjutor, who was in hopes of a cardinal's hat by the queen mother's intereſt. *Mazarine* took the ſeals from *Seguier*, and reſtored them to *Chateauneuf*, who ſecretly aſpired to be firſt miniſter.

The prince of *Condé* forms a new party.

1650.

By this time the dutcheſs of *Longueville* had raiſed a combuſtion in *Normandy*, as the prince of *Condé*'s party had in *Guienne*. The cardinal adviſed the queen mother to carry the king into *Normandy*, where he no ſooner appeared than the dutcheſs of *Longueville*'s party was daſhed in pieces, and ſhe herſelf obliged to fly to *Holland*. From thence ſhe removed to marſhal *Turenne* at *Stenay*, and by a ſeries of incredible fatigue, danger and intriguing, ſhe brought the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault* (who was likewiſe her profeſt admirer) to undertake a new civil war. This drove *Mazarine* from all his refinements, as he found it neceſſary that the king's preſence ſhould ſupport the ſmall army under the marſhal *Meilleray*, who commanded againſt the prince of *Condé*'s party in *Guienne*. The court accordingly ſet out for *Bourdeaux*, and notwithſtanding the brave oppoſition made by the dukes of *Bouillon* and *Rochefoucault*, the royal arms proved every where ſucceſsful;

A new civil war breaks out.

An accommodation.

ful; but *Mazarine*'s moderation offering them much better terms than they could have reaſonably expected, an accommodation followed, in which the princeſs of *Conde*, and her ſon, the count of *Anguien*, who came to pay their court to the queen-mother, were included. This accommodation, on the part of *Mazarine*, was the effect of cowardice, and on that of the queen, of neceſſity, for in fact ſhe had been obliged to take the law from rebels. Her ſpirits and her health were ſo much affected by the inſults ſhe had received, and the bad accommodations ſhe had met with on the road, that upon her return to *Paris* ſhe fell dangerouſly ill. Her affliction was encreaſed by ſeeing her countrymen, the *Spaniards*, renewing their old game of abetting the rebellion, and diſcontents of her ſon's ſubjects, and that the *Frondeurs* had, during the abſence of the court, brought the duke of *Orleans* to agree that *Mazarine* ſhould be deſtroyed, and the princes ſet at liberty. The duke of *Beaufort* and the pragmatical coadjutor came into the ſame ſcheme. *Mazarine* was not inſenſible of his danger, and to avoid it, he fled to the marſhal *Pleſſis Praſlin*, who commanded an army on the frontiers, where every thing was going to ruin. Money was ſo ſcarce that the officers of the crown, both civil and military, took it by force from thoſe who had it, and thus the *Spaniards* had but few troops to oppoſe them in their operations. The duke of *Marceur*, the *French* viceroy of *Catalonia*, put *Marſin* under arreſt, becauſe he was in the prince of *Condé*'s intereſt; but he loſt *Flex*, *Tortoſa*, and many other places of importance in that province. In *Italy*, the *Spaniards* retook *Porto Longone*. In *Lorrain*, the marquis *Ferte Senneterre* beat the prince of *Ligni*, who had recovered ſeveral places for that duke.

Flight of *Mazarine* to the army.

War in the *Low Countries* continued.

The moſt threatning danger to the *French* government however appeared on the ſide of the *Low Countries*, where the *Spaniſh* army was commanded by the archduke *Leopold*, the marquis *Fuenſaldagna*, and *Turenne*. The *French* loſt the towns of *la Catelet* and *Capelle*, but the marſhal *Pleſſis Praſlin* forced the archduke to raiſe the ſiege of *Guiſe*, while *Turenne* made an attempt (in which he was betrayed) at the head of four thouſand horſe, to free the princes from their confinement at *Bois de Vincennes*. The *Spaniards* took *Mozon*, and *Pleſſis Praſlin* covered *Rheims* with his army. The ſuppleneſs of *Mazarine* had rendered him extremely agreeable to the troops. He diveſted himſelf of all miniſterial reſerve and auſterity; he ſupplied the ſoldiers with warm cloathing during their winter campaign, which enabled them to puſh the ſiege of *Retel* ſo briſkly that it ſurrendered on the 13th of *December*. Next day the *French* army was attacked by *don Eſtevan de Gamara* and marſhal *Turenne*, who were completely defeated, with the loſs of four thouſand of their beſt troops and officers. Though it could not be denied that *Mazarine*'s care and liberality to the troops contributed greatly to this victory, yet it ſcarcely procured him a civil reception with the *Pariſians*, upon his return

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to that city. He found the factions there as turbulent as ever. The duke of *Orleans* was in the hands of the coadjutor, who again quarrelled with *Mazarine* for not procuring him the cardinal's hat. The dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe* negotiated a reconciliation between the families of *Orleans* and *Condé*, by intermarriages, and at the expence of *Mazarine*, who was to have been ſucceeded, as firſt miniſter, by *Chateauneuf*. As all thoſe parties hated each other more than they did *Mazarine*, he might have put an end to all their intrigues by a little firmneſs, eſpecially, as the chief officers of the army offered him their ſervices; but being a coward in his heart, he fled to *Havre de Grace*, while the princes were releaſed from their confinement at *Vincennes*. Upon his departure, the prince of *Condé* united himſelf with the duke of *Orleans*, and ſome talk was held of taking the king out of his mother's hands, and declaring the duke regent, with the title of lieutenant general.

The condition of the queen was now deplorable. The mob of *Paris* ſhut her up in her palace, and proceeded ſo outrageouſly, that ſhe was obliged, in the dead of night, to give them admittance through her apartments to the king's room, where they drew the curtains of his bed that they might be ſure he was there. The prince of *Condé* reſumed all his airs of deſpotiſm, and ſoon broke with the dutcheſs of *Chevreuſe*, the coadjutor, and all who had been inſtrumental in his and his brother's deliverance, in ſo rude and ungenerous a manner, that they ſuddenly cloſed with the queen, who complained that her life was a burden under the perſecution ſhe was obliged to ſuffer from the prince of *Condé*. *Mazarine* was then in the neighbourhood of *Sedan*, and enjoyed thoſe revolutions. His intereſt was ſtill very powerful, both with the queen and in the army; but he had not courage to employ it in perſon. He correſponded with the queen, and all parties felt his influence ſo ſtrongly, that each courted him. But the maſter-piece of his conduct, at this time, was his perſuading the coadjutor that he had ſufficient intereſt at the court of *Rome* to procure him the cardinal's hat. The queen diſſembled ſo well, that to pleaſe the prince of *Condé*, ſhe diſmiſſed from their poſts *le Tellier*, *Servienne*, and *de Leon*; miniſters of great abilities, only becauſe they were thought to favour *Mazarine!* She likewiſe recalled *Chauvigni*, took the ſeals from *Chateauneuf*, and gave them to the preſident *Molé*. The coadjutor formed a ſcheme for at once cruſhing the prince of *Condé*, and preventing *Mazarine*'s return to court. On the 7th of *September* the king was declared to be of age, and *Chateauneuf* appointed firſt miniſter. The prince of *Condé* finding he could not depend on the duke of *Orleans*, retired to *Guienne*, where he was governor, and was joined by *Marſin*, who brought with him part of the troops that had been deſtined to defend *Catalonia*, the dukes of *Beaufort*, *Nemours*, *Rochefoucault*, *Richelieu*, the prince of *Tarento*, and other perſons of diſtinction. The count

Inſolence of the *Pariſians*.

Prince of *Condé* renews the war, and joins the *Spaniards*.

count of *Harcourt* was appointed to the command of an army againſt him, but in an inſtant he armed the provinces of *Guienne*, *Poitou* and *Anjou*, and formed an unnatural connection with the *Spaniards* to ſupport him. *Mazarine* continued to temporize, and, by his advice, the queen ſent him propoſitions, which he would not have rejected, had not the courier who carried them brought them to *Augerville* inſtead of *Angerville*, where the prince was. Before the miſtake was diſcovered, *Condé* was too far advanced to retract, and the civil war went on. The preſence of the king and the perſuaſions of *Chateauneuf*, procured the court a ready admittance into *Bourges*, from whence it moved to *Poitiers*, where her majeſty invited *Mazarine*, then reſiding at *Cologne*, to join her.

Mazarine returns to court.

That miniſter had foreſeen what would happen, and had raiſed ſeven thouſand men out of the public money, which he had appropriated to his own uſe; all of them excellent troops, devoted to his intereſt, and commanded by the marſhal *de Hoquincourt*. They wore green ſaſhes, to diſtinguiſh them from the king's livery, which was white. This ridiculous piece of vanity in a miniſter who had always appeared ſimple and moderate in his way of living, was forgotten, amidſt the great ſervices he then performed for the court. He had made the duke of *Bouillon* and marſhal *Turenne* ſenſible of the madneſs of the prince of *Condé* and his party, and they declared for that of the royaliſts. The king and his brother went to meet the cardinal, and he was received in a triumphal manner at court. The parliament's proceedings has (we think) without reaſon, been charged with inconſiſtency on this occaſion. It is true, they declared the prince of *Condé*, as well as the cardinal, enemies to the public, and they certainly were ſo in fact. The prince of *Condé* was engaged in an avowed rebellion, and the cardinal was poſſeſſed of an undue influence. The duke of *Orleans* had always expected that the king would marry his daughter, and the prince of *Condé* had perſuaded him that the queen mother would be forced to agree to it. He had been diſappointed in his hopes, but they were now revived, and he endeavoured to make all parties his friends. He lived upon good terms with the prince of *Condé* and the coadjutor, though of very oppoſite factions. He gave the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*, the command of ſome *Spaniſh* troops that he took into his pay, and he ſent *mademoiſelle*, his daughter, who was ambitious of being a queen, to *Orleans*, which, at her deſire, immediately declared for the princes, while both ſhe and her father gave ſecret intimations to the court that they had a price at which they could be bought off. The revolt of *Orleans* was a ſevere blow upon the royaliſts. The king and his mother were obliged to lodge in the little town of *Gergaut*, with a very few troops, and thoſe unprovided with powder and ball. They were attacked by a party of the duke of *Beaufort's* army, under the baron *Sirot*, but the royal family were ſaved by the happy boldneſs of *Turenne*, who marched againſt the enemy

enemy as if his men had been well provided to attack them; and being ſupported by *Hoquincourt*, *Sirot* was killed and his party defeated.

By this time, the parliament of *Paris* had ſet a price on *Mazarine*'s head, but found itſelf too weak to carry any of its edicts into execution. The people of *France* were divided between the king and the princes of the blood, and *Mazarine*'s intrigues had eſtabliſhed him more firmly at court than ever, as firſt miniſter. He was aſſiſted by a difference that happened between the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Nemours*; but the progreſs which the prince of *Condé* made in his march from *Bourdeaux* to *Montauban*, was alarming. The royal army was commanded by *Turenne* and *Hoquincourt*, but ill paid, the parliament of *Paris* rejecting all money edicts for either ſide, while the rebels were ſupplied with money from *Spain*. In ſhort, the king, his mother and his brother, were hunted from place to place, and had it not been for the difference between the two dukes, and the activity of *Turenne*, they muſt have fallen into the hands of the rebels. *Bourdeaux* and its parliament were firmly in the intereſt of the prince, who hearing of the diſſentions between his two generals, left his army and travelled a hundred leagues in diſguiſe, from *Agen* to the foreſt of *Orleans*, where his army lay. He was attended only by a few friends. He had eſcaped and ſurmounted a thouſand dangers and difficulties, and he preſented himſelf as a courier before his own main guard. His ſoldiers immediately knew him, and thought themſelves invincible under his command. Without ſuffering their ardour to cool, he attacked, and defeated, that part of the royal army which lay at *Blenau*, under marſhal *Hoquincourt*, and muſt have carried off the perſons of the king and the royal family, who were at *Guien*, had he not been checked by the addreſs and intrepidity of *Turenne*, notwithſtanding his diviſion lay at a conſiderable diſtance. The prince, after this miſcarriage, cantoned his army near *Eſtampes*, and went to *Paris*, where, though he was proſcribed by the parliament, he was honourably received in the city. *Turenne* and *Hoquincourt* took advantage of his abſence, cut in pieces part of his troops, and beſieged the remainder in *Eſtampes*, where they muſt have ſurrendered, had not the duke of *Lorrain* marched to their aſſiſtance.

The prince of *Condé* beats the royaliſts.

That prince, having been ſtript by the *French* of his dominions, had ſtill under him an army of eight or nine thouſand veterans, who were paid by the king of *Spain*. He had orders to join the prince of *Condé*'s army, and to march directly to *Paris*. *Turenne* was in a very indifferent condition to fight him, but the duke all of a ſudden ſtopt ſhort in his march to return from whence he came. It is uncertain to what this event was owing. It is generally thought that *Mazarine* had ſtill reſources of treaſure which ſtopped his progreſs; but we have ſome reaſon to believe that he had ſecret orders from the court of *Spain* to employ his army in *Ireland*, and it is certain

Conduct of the duke of *Lorrain*.

that the duke was then treating with the exiled king of *England* on that account.

The prince of *Condé* remained all this while at *Paris*, treating with the parliament, from whom he had poor encouragement, and negotiating at the ſame time with the court, which was then at St. *Germains*, by the agency of the duke of *Rohan*. He was outwitted by the crafty cardinal, who publiſhed to all the world that both the prince and the duke of *Orleans* were treating with him, while they were making the ſtrongeſt profeſſions to the parliament that their ſole motive for taking arms was to obtain his baniſhment out of *France*. This declaration operated ſtrongly againſt the princes. The royal party gained ground every day, and *Turenne* marched with the king and his army towards *Paris*. The prince of *Condé*, whoſe troops were now in poſſeſſion of that capital, took poſt at St. *Cloud*, from whence he was obliged to decamp, and removed to *Charenton*, that he might ſecure his rear againſt another diviſion of the royaliſts, under the marſhal *la Ferte*. *Turenne*, however, at laſt forced the prince to take ſhelter behind ſome works that had been thrown up againſt the *Lorrainers*, in the ſuburbs of St. *Anthony*.

Battle of St. *Anthony*.

The ſituation of both parties at this period was not more critical than it was uncommon. The parliament and city of *Paris* affected a neutrality, and ſhut their gates againſt both. *Condé* and *Turenne* ſought to gain them by the valour and generalſhip they diſplayed, and a battle enſued, which the king and cardinal beheld from an adjoining eminence. Both chiefs performed wonders at the head of a handful of men, but *la Ferte* coming up, the fortune of the day declared for the royaliſts, and the prince's party muſt have been deſtroyed, had not *mademoiſelle* ordered the gate of St. *Anthony* to be opened for the reception of the wounded rebels, and with her own hands fired the guns of the baſtile upon the royaliſts, ſo that the latter were obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit. This battle of St. *Anthony* is one of the moſt illuſtrious in the *French* annals, not only for the importance of the prize for which it was fought, but for the valour of the combatants, and the high rank of the ſpectators who beheld it. That ſuburb run with the blood of young nobility, and the duke of *Rochefoucault* received a muſket ſhot, which for ſome time deprived him of his ſight. Nothing was decided by the event of the battle, but that the royaliſts could not enter *Paris*, and that the prince of *Condé* could not keep it. The duke of *Orleans* and the coadjutor, who was now cardinal *de Retz*, ſeemed to take no concern in the diſpute, and the prince of *Condé* was enraged at the coldneſs with which he was received. He was deceived in his meaſures, for he was in hopes to have formed the *Pariſians* into a new league, of which he was to be the head, as the duke of *Maine* was of the former. The complection of the times, however, was very different. The war carried on by the league, was a war of religion; but this was

no

no better than a ſtruggle for power, in which the paſſions and affections of the common people were but weakly intereſted. A meeting of the principal inhabitants was held at the town-houſe, and during their deliberations, they were attacked by bands of ruffians, who ſet fire to the gates, cut the throats of ſome, and plundered many more. As both parties equally ſuffered by this violence, and it was well known that the prince of *Condé* had countenanced and encouraged it; it rendered him ſo exceſſively unpopular, that he was obliged to apply once more for aſſiſtance to the duke of *Lorrain*, who accordingly began his march again to *Paris*. In the mean while, that parliament was, by the king's edict, transferred from *Paris* to *Pontoiſe*, upon their declaring the duke of *Orleans* lieutenant general of *France*, and the prince of *Condé* his generaliſſimo, for delivering the king from his captivity under *Mazarine*.

Turenne oppoſes the duke of *Lorrain*.

The edict of removal took place with many of the preſidents and ſome of the advocates; but the parliament ſtill remained at *Paris*, and the king was ſolicited by both to diſmiſs the cardinal, to which he agreed, but in a manner which ſhewed he was forced into compliance. The cardinal accordingly removed to *Sedan*, the prince of *Savoy* took the management of the ſtate, and marſhal *Turenne* continued in the command of the army. The troops under the duke of *Lorrain* were ſtill advancing towards *Paris*. *Turenne* had not under him above eight thouſand men whom he could truſt, but he had an able counſellor in his brother, and they reſolved to act with ſpirit. The marſhal took poſt at St. *Germains*, while the prince of *Condé* joined the duke of *Lorrain*. Their army was ſo much ſuperior to that of *Turenne*, that the latter was obliged for ſome time to act upon the defenſive; but he took an opportunity, while the duke and the prince were abſent from their army upon their pleaſures, to march to *Meaux*, and thereby prevented his ruin, and that of his army. Negotiations were all this while going on between the court and the duke of *Lorrain*, by the mediation of the exiled king of *England*, who actually perſuaded the duke once more to draw off his forces and to come to an accommodation with the king. The chief citizens of *Paris* now ſent deputations inviting the king to return to the poſſeſſion of his capital, and the prince of *Condé* found himſelf in a manner obliged to take ſhelter in the duke of *Lorrain*'s army.

The king recovers *Paris*. 1652.

In a few hours, tranquillity was eſtabliſhed, out of as deplorable an anarchy as ever had been known in *France*, and the royal authority was reſtored, when it was thought to be on the point of expiring. The king, on the 21ſt of *October* 1652, attended by the king of *England*, made a triumphal entry into *Paris*, took poſſeſſion of the *Louvre*, and ſent a meſſage commanding *Brouſſel* to deliver up the *Baſtile*, on pain of being hanged over its walls, which was reſpectfully obeyed. Next day, *Lewis* held a bed of juſtice, where he found himſelf poſſeſſed of deſpotic power, ſurrounded with pomp, ſplendour and guards,

and hailed by the acclamations of millions of his ſubjects, who ſeemed now to have but one voice and one hand for his ſervice. The parliament entered upon their records, a prohibition againſt their future meddling in affairs of ſtate. Three turbulent preſidents and nine counſellors, one of whom was *Brouſſel*, were expelled, and a general amneſty took place with regard to their paſt proceedings. From that hour the faction of the *Frondeurs* ceaſed to exiſt, and their warmeſt heads met with the fates that might have been foreſeen from their raſh ill-judged connections. *Chateauneuf* died of vexation, and *Chauvigni* of deſpair; the duke of *Beaufort* ſhot his brother-in-law, the duke of *Nemours*, dead on the ſtreets of *Paris*; the prince of *Conti* quarrelled with his ſiſter, the dutcheſs of *Longueville*, at *Bourdeaux*; cardinal *de Retz* was ſent priſoner to *Vincennes*; and the duke of *Orleans*, without going to court, retired to his own eſtates. It is remarkable, that during all thoſe civil broils in *France*, the parliament of *England* entertained an agent from the prince of *Condé*, and an embaſſador, one *Bourdeaux*, from the *French* king, and both of them courted thoſe republicans. It is moſt probable, that had not *Cromwell* at that time ſeized the protectorſhip, they would have declared in the prince's favour.

Affairs in *Spain.*

The domeſtic diſtractions of *France* proved fatal to her affairs in *Catalonia* and *Italy*. The marſhal *de la Mothe* was obliged to ſurrender *Barcelona*, and *Roſes* was all that the *French* retained in that province. *Caſal* was loſt in *Italy*, and the *French* court offered advantageous terms to the court of *Portugal*, if it would advance to *Lewis* two millions of crowns in five years time. In the *Low Countries* the *Spaniards* carried all before them. The *French* abandoned *Mardyke*, the archduke *Leopold* took *Gravéline*, and beſieged *Dunkirk*, which the *French* made great efforts to preſerve, but in vain, for it was ſurrendered on the 16th of *September*, after a ſiege of thirty-nine days. The duke of *Lorrain* made an equally rapid progreſs, by taking *Retel*, *Porcien*, St. *Menehoud*, *Bar le Duc*, and other places. The vaſt military abilities of *Turenne* repaired thoſe loſſes, for though his army did not conſiſt of above twelve thouſand men, he forced the prince of *Condé* to take refuge in *Luxembourg*, while the marſhal *la Ferte* recovered almoſt all the places the *French* had loſt in *Lorrain*, by the aſſiſtance of *Mazarine*, who arrived with a ſtrong reinforcement in his camp while he was beſieging *Bar le Duc*; but the mention of that miniſter brings us back to the civil hiſtory of *France*.

Mazarine returns to *Paris.*

Mazarine had, ever ſince his laſt retreat from the *French* court, reſided at *Sedan*; but the queen mother could enjoy no ſatisfaction in his abſence, and he was brought back in triumph to *Paris*, where he exerted his talents as a miniſter, and by the excellent regulations he laid down, he proved himſelf to be the ableſt financier in *France*. To do him juſtice, he put the internal adminiſtration of affairs into excellent order; and

when the court of *Rome* threatened him for detaining cardinal *de Retz* in priſon, he ſhewed a becoming reſentment, by diſdaining the menaces of his holineſs. In *Burgundy*, the count *de Bouteville*, afterwards the celebrated marſhal *de Luxembourg*, ſuſtained, and kept alive the ſmall remains of the *Condé* intereſt, and obtained good terms for *Bellegarde*, from the duke of *Epernon*, governor of the province. *Brouage* and *Oleron* were ſtill held by the count *d'Oignon*, who ſurrendered them for a large ſum of money and a marſhal's baton, and at laſt, the prince of *Condé* and the dutcheſs of *Longueville* capitulated for *Bourdeaux* itſelf. During this year, the *French* continued to be unſucceſsful in *Italy* and *Catalonia*, where the marquis *de Pleſſis Beliere* commanded for *Lewis*.

Difficulties of the prince of *Condé*.

The prince of *Condé*, who had now, entirely, thrown himſelf under the protection of *Spain*, had obtained the title of generaliſſimo of the *Spaniſh* armies, and his catholic majeſty engaged to indemnify him for his defection from his country, by giving him forces to conquer a principality for himſelf, in *France*. By this time, *Turenne* was at the head of ſeventeen thouſand men, and retook *Retel*, *Mouzon*, and St. *Menehoud*. *Turenne*, who was well acquainted with the dilatory manners, and the ſelfiſh ſuſpicious tempers of the *Spaniards*, reaped vaſt advantages from that knowledge; for, by that time, the prince of *Condé* found that his power in their army was but nominal, and *Turenne* met with but little reſiſtance in retaking the places belonging to the prince, ſo that before the end of the campaign, St. *Menehoud* itſelf was reduced. In all thoſe operations, we can perceive none that gives *Condé* a title to the ſurname of the *Great*, unleſs he deſerved that epithet from courage, which ought to be in common to all ſoldiers. He was deſpiſed by the *Spaniards*, on whom he depended, and his frenzy in oppoſing the court ſtill continued. The parliament of *Paris*, after the proper citations, condemned him and his adherents to ſuffer death, as traitors; and his brother, the prince of *Conti*, made his peace with *Mazarine*, whoſe beautiful niece *Martinozzi*, he married, with an immenſe fortune, and they continued during their lives the patterns of conjugal felicity. The prince of *Condé* did all he could to blow up the embers of rebellion, and had many ſecret well-wiſhers in *Paris*. Plots were laid againſt the cardinal's life, but they were diſcovered, and puniſhed. The mutinous ſpirit of the parliament returned, but it was quickly daſhed; when the king by the cardinal's advice appeared in one of their extraordinary aſſemblies in his hunting cap and dreſs, with a long whip in his hand, and forbade their meetings.

Cardinal *de Retz* humbled.

This proſperous ſtate of the court diſarmed cardinal *de Retz*, of his turbulence and intriguing humour. He even reſigned his archbiſhopric of *Paris*, which *Mazarine* would have found difficult to oblige him to do, and after various adventures, none of which do honour to his magnanimity, except his refuſing to enter into connections with the *Spaniards*, he arrived at

Rome, where he was well received by his holineſs, who hated *Mazarine*.

The *Spaniards* beaten before *Arras*.

We have already given a detail of the duke of *Guiſe*'s attempt to become maſter of *Naples*, an expedition which did no great honour to *Mazarine*'s miniſtry. The war between *Spain* and *France* ſtill continued, and the prince of *Conti* at the head of a ſmall but choice army, commanded in *Catalonia*, where he took *Villa Franca*, *Caſtillon*, *Cergana*, *Paicerda*, with many other places, and made what may be called a glorious campaign. In the *Low Countries*, the *French* king made his firſt campaign; and *Stenay*, which had formerly belonged to the dutchy of *Lorrain*, but then had fallen into the hands of the prince of *Condé*, was beſieged. By way of diverſion, the prince perſuaded archduke *Leopold* to beſiege *Arras*. *Stenay* was taken, and *Turenne*, who could not force the *Spaniards* to a battle, attacked their trenches, took their baggage and artillery, and beat their army, which was ſaved from utter deſtruction by the maſterly diſpoſitions made by the prince of *Condé* in the retreat. *Mazarine* arrogated to himſelf the glory of relieving *Arras*, and had as much power, though acquired and exerciſed in a different manner, over *Lewis*, as *Richelieu* had over his father. *Mazarine* perhaps was ſuperior to don *Lewis Haro*, who governed his maſter, the catholic king, in the ſame manner; but he certainly was inferior to *Cromwell*, and in his negotiations with that uſurper, he became the dupe of his own refinements. He had not been able to get *France* included in the treaty between *England* and *Holland*, tho' he had depended upon his ſacrificing the *Stuart* family, who ſtill reſided in *France*, for procuring advantageous terms with *Cromwell*. *Mazarine* was aſtoniſhed when the uſurper ſlighted all offers of that kind, and when he even authorized ſome of his ſhips to land their crews at St. *Malo*'s, and to plunder the neighbouring country, though no war then ſubſiſted between *France* and *England*, only becauſe he had taken umbrage at *Mazarine*'s conduct.

Affairs between *France* and *England*.

This rough behaviour of *Cromwell*, taught the cardinal to know himſelf. He had always expreſſed a contempt for *Cromwell*'s capacity, to which he now was obliged to ſubmit, as his friendſhip was neceſſary for *France*; but it muſt be owned that he was greatly aſſiſted by the paſſion which *Cromwell* had for the treaſures of the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*. The *French* king's council expreſſed a great averſion, chiefly perhaps from a diſlike to *Mazarine*, at entering into any negotiation with the uſurper, but all oppoſition plied before the miniſter, and the council imagined that he proſtituted the honour of their king, when he obtained the conſent of *Lewis* to addreſs *Cromwell* with the appellation of My Couſin. The uſurper diſdained the term, and inſiſted upon being called, My Brother; an inſolence which drove *Mazarine* from his uſual moderation. He employed one *De Bas* to ſpirit up the royaliſts and republicans in *England*; but his plot was diſcovered

covered by *Cromwell*, who put to death many of the accomplices. This was perhaps one of the moſt artful, as well as wicked intrigues *Mazarine* was ever concerned in. *De Bas* had a public character from the *French* court, and it was notorious that he was deeply concerned in the conſpiracies for which the royaliſts ſuffered; yet *Cromwell* contented himſelf with putting him under a ſlight confinement, which was a proof that *De Bas* had revealed all the ſecrets of the conſpirators to *Mazarine*, who made a merit of diſcovering them to *Cromwell*. Ever after, *Cromwell* and *Mazarine* entered into an unreſerved correſpondence, and it was agreed that the *Engliſh* ſhould aſſiſt the *French* in getting poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, but that the place, when taken, ſhould be put into the hands of the former. *Turenne*, by this time, had taken *Landrecy*, *Queſnoy*, and St. *Gillian*, where *Lewis* is ſaid to have commanded in perſon, with many other places, and the duke of *Vendoſme* had defeated the *Spaniſh* fleet on the coaſt of *Catalonia*. As ſoon as the alliance between *Lewis* and *Cromwell* was known, the public of *Europe* was filled with indignation, and the *Spaniſh* miniſter charged *Mazarine* as being the worſt of ruffians in concluding it, and in driving the royal family of *England* out of *France*, to which he had likewiſe agreed. In anſwer to this, *Mazarine* publiſhed to the world, the terms that had been offered by the *Spaniſh* miniſter to *Cromwell*, which were equally ignoble

During the adminiſtration of *Mazarine*, the marine of *France*, which had been ſo nobly eſtabliſhed by *Richelieu*, was neglected, and her commerce ruined. Her agriculture, however, and the internal trade ſhe carried on in the continent, enabled her ſubjects to pay juſt as many taxes as maintained the court and enriched the miniſter; but the army was ſo ill paid, that *Turenne* could not put it in motion before the month of *July* 1656, when he beſieged *Valenciennes*. He was aſſiſted by marſhal *la Ferte*, and the ſiege was carried on with great vigour. The peeviſh, obſtinate, archduke *Leopold* was now recalled from his command in the *Low Countries*, and replaced by don *John* of *Auſtria*, who aſſiſted the prince of *Condé* in the command of the *Spaniſh* army, which amounted to twenty thouſand men. They took poſt near the lines of the beſieged, and after ſeveral maſterly operations on both ſides, *Condé* forced marſhal *la Ferte*'s quarter, defeated and took him priſoner, with four hundred officers, and almoſt four thouſand ſoldiers. The remainder of the *French* army was ſaved by *Turenne*, in as fine a retreat as that which had been executed by *Condé* before *Arras*. The *Spaniards* purſued, but *Condé* durſt not attack *Turenne*, chiefly becauſe he knew by the latter making no diſpoſitions to fortify his camp, the battle muſt be ſo deſperate, that the victory might be too dearly bought. The *Spaniards*, however, took *Condé*, as the *French*, though they were beat, did *Capelle*, and relieved St. *Gillan* in the ſight of *Condé*'s army. After that, both armies continued inactive

The war in the *Low Countries* continued. 1656.

till they went into winter quarters, and it was allowed by all *Europe*, that *Turenne*'s retreat was more glorious than *Conde*'s victory.

Upon the receſs of the armies this campaign, *France* may be conſidered as having recovered ſome degree of internal tranquillity. The duke of *Orleans* viſited the court, and after being well received, he retired to *Blois*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days as a private nobleman. The city of *Bourdeaux* was received into favour, and the great *Conde* was not ſo much conſidered in the light of a domeſtic rebel, as in that of a foreign general.

Affairs between *France* and *England*.

In the beginning of the year, the effects of the private treaty between *Mazarine* and *Cromwell* began to appear. *Cromwell* had agreed to aſſiſt the operations of the *French* in the *Low Countries*, with ſix thouſand men, and in the ſpring, *Turenne*, by a maſterly feint, inveſted *Cambray*, which was relieved by a moſt amazing march performed by the prince of *Conde*, whoſe motions were ſo rapid, that the garriſon could not perſuade themſelves that they were delivered, till after he had waited with his troops ſome time before their gates. *Turenne* raiſed the ſiege, and being joined by the *Engliſh* auxiliaries, the king and *Mazarine* arriving at his camp, about the ſame time he covered the operations of the marſhal *la Ferte* againſt *Montmedi*, which ſurrendered, after the *Spaniards* under don *John* had failed in an attempt to ſurprize *Calais*. *Turenne* then reduced St. *Venant*, and ſuch was the miſerable ſtate of the *French* finances, that, to pay his ſoldiers, he was obliged to break down his plate, and to divide the bullion among the *Engliſh*. *Lockhart* was then *Cromwell*'s miniſter at the *French* court, and *Reynolds* was appointed to command the *Engliſh* auxiliaries. The intention of *Mazarine* was to have inveigled them ſo far in the war, that they could not return to *England* without leave of the *French* court. *Reynolds* behaved but indifferently in his command, but had private interviews with the *Stuart* family, and many of his men deſerted to the duke of *York*. *Mazarine* had by this time repented the bargain he had made with *Cromwell*, and trifled ſo much with *Lockhart*, that the latter threatened to ſend back the *Engliſh* troops; but *Mazarine* overwhelmed *Cromwell* and his party with civilities, and put *Mardyke* which *Turenne* took, into the hands of *Reynolds*. *Cromwell* then preſſed the ſiege of *Dunkirk* more than ever, and offered, when it was undertaken, to ſend over to *France* four of his beſt regiments. *Turenne* would gladly have declined the ſiege of *Dunkirk*, and contrived many difficulties, which are mentioned in the hiſtories of the times, for poſtponing it; but *Lockhart* was ſo peremptory, that it was undertaken by *Turenne* by land, while an *Engliſh* fleet blocked it up by ſea. *Turenne* underwent inexpreſſible difficulties before he could regularly form the ſiege; and he had a proſpect of taking the place when the *Spaniards* came to its relief. *Morgan* then commanded the *Engliſh* auxiliaries under *Lockhart*,

Lockhart, *Reynolds* being governor of *Mardyke*, from whence he was ſoon after recalled to *England*.

The prince of *Condé* had by this time conceived both an averſion and contempt for the *Spaniſh* generals, who rejected all his vigorous propoſals. He planned out a diſpoſition of battle, in which he was over-ruled, and *Turenne* boldly attacked his enemies. The marquiſes *de Crequi* and *Caſtelmere*, who commanded under him, charged the *Spaniards* in the flank; but the hotteſt ſervice fell upon the *Engliſh* under *Morgan*. He was hard preſſed by ſome *Engliſh* battalions under the duke of *York*, as was *Crequi* by the prince of *Condé*; but the intrepidity of the *Engliſh* and *Turenne*'s excellent diſpoſitions obtained, at laſt, a complete victory. The marſhal *de Hocquincourt*, who ſerved under the prince of *Condé*, was killed on the ſpot. It was owing to the admirable retreat made by that prince, that the *Spaniſh* army was not entirely deſtroyed. The number of the killed and priſoners on the ſide of the *Spaniards* is uncertain, but it is agreed that the *Engliſh* alone, killed and took priſoners about two thouſand, ſo that the whole loſs did not probably exceed nine thouſand, though the *French* accounts greatly ſurpaſs that number. The loſs of the *French* was likewiſe very conſiderable. The battle of the *Downs* gained by the *French*.

This battle, which was called that of the *Downs*, left *Turenne* more at liberty, than before, to carry on his operations of ſiege, but the *Spaniards* continued to make a brave defence till the marquis *de Lede* being killed in a ſally, they agreed to capitulate on the 24th of *June*. *Lewis*, who was in the camp, and *Mazarine*, would have granted the garriſon very high terms, but *Lockhart* rejected them, becauſe, as he ſaid, the place belonged to his maſter; and *Mazarine*, againſt his will, was obliged to put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *Engliſh*. The lord *Falconbridge*, *Cromwell*'s ſon in law, was then at the *French* court, where he was treated with the ſame honours and diſtinctions which had been paid to the dukes of *Modena* and *Mantua*. It is probable that he wanted to engage *Mazarine* to ſupport him and his family in the ſovereignty of *England*, and to make a peace with *Spain*. We are ignorant, however, of the particulars, for at this time *Mazarine* found his authority in danger by the illneſs of *Lewis*, which checked the career of *Turenne*'s victories, after he had taken *Furnes*, *Dixmuyde*, with other places, and driven the *Spaniards* out of the field into their garriſon towns. Upon the king's recovery, *la Ferte* marched from *Lorrain* to the *Low Countries* with his army; *Graveline* was reduced before the end of the campaign, as was *Oudenarde*. *Bruſſels* itſelf, and ſome of the capital towns of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, muſt have fallen into *Turenne*'s hands, if he had been properly ſupplied with proviſions and artillery. He defeated the prince *de Ligny*, who threw himſelf into *Ipres*, which he was likewiſe obliged to ſurrender; ſo that upon the whole, no fewer than twelve important ſtrong towns and cities were reduced this campaign. In *Italy*, Their vaſt ſucceſſes in the *Low Countries* and elſewhere.

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the duke of *Modena*, *France*'s ally, forced the duke of *Mantua*, who joined *Spain*, to be neutral; and the *French* general, the marquis *de Villa*, was ſucceſsful in the *Milaneſe*. Marſhal *Schomberg* commanded the troops of *Lewis* on the ſide of *Portugal*, and beat don *Lewis de Haro*; ſo that this was eſteemed one of the moſt glorious campaigns the *French* had ever known.

1658. In the year 1658, died the uſurper *Cromwell*, who had put himſelf in every reſpect on a footing with the *French* king, and had omitted no opportunity of humbling that court, after he was put in poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk* and *Mardyke*. It is pretty certain that about the time of his death, he was ſenſible of his capital error in aggrandizing *France*, and that he was reſolved to have made peace with *Spain*. The *French* court looked upon his death as a deliverance, and propoſals of an accommodation being ſent to *Mazarine* from the court of *Madrid*, they were ſtrongly backed by the queen mother, without being diſliked by the miniſter. The *Engliſh*, in general, were averſe to continue the war with *Spain*, and *Richard Cromwell*, the ſucceſſor of *Oliver*, ordered *Lockhart* to enter into a private negotiation with the *Spaniſh* miniſtry for a peace. *Mazarine* diſcovered this, and it was his true motive for agreeing to the conferences of the *Iſle* of *Pheaſants*, where he met with don *Lewis de Haro*. The Hall where the conferences were held, was ſo contrived, that neither miniſter could claim the precedency, and in a few meetings a treaty was concluded, the effects of which are ſtill ſenſibly felt in *Europe*, and it goes by the name of the *Pyrenean*. By this treaty, that of *Queraſque* was confirmed; *Alſace*, *Rouſillon*, *Artois*, and part of *Flanders* were made provinces of *France*: The *Pyrenees* were agreed upon as the boundaries of both kingdoms on that ſide; *Lorrain* was reſtored to its duke, as *Verceil* was to the duke of *Savoy*, and St. *Omer*, *Ipres*, *Menin*, *Oudenarde*, and ſeveral other places to the *Spaniards*. But the capital object of this treaty, by which the prince of *Condé* was likewiſe received into favour at the *French* court, was the long projected marriage of *Lewis* with *Maria Tereſa*, the infanta of *Spain*.

A peace concluded.

Conduct and death of *Mazarine*.

Lewis, whoſe complexion was amorous, was violently in love with mademoiſelle *de Mancini*, one of *Mazarine*'s nieces; but when that cardinal threw out to the queen mother a poſſibility of his marrying her, ſhe threatened to put herſelf and her ſecond ſon at the head of the *French* nation, againſt both the king and the cardinal. *Mazarine* knew that he was diſliked by the duke of *Orleans*, and it was therefore of the utmoſt conſequence for him that the king ſhould be married. The infanta was, at this time, the preſumptive heireſs of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and it was neceſſary that ſhe ſhould renounce for ever all right to the ſucceſſion of her father's territories, which, both ſhe and *Lewis* agreed to, and the renunciations were regiſtered in the *French* parliaments. The marriage was ſolemnized at St. *Jean de Luz*, on the 9th of *June*,

1660. 1660; and this was the laſt, as it was the greateſt of *Mazarine*'s meaſures.

meaſures. Upon his return with the royal pair, he affected more ſtate than ever, and treated the king as a mere pupil. He took place of the princes of the blood, nor did he ſuffer even them to make any application to the king but through him. He treated likewiſe the queen mother, to whom he owed his all, with diſreſpect. He doubled the number of his body guards, and *Lewis* had no more money than he was pleaſed to allow him. It is thought that that prince muſt have been ſoon weary of his pupilage, had the cardinal lived longer than he did, and *Mazarine* was ſenſible that if he himſelf ſhould die, or if the king ſhould alter his ſentiments, the poſſeſſion of his wealth muſt be but precarious. He therefore made a deed of gift, by which he left *Lewis* his heir, but that prince returned it in a few days after he received it, in token that *Mazarine* was at liberty to diſpoſe of his vaſt eſtate as he pleaſed; and upon his death-bed, in 1661, he bequeathed it to his relations; the whole as is ſaid amounting to two hundred millions of livres; but this ſum we ſuſpect is exaggerated. *Mazarine* certainly was a uſeful miniſter to *France*, by concluding the *Pyrenean* treaty; nor can it be denied that he had great ſagacity. The ſucceſs of his negotiations was owing in a great meaſure to the characters of thoſe he dealt with, who thought themſelves ſuperior to him, though they were no better than his dupes in the arts of diſſimulation and chicane. The good ſenſe and reſolution of *Cromwell* and *Lockhart* rendered *Mazarine* deſpicable both as a man and a miniſter. 1661.

And of *Lewis* upon his death.

The behaviour of *Lewis* upon the death of *Mazarine*, ſufficiently indicated that he had for ſome time been planning within himſelf the future mode of his government. To the amazement and diſappointment of his own court and of all *Europe*, though he was then but twenty-two years of age, he broke out all at once. He became his own miniſter, and he reduced his courtiers to the rank of humble retainers to his power, and ſervants to his will. He perſonally regulated his own finances, his army, his court, and the buſineſs of his parliaments, whom he early reſolved to humble. He ordered *Fouquet*, though ſuperintendant of his finances, to be proſecuted, condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and ſtript of his vaſt wealth, though nothing criminal could be proved againſt him, and he had the character of being the moſt generous man in *France*. *Louvois* was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for foreign, and *le Tellier* for domeſtic, affairs; but the execution of the great internal regulations of the kingdom was committed to the famous *Colbert*. His family was originally *Scotch*, but had been ſettled for ſome hundreds of years in *France*, and he himſelf had been truſted by *Mazarine* in the ſame department in which he was employed by *Lewis*. That monarch took the firſt opportunity, which was that of a quarrel at *London* between his embaſſador and that of *Spain* about precedency, to maintain the ſuperiority he affected over *Spain*, by obliging that court formally to yield him the precedency,

cedency, an event which *Lewis* ordered to be commemorated by an elegant medal. We have already ſeen how upon a like occaſion he humbled the court of *Rome*, and how he obliged his holineſs to ſend cardinal *Chigi* ſubmiſſively to aſk his pardon. *Lewis* carried all thoſe matters with ſo high a hand, that *Europe* began already to tremble at his ſpirit. *France* put on a new face. The feudal conſtitutions were not ſo much as heard of, and the great nobles now contended with one another only about the glory, who ſhould be the moſt ſubmiſſive ſervant to the crown. The ſplendour of the court exceeded all that had ever been ſeen in *Europe*, and the armies of *France* were then more numerous, better paid, and better diſciplined than they had been in any former reign. The progreſs of the arts under *Lewis*, went hand in hand with that of his power; the penſions and encouragements he gave to the learned and ingenious in all countries, and in all ſtudies, had never been equalled by any *European* prince, ſince the *Auguſtan* age, if we except, perhaps, the *Medici* family. The magnificence of his court retained nothing of that barbarity which long wars introduced in the courts of his moſt polite predeceſſors, even in times of peace, and the whole was ſupported by a proper decorum, which reigned through all ranks and ſtations of ſubjects.

Vol. X. p. 340, & ſeq.

His great munificence.

Thoſe external appearances of power and grandeur were effectually ſupported by a well regulated ſyſtem of finances, and *Lewis* was enabled to buy from *Charles* II. of *England*, the poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk* for the ſum of five millions of livres. We have already mentioned the ſituation of *Lewis* with regard to *Holland*, that formidable republic, and *Colbert*, in a ſhort time, found means to fit out thirty ſhips of the line, though, at the beginning of this reign, all *France* could ſhew but one old ſhip of war, which was laid up in the harbour of *Breſt*, and in a few years after, *Lewis* had the moſt numerous navy of any power in *Europe*. He ſeemed ſuperior (though in reality he was not ſo) to the prejudices and weakneſſes of his family. He aſſiſted the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the *Turks*, when they were becoming too formidable to *Chriſtendom*, and he paid the four thouſand *French* ſoldiers who ſerved againſt his father-in-law under *Schomberg*, who by the victory he obtained over the *Spaniards* at *Villa Vicioſa*, fixed the crown of *Portugal* in the *Braganza* family.

Vol IX. p. 396, & ſeq.

And policy.

He lays claim to and invades *Flanders*, and to *Franche Comte*.

Such were the glorious dawnings of the reign of *Lewis* XIV. and he ſupported them by a uniform conduct. He employed thirty thouſand men upon the harbour and fortifications of *Dunkirk*, which he rendered impregnable. He obliged the duke of *Lorrain* to give him up the ſtrong fortreſs of *Marſal*, and he fomented the differences between the *States General* and *England*, the two great maritime powers of *Europe*. Upon the death of *Philip* IV. of *Spain*, *Lewis* laid claim to *Flanders*, and the *Franche Comte* as devolving upon his wife, notwithſtanding her renunciation. This great cauſe could be decided only by arms. *Lewis* pretended that the territorial conſtitutions

tions of the countries in queſtion, gave his wife a right to their ſucceſſion, and he complained that the five hundred thouſand crowns, which the court of *Spain* had engaged to give him with his wife, had never been paid. In 1667, he put himſelf at the head of thirty-five thouſand men, which, under him, were commanded by *Turenne* for the conqueſt of *Flanders*. He ſent eight thouſand under *d'Aumont* to *Dunkirk*, and four thouſand into *Luxembourg* under *Crequi*, while the queen aſſiſted by the chancellor *Sequier*, and the marſhal *d'Etree*, was appointed regent. The art of war, as well as the court and kingdom of *France*, now aſſumed a new face. *Louvois*, who was likewiſe ſecretary in that department, introduced the uſe of magazines, by means of the vaſt ſupplies of money furniſhed him by *Colbert*. *Vauban*, that great genius in military architecture, introduced a new ſyſtem both in attacking and fortifying towns; and the young nobility of *France* ſeemed to take greater pleaſure in the fatigues of the camp, than they had done in the diverſions of the court. The ſucceſs of *Lewis* was rapid beyond imagination. The *Spaniſh* government was then exceſſively weak, and the frontier he was to attack was in a manner defenceleſs. He entered *Charleroy* without reſiſtance, and five or ſix days put his troops in poſſeſſion of *Aeth*, *Tournay*, *Douay*, *Oudenarde*, *Furnes*, *Armentieres* and *Aloſt*. *Liſle*, which then was deemed to be next to impregnable, held out but nine days, though defended by twenty thouſand men under an experienced officer. The marquis *de Crequi* defeated a body of *Spaniſh* troops, which were marching to relieve it under marſhal *Marſin* and the prince *de Ligny*, and *Vauban*, upon his new principles of military architecture, rendered *Liſle* the moſt regular, and one of the ſtrongeſt fortifications in the world.

1667.

His vaſt ſucceſſes.

As *Lewis* had not then on foot the vaſt number of troops he afterwards brought into the field, he could not proceed in his conqueſts, and at the ſame time garriſon the places he had taken, and therefore he gratified his natural avidity for applauſe by returning to *Paris*, where he received even idolatrous honours from his ſubjects of all denominations. His glory and ſecurity had been for ſome years encreaſed by the birth of a dauphin, and his brother had married the beautiful ſiſter of *Charles* II of *England*. Indolence and love of pleaſure had ſtifled in that prince all reſentment for the ungenerous affronts he had received from *Mazarine*. He had, in fact, been baniſhed out of *France*, and ſo ſtrongly over-awed were both *Mazarine* and *de Haro* by the preſence of *Lockhart*, that he and his miniſters had been totally diſregarded in the *Pyrenean* peace, and treated even with contempt. But indolent as *Charles* was, and inattentive to buſineſs, he could not without jealouſy behold the progreſs of *Lewis*, and he ſent ſir *William Temple* to the *Hague*, where he concluded the triple alliance between *England*, *Holland* and *Spain*, for checking the *French* power. We have already given an account of the war between *England* and

He returns to *Paris*.

Vol. IX. p. 400, & *seq.*

and *Holland*, and of the concern the *French* took in it, and likewiſe of the motives upon which the triple alliance was formed. *Lewis* thought he had done enough for his glory in one campaign, and offered to the queen regent of *Spain* to relinquiſh his wife's pretenſions, on condition of his being left in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts in the *Low Countries*, or of the *Franche Comte*, *Cambray*, *Aix*, and St. *Omer*. The court of *Spain*, encouraged by the triple alliance, refuſed to treat on ſuch terms, and in the middle of the winter in 1667, or

1668. rather the beginning of 1668, while the court ſeemed to be immerſed in pleaſures, all *France* was again in arms, and the prince of *Condé* led an army to conquer the *Franche Comte* from the power that had lately given him bread. On the 2d of *February*, the king himſelf by long journies on horſeback arrived at *Dijon*, and the whole army aſſembled near *Beſançon*. It is ſaid, with ſome appearance of truth, that this expedition was ſuggeſted to *Lewis* by the prince of *Condé*, who wanted to rival the glories that *Turenne* had acquired in his maſter's ſervice, and encouraged by *Louvois*, who was jealous of the ſame great general's credit with *Lewis*.

Franche Comte conquered.

The inhabitants of the *Franche Comte*, which is a country of only forty leagues long, and twenty broad, but very populous, enjoyed their own privileges in an eaſy dependence upon *Spain*, and *Lewis* found it expedient to debauch ſome of the chief men of the country, by which means the prince of *Condé* is ſaid to have made a cheap conqueſt of *Beſançon*, as the duke of *Luxembourg* his faithful friend, under all his misfortunes, did of *Salines*. *Dole* made ſome defence, but, in three weeks, *Lewis* became maſter of all the province. The court of *Spain* being thus diſappointed as to the effects of the triple alliance, agreed to a conference for a peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the embaſſadors of *England*, *Sweden* and *Holland* aſſiſted, and *Lewis*, thereby, remained in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts towards the *Netherlands*; terms, to which the *Spaniards* agreed the more readily, as thoſe ceſſions intereſted the *Dutch* in oppoſing the farther progreſs of the *French* in that quarter. The *Dutch* arrogated to themſelves the glory of this treaty, and were guilty of ſome inſults upon the majeſty of *Lewis*, whoſe arms they pretended to check, and for which they afterwards paid dearly. But we are now to return to the domeſtic concerns of *Lewis*.

He kept up all the regular grandeur of a court during the conqueſt of the *Franche Comte*, and the prince of *Condé* rendered him an account of all the military operations in the ſame manner as a ſubaltern does to his commanding officer. *Lewis* thought the ſpirit he had eſtabliſhed in his army, was incompatible with the ſpirit of duelling, and he publiſhed edicts and laws againſt that crime, which are deſervedly ranked among the chief glories of his reign. When a famine afflicted his dominions, he ſent agents to buy up all the corn that could be purchaſed abroad, and it was diſtributed

buted gratis among his indigent ſubjects. The academy of *Inſcriptions* was now founded, and the medallic art was exerciſed for celebrating the conqueſts of *Lewis*. New ports were every where erected or improved; the *American* colonies of *France* were protected, and encouraged, and by the indefatigable labours of *Colbert*, her trade was extended to all quarters of the globe. During the *Dutch* war, in which the *French* joined that republic againſt *England*, the *French* drove the *Engliſh* out of the iſland of St. *Chriſtopher*, and did them other inexpreſſible damages in the *Weſt Indies*. All the time that *Lewis* was thus rendering his kingdom the moſt polite and reſpectable of any that had ever appeared in *Europe*, he was executing the moſt ſtupendous ſchemes for enlarging, beautifying and enriching *Paris* and his other capital towns, in a manner that with regard to architecture, was formed upon the trueſt models of *Greece* and *Rome*, but exceeded them in point of conveniency; and the clearing his dominions from robbers and highwaymen, was one of his principal cares. Proſperous condition of *France*.

A king thus great in his general principles of government, replete with ideas of the grandeur of his family, and the monarchy of *France*, flushed by ſucceſs and adored by his ſubjects, muſt have been more than a man, had he not reſented the inſolence of the *Dutch* republicans, whom he conſidered, very juſtly, as an upſtart ſet of merchants, ſprung from the dregs of mankind, and erected into a ſovereign ſtate by the joint protection and aſſiſtance of *France* and *England*. *Joſhua Van Beuningen*, their plenipotentiary at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, had been ſo inſolent as to ſtrike a medal, with the childiſh device of the Scripture-*Joſhua* ſtopping the courſe of the ſun, which *Lewis* had choſen for his emblem; and the *Hollanders* had publiſhed many affrontive papers and prints againſt the perſon of *Lewis*. We have in a former part of this work given the hiſtory of the other provocations and views which *Lewis* received and adopted previous to his invaſion of *Holland*. As he was ſtill apprehenſive of the triple alliance, he ſent his ſiſter-in-law, the dutcheſs of *Orleans*, to her brother, the king of *England*, and ſhe ſucceeded in detaching him from the *Dutch*, while the miniſters of *Lewis* were dividing the princes of *Germany*, and his armies ſtripping the duke of *Lorrain* of his dominions. It was in vain for the *Dutch*, who were miſerably divided among themſelves, to endeavour to deprecate the wrath of *Lewis* by the moſt abject ſubmiſſions. He entered *Holland* at the head of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, commanded by the marſhal *Turenne*, and the prince of *Condé*. After ſome councils of war were held, in which the generals and miniſters of *Lewis* differed, it was reſolved to advance towards the *Rhine*. In this expedition, near a hundred million of livres, according to the preſent value of money, were expended in pomp and parade, and thirty *French* ſhips of the line joined the *Engliſh* fleet. Few armies were better commanded; for beſides *Turenne* and the prince of *Conde*, the duke

The *Dutch* provoke *Lewis*. Vol. IX. p. 410. ibid. p. 413. Pomp of the *French* court.

duke of *Luxembourg*, who was as great a military genius as either of them, ſerved in it. The prince of *Condé* planned the famous paſſage of the *Rhine*, which did ſo much honour to the *French* arms, but would at this time do no more than fill a column in a gazette. Every thing, the puſillanimity and deſpair of the *Dutch* eſpecially, favoured the *French*, who had not above forty or fifty paces to ſwim. The current of the river was broken by the compacted body of the horſe who forded it, and nothing oppoſed them on the oppoſite ſide; which was guarded by no more than four or five hundred horſe, and two cowardly regiments of foot. The prince of *Condé*, however, narrowly eſcaped being ſhot through the head by a reſolute *Dutch* officer, who wounded him in the wriſt, the firſt wound he received in all his campaigns.

ibid. p. 414.

Lewis continues his conqueſt.

The prodigious ſucceſs of *Lewis* in this expedition, was in a great meaſure owing to the treachery of the *Dutch* officers and commandants of their forts, who for gold betrayed them to *Lewis*. *Orſoy*, *Weſel*, *Rhineberg*, *Burick*, *Rees*, *Emmerick* and *Doëtkum* were ſubdued in eight days; the iſle of *Belaw* was put under contribution, and the conquerors became maſters of *Tolhuys*. The prince of *Orange*, whoſe army did not exceed twenty-five thouſand men, was obliged to retreat to *Rhenen* in the province of *Utrecht*, and he had the mortification to ſee the *French* become maſters of *Doerburgh*, *Arnheim*, *Skenkenſans*, *Woeren* and St. *Andrew*. The prince of *Condé* being diſabled by his wound, *Turenne* had the glory of commanding the *French* army that reduced thoſe places; ſome of which, *Skenkenſans* eſpecially, were deemed the ſtrongeſt in the *Netherlands*. *Utrecht* ſent its keys to *Lewis*, who gratified his vanity by making a triumphal entry into that city, and giving his high almoner poſſeſſion of the church, as its biſhop. The provinces of *Utrecht*, *Overyſſel* and *Gueldres* ſubmitted, and we have already ſeen how narrowly *Amſterdam* itſelf eſcaped being taken, after *Oudewater*, *Voerden* and *Naerden* were reduced. The duke of *Luxembourg* had joined the biſhop of *Munſter*, and the elector of *Cologne*, the allies of *Lewis*, and in conjunction they took *Grol*, *Deventer*, *Swol*, *Campen*, and over-run *Overyſſel*.

ibid.

The *States General*, at once deſperate and puſillanimous, after *Turenne* had reduced *Nimeguen*, laid the provinces of *Holland*, *Brabant* and *Dutch Flanders* under water, but at the ſame time they put *de Groot* at the head of a deputation, to implore the mercy of *Lewis*; and they ſent another deputation to excite the compaſſion of the *Engliſh* court, who began now to dread the career of the ambition and ſucceſſes of *Lewis*. We have already mentioned the cataſtrophe which happened in the mean time, and the glorious ſpirit exerted by the young prince of *Orange* in defence of his country. The unaccountable averſion which the *de Witts* and the leaders of the *Dutch* commonwealth had for a Stadtholder, made them look on the progreſs of the *French* arms with indifference, and they ſecretly

ibid.

ibid.

ibid. p. 415, 416, & *ſeq.*

wiſhed

wiſhed that *Holland* might become a province of *France* rather than be governed by the family of *Orange*. The common people adored that prince, and his being raiſed to the command of the army, gave the firſt check to the ambition of *Lewis*, who had, ſince the beginning of the campaign, reduced fifty forts or cities of ſtrength and importance, and taken twenty four thouſand priſoners; but while his glory was at its ſummit, his miniſter, *Louvois*, differed with his generals. The latter were for treating the republic as a conquered country, and its inhabitants as ſlaves, by obliging them to work on the ſtupendous canal of *Languedoc*, which was then carrying on. *Louvois*, on the other hand, thought that true policy directed his maſter to treat the *Dutch* as his ſubjects, and *Lewis* followed his advice, by giving his priſoners their liberty. When the *Dutch* deputation arrived at the *French* camp, its members were treated with infinite ſcorn by *Louvois*, who conſidered them as partizans of the *Orange* family. He offered them, however, his maſter's pardon and protection, provided they would agree to a treaty of commerce, ſuch as he thought proper to preſcribe, to eſtabliſh the profeſſion of the catholic religion throughout their provinces, to pay him twenty millions of livres for the expences of the war, and to leave him in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts on the other ſide of the *Rhine*. The *Dutch* rejected thoſe and many other mortifying conditions, particularly one, by which they were to acknowledge in a medal, that they owed their freedom to *Lewis*; as if freedom could be dependant on the will of another man.

and conquers the greateſt part of *Holland*.

The king of *England* had ſent his embaſſadors to *Boxtel*, near *Boiſleduc*, where the conferences between the *Dutch* deputies and *Louvois* were held, and they talked with great ſpirit to *Lewis*, who finding that all *Europe* was alarmed, and impatient to return to the pleaſures of his capital, left *Holland* and the fortune of the war to *Turenne*, now created generaliſſimo of the *French* troops. The greateſt part of *Germany* was then in arms to oppoſe the ambition of *Lewis*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* and *Montecuculi*, who was the *Turenne* of *Germany*, in vain attempted to form a junction with the prince of *Orange*, whom the *Dutch* had raiſed to the Stadtholderſhip. The *German* army was obliged to retreat to *Weſtphalia*, and was baffled in all its operations, till the elector being driven from place to place, was obliged to take quarters in his hereditary dominions. *Turenne* wintered in *Alſace* and *Lorrain*, whilſt the *French* gold corrupted the imperial court to ſuch a degree, that *Montecuculi* contracted an illneſs at ſeeing all his public ſpirited ſchemes defeated. The king of *England* was not inſenſible of the danger that the liberties of *Europe* were threatened with, but the arts and gold of *Lewis*, with the charms of his *French* miſtreſs, overcame all conſiderations of honour and ſafety. It is certain that the

Conferences opened.

vigour of *Lewis* at this period, did not ſecond his ambition. He loved pleaſure and adulation, and left his conqueſts to be compleated by *Turenne* and the prince of *Condé*, whom he did not properly ſupport. The latter being cured of his wound, returned to the *Low Countries*, where he took ſome towns; but the *Spaniſh* governor of *Flanders* threw ten thouſand men under the prince of *Orange*'s command, and all the ſluices in the *Low Countries* being pulled up, the inundations put a ſtop to *Condé*'s progreſs.

Spain declares war againſt *France*.

The aſſiſtance given by *Spain* to the prince of *Orange*, was in a manner clandeſtine; but ſo rapid were the conqueſts of the *French*, that the court of *Spain* could no longer avoid declaring war againſt *Lewis*, and openly eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Dutch*. To add to the public terror, *France*, all at once, became a maritime power, and, as we have already ſeen, in the hiſtory of *Holland*, joined her fleet under *d'Etrees* to that of *England*. The campaign in *Germany* ſtill continued; the court of *Spain*, weak as it was, endeavoured to rouſe the emperor *Leopold* from his inactivity, and *Montecuculi* was ſent at the head of thirty thouſand men into *Franconia*, but *Turenne* took poſſeſſion of the electorate of *Mentz*. The duke of *Luxembourg* commanded againſt the *Dutch*, after the prince of *Condé* had repaſſed the *Meuſe*, and the prince of *Orange* had the good fortune to out-wit that duke, and to take *Naerden*; and we have already ſeen in what manner *Holland* was preſerved at this perilous juncture. All the diſgraces and loſſes of the *French* appear to have been owing to *Louvois*, who differed from the prince of *Condé* and *Turenne* in every particular, becauſe he thought it dangerous for any man beſides himſelf to ſhare in any part of his maſter's confidence. It was owing to him that the conquered towns inſtead of being demoliſhed were garriſoned, which weakened *Turenne*'s army ſo much, that the prince of *Orange* and *Montecuculi* at laſt compleated their long intended junction.

Vol. IX. p. 417, 418.

ibid.

The fortune of *Lewis* declines in the *Netherlands*.

That junction proved the criſis of the fortune of *Lewis* in the *Netherlands*. His *German* allies began now to diſtruſt him. *Bon* was taken by *Montecuculi* and the prince of *Orange*, and *Lewis* having reduced *Maeſtricht* in perſon, it was the only conqueſt in the *Netherlands* of which he kept poſſeſſion. Though the king of *England*'s political lethargy ſtill continued, he was forced to hear the cries of his people and parliament, which implored him to break off his connections with *France*, and towards the end of the year 1673, *Lewis* found himſelf ſingle in a war againſt the chief powers of *Europe*, and all his boaſted conqueſts in the *Netherlands* vaniſhed into ſmoke. It was at this time, that the internal force of *France* was proved. The prince of *Orange* had opened the eyes of all the *German* princes, excepting the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Hanover*, who remained neutral. The prince of *Condé* once more commanded againſt the prince of

1673.

of *Orange*; the marſhal *Schomberg* made head againſt the *Spaniards*, *Turenne* triumphed upon the *Rhine*, and *Lewis* in perſon again undertook the conqueſt of *Franche Comte*.

Of all thoſe commanders, *Turenne* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed by his ſucceſſes. He was at the head of a ſmall army, when he paſſed the *Rhine* at *Philipſbourg*, and beat the imperialiſts under *Caprara*, and *Charles* IV. duke of *Lorrain*. The prince of *Condé* ſent him a ſmall body of cavalry, and his army was augmented to twenty thouſand men, while that of the imperialiſts conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand. By the mere dint of generalſhip he covered *Alſace* and *Lorrain*, ravaged the *Palatinate*, and every where baffled the efforts of the imperialiſts. It is to be lamented that to the diſgrace of mankind, the ſtudy of the art of war diveſted even the beſt men of their humanity. *Turenne* committed the moſt horrid barbarities, that he might do ſervice to his king. Not only the generals, but the philoſophers of *France*, did not at that time preſume to carry their views farther than the reſolutions of the royal cabinet, which were executed at the expence of religion and virtue. In fact, fighting ſeems to have been the diverſion of the *French* generals at this period. The prince of *Orange* continued to command againſt *Condé* in *Flanders*, and fought the battle of *Seneff* on the 11th of *Auguſt*, in which ſeven thouſand are ſaid to have been killed, and five thouſand taken priſoners on each ſide. Neither party had an undiſputed right to the victory, but the conſequence was favourable to mankind, becauſe both parties were rendered ſo weak, that the effuſion of human blood was ſpared during the reſt of the campaign.

Cruelties of *Turenne* in the *Palatinate*.

In *Germany*, *Turenne* beat the imperialiſts in the battles of *Sintzheim* and *Mulhauſen*, and in the year 1675, he obtained another victory over them at *Tunkheim*, which obliged them to repaſs the *Rhine*, and evacuate *France*. The imperial court, diſconcerted and diſcouraged by ſuch a train of bad ſucceſſes, gave the command of their armies to *Montecuculi*; but while thoſe two great generals were diſplaying the utmoſt efforts of the military art, *Lewis* was conquering the *Franche Comte*. His money had gained over the *Swiſs* cantons, who were deaf to all the repreſentations made by the imperialiſts and the *Spaniards*, which conſiſted in words alone. In this expedition he was ſerved by *Vauban*, who took *Bezançon* in nine days, by *Louvois*, who made excellent diſpoſitions for ſupplying the army, and *Colbert* furniſhed him with money, the all-powerful inſtrument of ſucceſs. His miniſters found means to embroil the king of *Sweden* with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, the ableſt and moſt zealous prince in *Germany* for the reduction of the *French* power; but *Montecuculi*, in ſpite of all the activity of *Turenne*, found means to paſs the *Rhine* at *Straſbourg*, in order to transfer the ſcene of war to *Upper Alſace*. Thoſe two great men were diſputing for the palm of generalſhip, when *Turenne*'s head was carried off by a cannon ball,

1675.

The war continues.

Turenne killed.

on the 27th of *July* 1675, as he was reconnoitring a battery near the village of *Sultzbach*. His death altered the face of affairs, by the damp it threw upon the ſpirit of his army; for though *de Lorges*, who ſucceeded him, was a general of abilities, yet he was obliged to retire before *Montecuculi*, whom he fought with courage, but unequal fortune. The loſs which *France* ſuſtained by the death of *Turenne*, was aggravated by a total defeat which the marſhal *de Crequi* ſuffered from the *Germans*, at *Conſarbruck*, as he was endeavouring to relieve *Treves*. This did not prevent him from throwing himſelf into the place, where he was equally in danger from the townſmen as the enemy, for the former capitulated againſt the authority of the marſhal, who was made priſoner of war.

France exhauſted.

Lewis now began to be ſenſible that the *French* arms were not invincible, nor his dominions inexhauſtible. He continued to be without any ally but the king of *Sweden*, who was overawed. The prince of *Condé* was too weak to undertake any thing of importance againſt the prince of *Orange*, and he muſt have been ruined, had it not been for the caution and puſillanimity of *Monteroy*, the *Spaniſh* governor of the *Low Countries*. The only quarter in which *France* was ſucceſsful, was on the ſide of *Catalonia*, where marſhal *Schomberg* took ſeveral places. The vaſt waſte of men which *Lewis* ſuffered, at laſt obliged him to have recourſe to the feodal cuſtom of raiſing the ban and the arriere-ban of his kingdom, by which two terms we are to underſtand, the military tenants of his crown; but this method, through long diſuſe, was attended with no ſucceſs. Negociations for a peace were ſet on foot at *Nimeguen*; but the operations of the war on all ſides ſeemed to be quickened, and *France* now triumphed on an element, to which ſhe had been long a ſtranger. *Meſſina* had been beſieged, and *de Ruyter* undertook to fight the *French* admiral, *du Queſne*, who intended to relieve it. Three engagements followed, in which *de Ruyter* was killed, and the combined fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* were defeated.

Her ſucceſs by ſea.

The prince of *Condé* returns from court in diſguſt.

The expedient of raiſing the military tenants of the kingdom failing, the prince of *Condé* was ſent to command againſt *Montecuculi*, who had laid *Alſace* under contribution, and beſieged *Haguenau* and *Laverne*. *Condé* ſuſtained his military reputation, and checked the progreſs of *Montecuculi*; but being diſguſted at the aſcendency which *Louvois* continued to have in the *French* councils, he retired to *Chantilly*, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in an illuſtrious obſcurity, by, at once, cultivating and patronizing the fine arts, and converſing with men of genius. In *Flanders*, *Lewis*, in perſon, undertook to revive the glory of *France*, which, ſince the death of *Turenne*, and by the ſullenneſs of *Condé*, had received ſome diminution. *Vauban* ſtill conducted the ſieges, and his opinion was preferred to that of the marſhals *d'Humieres*, *Schomberg*, *Feuillade*, *Luxembourg* and *de Lorges*. The towns of *Condé*, *Bouchain*, *Valenciennes* and *Cambray* were reduced, and

Vauban

Vauban diſcovered his ſuperiority of genius, by perſuading *Lewis* to alter the hour of attack, and to ſurpriſe the enemy, by ſtorming *Valenciennes* at mid-day. His advice ſucceeded, and the campaign was deemed to be glorious. The prince of *Orange* was hindered, by *Monteroy*, from fighting a deciſive battle with *Lewis*, who was aſtoniſhed at his own ſucceſs; and in *March* he took *Ghent* and *Ipres*. The prince of *Orange*, always enterpriſing, but always depreſſed by the ſluggiſh ſpirit of the *Spaniards*, beſieged *Maeſtricht*, but was obliged to abandon his undertaking with a diſreputation to his arms, which he no ways deſerved. The duke of *Luxembourg* commanded in *Alſace*, but could not prevent *Philipſbourg* from being taken, by the young duke of *Lorrain*, though he prevented his paſſing the *Rhine*.

Such in general was the ſtate of the war at the cloſe of the campain of 1677. The negotiations at *Nimeguen* had proved ineffectual, and early in the following year, the duke of *Orleans*, who commanded on the ſide of *Flanders*, with the marſhals *d'Humieres* and *Luxembourg* ſerving under him, beſieged St. *Omer*. The prince of *Orange* attempted to relieve it, but loſt the battle of *Mont Caſſel*, and that important place fell into the hands of the *French*. It is difficult to account for the train of misfortunes which attended the prince of *Orange* during ſeveral campaigns, otherwiſe than by ſuppoſing that *French* gold had corrupted the *Dutch* as well as *Spaniſh* officers. His abilities as a general are ſtill acknowledged by the greateſt enemies to his memory, and yet they were chiefly employed in finding reſources for repairing the defeats he ſuffered. After loſing the battle of *Mont Caſſel*, he inveſted *Charleroy*, but *Luxembourg* obliged him to raiſe the ſiege. In *Alſace*, *Crequi* being now delivered from his captivity, diſcovered how well he had improved, by his miſcarriages, by taking *Friburg*, and baffling all the attempts of the duke of *Lorrain*, to repoſſeſs himſelf of his dominions, which had been ſeized by *Lewis*. This gave an opportunity for marſhal *d'Humieres* to take St. *Guilian*, and the marſhal *de Noailles* beat the *Spaniſh* general *Monteroy*.

1677. War in the *Low Countries*.

The ſucceſſes of *Lewis* were far from accelerating the negotiations for peace. He began to be jealous of the military reputation acquired by his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, who had commanded with great ſpirit and conduct during the campaign, and it was foreſeen that he never would be employed again. The lethargy in which the court of *England* remained, encouraged *Lewis* to reject all reaſonable terms of accommodation; and thoſe which he preſcribed were rejected by the allies. The *French* beſieged *Mons*, *Namur*, *Charlemont*, *Luxembourg*, and other places in *Flanders*, chiefly with a view to obtain an advantageous peace. The operations were bloody to no purpoſe, and the advantages gained by either party were uſeleſs. *Crequi* continued his ſuperiority over the duke of *Lorrain*, and his operations, to this day, are cried up by the

Indolence of the *Engliſh* court.

French as perfect models of military discipline. In *Sicily*, the *French*, under the duke *de Vivonne*, were ungratefully requited, for they were in a manner expelled out of *Messina* by the inhabitants, whom they had rescued from the tyranny of the *Spaniards*. The evacuation of *Sicily* tarnished the glory of *Lewis*; but the vast numbers of men he lost in *Germany*, and the *Low Countries*, rendered it necessary. The marriage of the prince of *Orange*, with the princess *Mary* of *England*, daughter to the duke of *York*, which was proposed and effected by *Charles* himself, indicated how well disposed he was to enter into the alliance against *France*; but *Lewis* still found means to prevent his coming to any vigorous resolution, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his people and parliament; and all he could be brought to, was to act as a mediator.

The peace of *Nimeguen* concluded.

If the corruption and indolence of *Charles* and his court was blameable at this time, the want of public spirit among the enemies of *France* was equally so. The most sagacious of the *Dutch* republicans had no idea of maintaining the balance of power in *Europe*; and though the war against *France* was originally undertaken for their defence, they had intimated to the *French* court, that they now considered themselves only as auxiliaries to the *Spaniards* and the imperialists, and that they were disposed to enter into a separate treaty. *Charles* the IId, of *England*, being apprized of their intention, sent Sir *William Temple* to *Holland*, to keep them firm to their alliance; but this shew of spirit was soon damped by the practices of the *French* agents at the *English* court. When the plenipotentiaries reassembled at *Nimeguen*, the *French* proposed to restore to the *Spaniards Charleroy*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Aeth*, *Ghent* and *Limburg*; but they insisted upon keeping *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Ipres*, *Vallenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Maubeuge*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, *Cassel*, *Charlemont*, *Popering* and *Bailleul*, which formed a great part of *Flanders*, together with all the *Franche Comte*; but they flatly refused to make the cessions required, until their ally, the king of *Sweden*, had obtained full satisfaction for all his losses. On the side of *Lorrain*, *Lewis* demanded to be put in possession of *Nancy*, and what he called the *Great Roads*, but offered to restore the emperor either *Friburg* or *Philipsburg*, provided his allies, the *Furstemburgs*, were replaced in their territories. We have already seen in what manner the peace of *Nimeguen* was concluded, and likewise the operations of the *French* armies in the field both before and after. It consisted, properly speaking, of several treaties: one concluded the 10th of *August* 1678, was between *France* and the *States General*, by which *Maestricht*, the only conquest which *France* retained in the *Low Countries*, was restored to the *Dutch*, and the prince of *Orange* to his family estates. The second treaty was between *France* and *Spain*, and concluded the 17th of *September* following; by which the *French* agreed to restore to the *Spaniards*, *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, the city and duchy of *Limburg*, *Ghent*, the country of *Waes*, *Leuwe*,

Vol. IX. p. 192, 193, 422.

Leuwe, St. *Giſlian* and *Puicerda:* on the other hand, it was agreed that the *French* king ſhould retain the county of *Burgundy* or *Franche Comte*, the towns of *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, St. *Omer*, *Ypres*, *Werwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperingen*, *Baillent*, *Caſſel*, *Baſay* and *Maubeuge*, all which they had conquered in the war. By a third treaty, concluded between the *Empire* and *France*, on the 3d of *February* 1678-9, *France* renounced all pretenſions to *Philipſburg:* the *French*, on the contrary, were to keep *Friburg* till an equivalent ſhould be given them.

We have already mentioned the terms which were offered to the duke of *Lorrain*, and which he diſdained to accept of. A peace was likewiſe made between *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and another between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, upon ſuch conditions as *Lewis* was pleaſed to preſcribe. His haughtineſs, during the whole negotiation, eſpecially towards the princes of the empire, was as mortifying to them as his power; but their weakneſs and diviſions obliged them to ſubmit. The prince of *Orange* in vain remonſtrated to the *States General*, that the whole ſyſtem of the late concluded peace was an impoſition. Before he had any regular notification of the peace (or at leaſt any that he would own) he, at St. *Dennis*, attacked and beat the duke of *Luxembourg*, who was continuing the blockade of *Mons*; but the action, though ſharp and deſperate, had no conſequences, and *Lewis* ſate down with the empty glory of giving the *Dutch* a barrier, and enlarging his territories by the deſtruction of his ſubjects. Battle of St. *Dennis*. Vol. IX. p. 422.

All *Europe* ſoon ſaw how well founded the remonſtrances of the prince of *Orange* were, by *Lewis* opening the chambers of reunion (which we have already mentioned) at *Briſac* and *Metz*, with a view of reviving the empire of *Charles the Great*, in his perſon. His people beſtowed upon him the ſurname of *Great*, and his medals bore that epithet. The chambers of reunion aboliſhed the privileges of ten free imperial cities in *Alſace*, and entered vaſt claims in right of the three biſhoprics of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*. All that the princes who were ſtript of their poſſeſſions could do, was to carry their complaints to *Ratiſbon*, where they were neglected. In a few months *Lewis* was more powerful than ever. He encreaſed his armies; he fortified his frontiers; he ſoothed the *Engliſh*; he overawed the empire, *Spain* and *Holland*, and, in fact, his will gave law to *Europe*. He built the fort of *Hunninghen*, by which he bridled *Swiſſerland*, and he obliged the catholic king to relinquiſh the titles of duke and earl of *Burgundy*; while he improved his marine ſo amazingly, that *France* was the miſtreſs of the ocean. *Toulon*, *Breſt*, *Dunkirk*, *Havre de Grace* and *Rochefort*, were rendered next to impregnable; and the *Algerines*, *Tuniſians* and *Tripolitans*, were chaſtiſed by *du Queſne*, who in the expedition againſt them, made the firſt trial of bomb-ketches. It was about this time that *Colbert*, to whom *Lewis* was principally indebted for his glory, died, *Ibid.* p. 193. *Lewis* obliges the States of *Barbary*

and *Lewis* formed the faithleſs plan of exterminating the proteſtant religion in *France*. By his edicts, he excluded the proteſtants from holding places of profit, and multiplied penalties upon all converts to proteſtantiſm. In ſhort, the ſeven years of peace which ſucceeded the treaties of *Nimeguen*, were more oppreſſive and ruinous to *Europe*, than the wars which preceded them. *Lewis* appeared to carry on a declared enmity to every independent ſtate, and when he had raiſed his marine to its height, he demanded ſatisfaction of the *Genoeſe*, for ſuffering their ſhips to aſſiſt his enemies, the *Spaniards* particularly. The *Genoeſe* refuſed to ſubmit, and *Seignelay*, *Colbert*'s ſon, went on board a fleet commanded by *du Queſne*, who would have reduced the ſuperb city of *Genoa* to aſhes, had not her ſenate yielded to the moſt mortifying conceſſions, even that of ſending, againſt the capital conſtitution of their republic, their doge and four of their members, to implore the clemency of *Lewis*, and to proſtrate themſelves before him at the *French* court, which they accordingly did.

and the Genoeſe to ſubmit.

Even the bigotry and prepoſſeſſions of *Lewis* gave way to his ambition, and we have already ſeen in what manner he mortified his holineſs, notwithſtanding his allowed pretences to infallibility. By the dint of power and gold, he raiſed *Furſtemburg* to the electorate of *Cologne*, and ſeized *Avignon* in defiance of the Pope. He ſummoned, under pretence of the juriſdiction of *Metz* and *Briſac*, not only the princes of the empire, but the kings of *Spain* and *Sweden*, to appear at his courts, and reduced the empire to the moſt deplorable ſituation, by the aſſiſtance he gave to the *Turks*, who appeared at the gates of *Vienna*, where they were defeated by the king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorrain*. But *Lewis*, amidſt all his glory, was mean enough to ſtoop to the arts of corruption. Under pretence that *Straſburg* belonged to his part of *Alſace*, he bribed the citizens to yield it up, and he rendered it one of the ſtrongeſt places in Chriſtendom. He ſtript the prince of *Orange* of that principality, which he gave to the dutcheſs of *Nemours*; and proceeding from one degree of ſeverity to another againſt the proteſtants, he ordered all their churches built ſince the edict of *Nantes*, to be demoliſhed. At laſt, in direct violation of the moſt ſacred and fundamental engagements of his crown, he not only revoked that edict, but inhumanly, as well as impoliticly, ſet on foot a perſecution of all his proteſtant ſubjects, whom he put to death, tortured, and impriſoned in every quarter of his kingdom. *England* and *Holland* reaped the benefit of thoſe cruel meaſures, by receiving vaſt numbers of uſeful manufacturers, whom the revocation of the edict drove out of *France*.

Vol. X. p. 340, & ſeq.

Vol. IX. p. 195.

He employs the arts of corruption.

Lewis, at laſt, by his injuſtice and haughtineſs, laid the foundation of that confederacy againſt his power, which had almoſt ended in his own and his kingdom's deſtruction. After taking poſſeſſion of *Straſbourg*, he propoſed to oblige the electors, eſpecially thoſe of *Cologne*, *Mentz* and *Treves*, whom he

Beginning of the grand confederacy a-

he thought he held at his devotion, to chuſe his ſon, the dauphin, king of the *Romans*; and when the ſiege of *Vienna* was raiſed, he demanded poſſeſſion of *Aloſt*, in the *Low Countries*, which his armies again filled with ruin and deſolation. They took *Courtray* and *Dixmuyde*, and at laſt, after various operations, *Luxembourg* itſelf. He demoliſhed the fortifications of *Treves*, under pretence of fulfilling the ſpirit of the treaty of *Nimeguen*, and he pretended he did a favour to the imperialiſts and the *Spaniards*, by granting them at *Ratiſbon*, a twenty years truce. Theſe appearances of power flattered the ambition of *Lewis*, but were deſtitute of ſound policy. The roman catholic, as well as proteſtant princes, thought it now high time to check the ambition of *France*, and a new alliance was formed at *Augſbourg*, between the emperor, the princes of the empire, *Spain*, *Holland* and *Sweden*, through the indefatigable perſeverance of the prince of *Orange*. This confederacy gave *Lewis* a pretext for renewing the war upon the *Rhine*, and the reader will find the particulars in the hiſtory of *Germany*.

gainſt him.

Ibid. p. 197, & *ſeq.*

Ibid. p. 198, 199, & *ſeq.*

The obſtinacy of *Lewis*, in maintaining the cauſe of cardinal *Furſtemburg*, in oppoſition to prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, whom Pope *Innocent* had nominated to the electorate of *Cologne*, was of infinite prejudice to his affairs, becauſe it induced his holineſs to put himſelf at the head of the confederacy againſt *France*, and even to become a party in the revolution, which in 1688, filled the throne of *England* with a proteſtant king, and diſplaced from it a roman catholic. *Lewis*, at that time, had a hundred thouſand men on foot, in *Germany* alone, under the dauphin, who was aſſiſted by the marſhals *de Duras*, *Vauban* and *Catinat*, and every day produced ſome proof that *Lewis* aimed at univerſal monarchy. When he perceived the conſequences which were likely to attend the great confederacy formed againſt him, he offered peace to the empire, upon the emperor and the princes acknowledging the cardinal of *Furſtemburg* as elector of *Cologne*. The confederates informed him that they would hear of no terms until the treaties of *Weſtphalia*, the *Pyrenees* and *Nimeguen* ſhould be abſolutely re-eſtabliſhed and completed, and the peace of *Europe* ſecured againſt the throne of *Spain* being filled by a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*. *Charles* the IId was then the catholic king, and being a weak prince, was entirely under the influence of the emperor, who drew him into the confederacy againſt *Lewis*, in the manner that ſhall be ſeen in the hiſtory of *Spain*. In the mean while the dauphin ſurprized *Manheim*, *Spire*, *Mentz*, *Crutzenach*, *Bacarack*, *Heidelberg*, and ſeveral other places in *Germany*. The ravages of the *Palatinate* were renewed, in a manner ſo ſhocking to humanity, that thoſe of *Turenne* were forgotten; but at laſt ſelf-preſervation obliged the confederates to take the field, and to form an effectual barrier againſt the ambition of *Lewis*.

Vol. X. p. 356. *Germany* again invaded by the *French*.

He

Lewis aſſiſts king *James.*

He entered into the concerns of the abdicated king of *England*, not from any principle of religion or juſtice, but of pride and policy, becauſe *James* was his ally, and while he was the determined enemy of the court of *Rome*, he was the abject ſlave of her church. Knowing of the preparations making by the prince of *Orange*, for bringing about the revolution, he offered, by his embaſſador, *Barillon*, to ſend over twenty thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of *James*, who refuſed them, by the advice of his then firſt miniſter, the earl of *Sunderland*. When that prince and his family were driven out of

1689. *England*, his queen, in *January* 1689, was kindly received by *Lewis* at his court; and both ſhe and *James* were moſt magnificently entertained at his palace of St. *Germain*. Immenſe preparations were made by *Lewis*, for replacing him on the throne. He fitted out a great fleet, on board of which *James* embarked, with an army of *French* troops for *Ireland*. *Chateau-Renaud* was the *French* admiral during this expedition, and after he had ſet *James* on ſhore, he fought admiral *Herbert* for two hours, but with doubtful ſucceſs, though in the main the *French* ſeemed to have had the advantage. *James* beſieged *Londonderry*, but it was relieved by *Kirk*, and *James*, much to his diſcredit, was forced to raiſe the ſiege. Admiral *Tourville* ſoon after joined *Renaud*, and their fleet amounted to ſeventy-eight ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and fireſhips. Lord *Torrington* then commanded the *Engliſh* fleet, and being joined by a ſquadron of the *Dutch*, an engagement enſued, in which the *French* deſtroyed ſix *Dutch* and two *Engliſh* ſhips of the line, and obtained a complete victory. *Tourville* then inſulted the *Engliſh* coaſts, and made a deſcent near *Tinmouth*, but with no remarkable ſucceſs. We are now to attend the operations of the *French* arms upon the continent.

State of the war on the continent.

At the time of the inhuman devaſtation of the *Palatinate*, *Lewis* maintained four hundred and fifty thouſand men in arms, the moſt formidable regular army perhaps, that ever appeared in *Europe*. The *French* generals produced an order from *Louvois*, authorized undoubtedly by *Lewis*, for burning all the towns and villages in the *Palatinate*, and it was obeyed with the moſt punctual barbarity. This cruelty, which reduced to unſpeakable miſery above five hundred thouſand unfortunate inhabitants, raiſed a ſpirit in *Germany* to make reprizals upon *France*. The duke of *Bavaria* commanded on the *Upper Rhine*, the duke of *Lorrain* on the *Middle*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh* on the *Lower Rhine*; while prince *Waldeck*, at the head of forty-three thouſand *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, commanded in *Flanders*. The duke *de Duras* commanded the *French* troops under the dauphin, but his army was inconſiderable, becauſe of the detachments which had been ſent into garriſons. The imperialiſts took *Rhinberg*, *Keyſerſwaert* and *Mentz*, which was bravely defended by the marquis *d'Uxelles*. *Bon* followed the fate of *Mentz*, but *Bouffiers* obtained ſome ſlight advantages

advantages at the head of a flying army, over the imperialiſts; the command of the army in *Flanders* was given to *Luxembourg*, inſtead of the marſhal *d'Humieres*, who had been beaten by prince *Waldeck*. In *Catalonia*, the duke of *Noailles* was defeated by the *Spaniards*, and the duke of *Savoy* joined the grand alliance againſt *France*, upon his being made captain-general of the confederates in *Italy*. He was beaten by *Catinat*, one of the beſt of the *French* generals, and the rival of *Luxembourg*'s glory. The battle was fought near the abbey of *Stafarola*, and the diſpoſitions made by *Catinat* were ſo maſterly, that four thouſand of the confederates were killed, with the loſs of no more than three hundred *French*; the conſequence was, the reduction of all *Savoy*, excepting the fortreſs of *Montmelian*, which was afterwards likewiſe reduced.

Neceſſity alone had raiſed *Luxembourg* to the command of the *French* army in *Flanders*, for he was diſagreeable to *Louvois*. He beat prince *Waldeck*, in the battle of *Fleurus*, by his mere ſuperiority of genius in the military art. In that battle the confederates loſt ſix thouſand killed, and eight thouſand taken priſoners, beſides two hundred ſtands of colours. The approach of winter prevented *Luxembourg* from purſuing his victory, and king *William*, after finiſhing his conqueſt over his father-in-law, flew to the relief of his country. In the depth of winter, an aſſembly of the confederate princes was held at the *Hague*, to repair the misfortunes of the preceding campaign. This they did ſo effectually, that the confederates took the field in the year 1691, with an army ſuperior to that of *France*, which, notwithſtanding, got the ſtart of the allies, by forming the ſiege of *Mons*, under the eye of their king. Here the vaſt benefit of diſpatch was again ſeen, for when the ſiege was formed, prince *Waldeck* was in no condition to face the *French*. *Lewis* had under him eighty thouſand men, and the dauphin, with the dukes of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, were witneſſes to his reduction of *Mons*, which capitulated after a ſiege of nine days, and thereby all *Hainault* fell under the *French* power. *Lewis* left his new conqueſt to return to *Verſailles*; and *Luxembourg* won the battle of *Leuze* on the 19th of *September*, againſt prince *Waldeck*, whoſe army was vaſtly ſuperior in numbers. Theſe misfortunes to the allies were chiefly owing to the dilatory motions of the imperialiſts and the *Spaniards*. The duke of *Savoy* loſt great part of *Piedmont*, where *Catinat* had beſieged *Coni*, but his kinſman, prince *Eugene*, who was then beginning to make a great figure in war, not only raiſed the ſiege of *Coni*, but drove *Catinat* out of *Piedmont*. *Lewis*, at this time, ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of *Louvois*, an unfeeling, cruel, miniſter, but a fit tool for his maſter's ambition; for it was, in fact, under his adminiſtration that the glory of *Lewis* arrived at its greateſt height. It is ſaid, that being a fat man, he died of an apoplectic fit, from an affront he received from *Lewis*, but others, with leſs reaſon, attributed his death to poiſon. The elector of *Saxony* about

Luxembourg commands in *Flanders*.

1691.

Death of *Louvois*.

about the ſame time died, which threw the affairs of the imperialiſts, whoſe general he was, into inexpreſſible diſorder. *Noailles* continued ſtill to have the ſuperiority in *Catalonia*, and the *French* fleet, under *d'Etrees*, bombarded *Alicant* and *Barcelona*; ſo that, upon the whole, the year cloſed with no very favourable aſpect for the affairs of the confederates.

The *French* fleet defeated at *la Hogue*.

The expences of *Lewis* were, at this time, incredible, and were maintained only by the infatuated fondneſs of his people for his perſon. He had, as we have already hinted, maintained a ſuperiority by ſea, but it was chiefly owing to the cowardice, treachery, or miſunderſtanding of the confederated admirals. His fleet, under *Tourville*, in the beginning of the

1692. year 1692, rendezvouſed at *la Hogue*, with an intention to make a deſcent upon *England*, and a large army was encamped on the ſea coaſt for that purpoſe. *Lewis* thought that the conqueſt of *England* was almoſt now certain, and had ordered *Tourville* to fight either the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*, as they ſhould preſent, but had no intelligence of their having been joined. The *French* fleet conſiſted of ſixty ſail, ſome of them the fineſt

Vol. IX. p. 427. ſhips in the world, and the confederates of eighty ſail. Admiral *Ruſſel* commanded the *Engliſh*, and ordered admiral *Rooke* to begin the attack, which he did, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the *French*, under *Tourville*, were entirely defeated. The *French* loſt in the fight four capital ſhips; two firſt rates and a ſecond rate were burnt by the *Engliſh* admiral, *Delaval*, and Sir *George Rooke* deſtroyed eighteen more in *la Hogue*, while the loſs of the confederates was but inconſiderable. By this important defeat, which king *James* beheld from the ſhore, that prince loſt all hopes of being reſtored to his dominions; and the marine of *France* received a blow, which it has never yet recovered.

The *French* gain the battle of *Steinkirk*.

Lewis, though ſtung with this defeat, endeavoured to conceal his diſgrace, by making greater efforts than ever in the *Low Countries*, where, in the year 1692, he took the field, with a hundred thouſand men, and beſieged *Namur*, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, and defended by *Coehorn*, one of the ableſt engineers in *Europe*, but it was attacked by *Vauban* and *Luxembourg* ſo furiouſly, that both town and citadel ſurrendered in the ſight of the confederates under king *William* and the duke of *Bavaria*, who were unable to relieve it. *Lewis*, as uſual, returned to his capital, with this freſh wreath added to his laurels, and king *William* paſſed the *Senne*, to fight *Luxembourg*. He attacked him near *Steinkirk*, with amazing courage, and at firſt fought with probability of ſucceſs; but he was defeated, though his majeſty obtained great honour by the retreat he made. The allies, in this engagement, loſt about ſeven thouſand men, and the *French* three thouſand; and ſome of the beſt general officers, on both ſides, were killed. The young princes of the blood in *France* were preſent in this engagement, and were received by the populace, upon their return to *Paris*, with the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy. In *Germany*, the duke *de Lorges* defeated the duke of

Wir-

Wirtemberg, and made him priſoner; and the *French*, under the dauphin, recovered *Heidelberg*; and the duke of *Savoy*, this year, made an irruption into *Dauphiny*, but without any ſignal ſucceſs. Vol. IX. p. 129, & ſeq.

The campaign in the *Low Countries*, during the year 1693, was very bloody, owing, in ſome meaſure, to the perſonal animoſity which king *William* and the duke of *Luxembourg* bore to each other. The *French* marſhal, *Villeroy*, took *Huy*, before that king could relieve it; and he was afterwards defeated by *Luxembourg*, in the battle of *Landen*, with the loſs of eight thouſand men. It was with difficulty that the king could prevent *Bruſſels* from falling into the hands of the *French*; but *Luxembourg* took *Charlemont*, and yet, upon the whole, *France* rather ſuffered than gained by her conqueſts. She loſt *Caſal* in *Italy*, though *Catinat* defeated the duke of *Savoy*, and every thing now tended to turn the tide of thoſe ſucceſſes, in which *France* had ſo long gloried. Through the unaccountable inactivity of the allies, the naval power of *France* recovered itſelf in a few months, by the arrival of *d'Etrees* at *Breſt* with the *Toulon* ſquadron, and even became ſuperior to that of the allies. *Tourville* took or deſtroyed three of their men of war, and eighty of their merchant ſhips, and might have had greater ſucceſſes, had he been properly ſupported by the officers in command under him. He inſulted, however, the coaſts of *Spain*, and diſtreſſed the trade of the allies in the *Mediterranean*, while *Bembow* was fruitleſsly bombarding St. *Malo*. So great a famine, at this time, prevailed in *France*, that every victory ſhe gained added to her miſeries, and every *Te Deum* ſung in her churches, was accompanied by the bitter groans of her ſubjects, who were dying upon her highways and in her ſtreets.

1693. Their ſucceſs in *Flanders*, and againſt the *Engliſh* by ſea. Famine in *France*.

The king of *England* rejoiced at the diſtreſt ſtate of *France*, without conſidering that the continuance of the war fell equally heavy upon his own ſubjects and friends. He endeavoured to make a diverſion of the *French* arms from *Catalonia*, by ordering lord *Berkeley*, who was at the head of the admiralty in *England*, to make a deſcent upon *Camaret Bay*, where the *Engliſh* were repulſed, but they took their revenge upon *Dieppe* and *Havre*, which they bombarded. In *Spain*, the duke of *Noailles* beat the viceroy of *Catalonia*, and took *Palamos* by ſtorm, where the *French* ſoldiers butchered all the inhabitants without diſtinction, and it was with difficulty that he was prevented by the *Engliſh* admiral, *Ruſſel*, from taking *Barcelona* itſelf. The ſtrong puſh made by *Noailles* in *Catalonia*, hindered *Luxembourg* from being properly ſupported in *Flanders*. King *William* took *Huy*, but *Luxembourg*, with admirable addreſs, ſaved *Courtray*. The death of *Luxembourg*, who is ſaid to have united all the military qualifications of *Condé* and *Turenne*, was an irreparable blow to the glory of *Lewis*, nor has *France* to this day produced his equal in the field. In *Germany* and *Italy* the war languiſhed, partly through the

the weakneſs, and partly through the ſecret colluſions of both ſides. The chief *French* generals were now *Catinat* and *Bouffleſs*, but the latter was commanded by *Villeroy*, who had little more than great court intereſt, and the partiality of *Lewis* in his favour, to recommend him. The fortune of king *William* roſe as that of *Lewis* declined, for he beſieged *Namur*, which was then thought to be impregnable, both by nature and art, beſides being garriſoned by fifteen thouſand men, and the army of *Villeroy* entrenched in the neighbourhood. Nothing could reſiſt the enthuſiaſm of valour which the *Britiſh* troops diſplayed on this occaſion. The town was taken, and *Boufflers* retired with the garriſon into the citadel, which *Villeroy*, after becoming maſter of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe*, endeavoured to relieve, at the head of ninety thouſand men, but he made a retreat which did no ſervice to his character as a general. The defence made by *Boufflers* did honour to the *French* arms, but he was obliged to capitulate on the 1ſt of *September* 1695. In marching out of the citadel, he was arreſted by king *William*'s order, till ſatisfaction was made for the unjuſt detention of the garriſons of *Dixmuyde* and *Deynſe*.

Namur taken by king *William*.

1695.

The taking of *Namur* was the greateſt military action ever performed by king *William*, and ſerved only to exaſperate *Lewis* the more, for he bombarded *Bruſſels*, without any proſpect of taking it. The war was not confined to *Europe*; the *Dutch* took *Pondicherry*; the eſtabliſhment of which, in the *Eaſt Indies*, had coſt *France* immenſe ſums; the *Engliſh* deſtroyed the *French* ſettlements on St. *Domingo*; but the *French* privateers from *Breſt* and St. *Malo*, who acted with great ſpirit, plundered and laid waſte the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions on the coaſt of *Africa*, inſulted the coaſts of *Jamaica*, and became maſters of *Newfoundland*. It does not enter into the province of general hiſtory to relate the particulars of all theſe expeditions; but it is certain that the *French* admirals, *de Pointis* and *Gue Trouin*, were in their departments far abler ſeamen than thoſe of the confederates of the ſame rank. The former took the town of *Carthagena* in the *Weſt Indies*, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the *Engliſh* admirals, he eſcaped back to *France*, with a booty amounting to about two millions ſterling. The *Engliſh* were this year no where ſuperior by ſea, but upon the coaſt of *Catalonia*, where admiral *Ruſſel* commanded, and defended it againſt *Vendoſme*, the *French* general. In the meanwhile, the duke of *Savoy* was tampered with by *French* miniſters, and being ſuffered to take *Caſal*, the war was at a total ſtand in *Italy*. Even in *Germany*, nothing deciſive was done, while the face of the country was ravaged by the unmanly reſentment of both parties.

Operations in the two *Indies*.

In the beginning of the year 1696, *Lewis* found out what none of his courtiers had honeſty enough to tell him, that his military operations were hourly bringing his kingdom to the brink of ruin. He was too proud to own this, but he knew that king *James* had a ſtrong party in *England*; that he him-

Diſtreſſes of all the powers at war.

ſelf had another in *Holland*, and that king *William* had many enemies in both countries. He negotiated ſecretly and with ſucceſs; for king *William* was unable to raiſe money ſufficient for carrying on the war with vigour, which gave *Lewis* an opportunity for puſhing it the more warmly in *Catalonia*, where the duke of *Vendoſme*'s arms were ſuperior to thoſe of *Spain*. The duke of *Savoy* now publicly owned the treaty he had concluded with *Lewis*, who agreed that the duke of *Burgundy*, the heir of the *French* crown, after the death of the dauphin, his father, ſhould marry his daughter. Upon the deſertion of the duke of *Savoy* from the confederates, and the intrigues of the *French* miniſters at the court of *Madrid*, *Spain* accepted of a neutrality for *Italy*, and the *Swediſh* embaſſador at the *Hague* offered his mediation between *France* and *Holland*. *Callieres*, the *French* embaſſador there, acted with ſo much addreſs, that preliminaries were ſettled before king *William* arrived in *Holland* time enough to oppoſe them. He was obliged to ſubmit to conferences being opened at *Neuburgh*, one of his ſeats near *Ryſwick*. Thoſe conferences did not retard the operations of the war, and *Lewis*, by the ſucceſſes of his arms, was encouraged to hope that he might yet repair all his loſſes.

The duke of *Vendoſme* beat the *Spaniards* in *Catalonia*, and took *Barcelona*, though defended by ten thouſand regular troops, under the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*. The death of the king of *Poland* at this time, encouraged *Lewis* to hope that he might raiſe the prince of *Conti* to that throne. He expended an immenſe treaſure, and employed the abbé, afterwards the famous cardinal *Polignac*, as his embaſſador in *Poland*, but without ſucceſs, as will be ſeen in the ſequel of this hiſtory; for though the prince actually was elected king, he was ſupplanted two hours after by *Auguſtus*, elector of *Saxony*, who died on that throne. All thoſe events, and above all, the ſtate of parties in *England*, contributed to the peace which was then on the carpet. The imperialiſts inſiſted upon *France* being reduced to the preciſe ſituation ſhe was in when the treaty of *Munſter* was concluded. The *Spaniards* demanded the full completion of the treaties of the *Pyrenees*, and *Nimeguen*; and ſuch intricacies in the negotiation enſued, that king *William*, notwithſtanding his innate hatred of *France*, ordered his favourite, the earl of *Portland*, to conclude preliminaries with the *French* marſhal *Boufflers*, who had inſtructions to the ſame purpoſe from his maſter. Though a greater antipathy never ſubſiſted between two princes than between *Lewis* and *William*, yet the preliminaries were eaſily adjuſted, and cordially accepted by both. We have already ſeen the terms of the peace, which ſubmitted the claim of the dutcheſs of *Orleans* to the *Palatinate* to the pope, and reſtored the duke of *Savoy* to all his dominions, except *Sarlouis* and *Lengui*, which, with all *Alſace*, were ceded to *France*, while *Catalonia* and *Flanders* were reſtored to *Spain*. All *Europe* was amazed at the quietneſs and condeſcenſion which *Lewis* diſcovered in concluding this

Peace of *Ryſwick*. Vol. IX. p. 203.

this peace, and it is to this day a problem, whether he had in his eye the vaſt advantages with which it was attended. It is certain that it was not the moderation, but the weakneſs of *Lewis*, which agreed to its terms, for he was forced to abandon the unfortunate king *James*. That diſgrace touched him ſo much, that he apologized to the exiled queen of *England* for being obliged to forſake her huſband, and to acknowledge king *William*'s title to the throne of *Great Britain*. "I wiſh, "(anſwered ſhe) that the peace may be as much for your "majeſty's glory, as it is for your intereſt;" a cutting ſarcaſm! after the aſſurances which *Lewis* had given to *James*.

Claim of the *Bourbon* family upon the crown of *Spain*.

Notwithſtanding all *Voltaire* has ſaid, as if *Lewis* and his miniſtry had no farther views than to give a reſpite to the miſeries of *France* (which certainly were great) yet common ſenſe dictates other principles. The poſterity of *Maria Tereſa*, the eldeſt daughter of *Philip* the IVth, were the princes of the houſe of *Bourbon*; and in her right, *Lewis*, who was her ſon, and his deſcendants, had an indiſputable claim upon the crown of *Spain*. It is true, ſhe had renounced that claim, and her father had barred it by his teſtamentary will, but it was not in the power either of the one or the other to deprive their poſterity of a crown which devolved upon them from their anceſtors, and we muſt have a poor opinion of the caſuiſtry as well as the politics of the *French* court, to imagine otherwiſe. A medium was propoſed and adopted, which was that the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, by the archdutcheſs *Mary*, daughter of the emperor *Leopold*, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of *Spain*; by which the two houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria* muſt be excluded. It is uncertain how far that expedient might have been ſucceſsful in preſerving the tranquillity of *Europe*, but its execution was prevented, by the death of the electoral prince. *Europe*, by that death, was plunged in the ſame difficulties as before. The emperor diſputed the will of his daughter's grandfather, *Philip*, and inſiſted upon the electreſs of *Bavaria*, mother to the late prince, being ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion, and upon his ſecond ſon, archduke *Charles*, as being the great grandſon of *Philip* the IIId, ſucceeding to the throne of *Spain*. But this claim muſt be underſtood as being founded on the ridiculous renunciation of *Maria Tereſa*.

State of the *Spaniſh* court, and treaty of partitions.

The queen of *Spain* directed and governed her huſband, *Charles* the IId, who was equally infirm in body and mind, and ſhe was ſo much in the *Auſtrian* intereſt, that her huſband was always ſurrounded by *Germans*. *Lewis* could make no progreſs in the ſcheme of his family ſucceeding to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, while the confederacy againſt him ſubſiſted. The peace of *Ryſwick* diſſolved it, but he found it impracticable to proceed in the plan of a total ſucceſſion. He therefore turned, or pretended to turn, his thoughts to a portion of that great monarchy, and king *William*, from his eager deſire of preſerving the balance of power in *Europe*, adopted the project; though there is reaſon for believing that it originally proceeded from

from him. Two partitions took place. By the firſt, the dauphin was to enjoy *Biſcay*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, with all the places on the coaſt of *Tuſcany* belonging to *Spain*, with the iſlands of *San Stefano*, *Porto Ercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto Longone*, and *Piombino*, but all *Guipuſcoa*, beyond the *Pyrenean* mountains, was to remain to *Spain*. The archduke *Charles*, ſecond ſon to the emperor, was to have the *Milaneſe*; and had the electoral prince of *Bavaria* lived, he was to have ſucceeded to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, with its dependencies in *Europe*, *Africa*, and both the *Indies*. Upon the death of the electoral prince, a ſecond partition treaty was concluded between king *William* and *Lewis*, by which the dauphin's ſhare was to be augmented with *Final* and *Lorrain*, the duke of which, was to have the duchy of *Milan* in exchange; but the archduke *Charles* was to ſucceed to the kingdom of *Spain*, and all its dependencies; and that treaty was ſigned on the third of *March* 1700, by the plenipotentiaries of *France*, *Britain*, and the *States General*. 1700.

We have had already occaſion to relate the conſequences of this important and unjuſt treaty. It was condemned by the parliament of *England*, and adopted by *Lewis* only, to deprive the houſe of *Auſtria* of its ſureſt ally in the perſon of king *William*. During its dependence, *Lewis* renewed his perſecution of the *Huguenots*, whoſe only breathing time was that of war, and he kept up all his ſtanding troops. A ſtupendous encampment of fifty thouſand men was formed near *Compeigne* in *Picardy*. The luxury that abounded in the tents (which were adorned as palaces) of the general officers, particularly that of marſhal *Boufflers*, was incredible, and the troops practiſed the ſame exerciſes as they did in time of war. Vol. IX. p. 204.

Lewis had then the count of *Harcourt*, an artful miniſter, at the *Spaniſh* court, which had been extremely diſguſted by the brutal, inſolent, manners of the imperialiſts. *Harcourt* had the addreſs to bring over cardinal *Portocarrero* to the intereſt of *France*, and the pope very properly had declared the renunciation of *Maria Tereſa* to be void and null. In ſhort, the unhappy king, to obſerve a middle courſe, and to ſalve his conſcience, nominated the duke of *Anjou*, the ſecond ſon of the dauphin, for his ſucceſſor, and ſoon after died. *Lewis*, though he had expended immenſe ſums in bringing about that event, deliberated whether he ſhould accept of the will or not. The dauphin behaved on this occaſion, as a man of ſenſe, by hinting to his father, that he was determined to maintain his own and his family's rights; and *Madame de Maintenon*, who was at this time the miſtreſs, if not the wife, of *Lewis*, took part with the dauphin. *Lewis* agreed to accept the will, and on the 4th of *December*, the young king, after receiving a ſolemn admonition from his father, to remember that he was a prince of *France*, ſet out for *Spain*. It was an unuſual circumſtance, to ſee a father of a king, and the ſon of a king, waiting upon both in the character of a ſubject. But more of that in the hiſtory of *Spain*. Apologies for the breach of the partition The duke of *Anjou* ſucceeds to the crown of *Spain*.

tition treaties were delivered to the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* embaſſadors, who remonſtrated againſt the conduct of *Lewis*. It was ſoon foreſeen that the duke of *Anjou*'s ſucceſſion to the crown of *Spain*, muſt occaſion another general war in *Europe*. The miniſters of *Lewis* had a peculiar art in repreſenting the power and grandeur of *Lewis* in the moſt advantageous light. In *Italy*, they brought the duke of *Mantua* to admit of a *French* garriſon, into his capital; the king of *Portugal* became their ally, as did the duke of *Savoy*, who was then important, only, by the ſituation of his territories. The dukes of *Wolfenbuttel*, and *Sax Gotha*, thought that the tyranny of *France* was more ſupportable than that of *Auſtria*; the biſhop of *Munſter* agreed in their ſentiments. The elector of *Saxony* was in a manner neutral, but the elector of *Bavaria* declared himſelf highly in favour of *France*, and his brother, the elector of *Cologne*, followed his example. Such was the internal ſituation of *Great Britain*, that even king *William* was obliged to acknowledge the duke of *Anjou*, as king of *Spain*.

State of the war on the continent.

The emperor was, in fact, deſerted by all his allies, and had only a glimmering hope of being befriended by the *States General*. *Lewis* knew that he had an eye to the *Milaneſe*, which prince *Vaudemont*, its governor, delivered to *Philip* V. Prince *Eugene* was appointed the imperial general, in *Italy*. He forced the poſt of *Carpi*, and it was with difficulty that *Catinat*, the *French* general there, could cover the *Milaneſe*. The hiſtory of *France* at this period becomes very intricate. A ſecret party was formed in the cabinet of *Lewis*, which obliged *Catinat* to reſign his command, and he was ſucceeded by *Villeroy*. The duke of *Savoy* was beaten at the battle *Chiara*, where he commanded as the *French* general, though at the ſame time, he had ſecretly entered into the meaſures of the allies. *Catinat* diſcovered this, and the loſs of the *Mantuan*, together with the ſurprize of *Villeroy*'s perſon, and other incidents, gave many alarming ſuſpicions to the *French* court. King *William* died at that critical period; but his ſucceſſor, queen *Anne*, purſued his meaſures, and the earl, afterwards the famous duke, of *Marlborough*, renewed the alliance againſt *France* with the *States General*. The emperor of *Germany*, who was principally concerned, became, likewiſe, a party; and it was agreed that war againſt *France* ſhould be proclaimed at once in *London*, *Vienna*, and the *Hague*.

ibid. p. 206.

ibid.

Never was there a more untowardly ſituation than that of *Lewis* and his court, in the beginning of the year 1702. His great and ſucceſsful generals were dead. Impreſſed by a high opinion of his own experience, he employed young ſecretaries, whom he thought he could direct and train up to buſineſs, and in that he was encouraged by madam *de Maintenon*. *Chamillard* was, by her, recommended as his firſt miniſter, but he diſcovered no genius in politics, at the time it was moſt wanted, and honeſty was his only recommendation. He filled the army with young officers, who had no other quality

1702.

but

but valour. In ſhort, the affairs of *Lewis* were deſperate in the eyes of all, but himſelf. The kingdom of *Naples* revolted againſt his grandſon; the king of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Savoy* abandoned his alliance; his arms were defeated in *Italy*, and *Germany*, and the confederates thought that the internal ſtate of *France* was exhauſted. They were deceived, *Lewis* had ſtill vaſt reſources, which muſt have rendered him victorious, could he have re-animated the generals he had left.

Lewis had an opinion of *Boufflers*, and the campaign of 1702 was opened by that marſhal, under the auſpices of the duke of *Burgundy*, the grandſon of *Lewis*. The reader, in a former part of this work, may ſee the ſuperiority of the duke of *Marlborough* over the *French* generals, whom he baffled, and defeated in all their attempts. The elector of *Bavaria*, it is true, ſeized upon *Ulm*, and *Villars*, who was then indiſputably the beſt general *Lewis* had, beat prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who was an obſtinate old man, and a kind of a clog upon the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*. Upon the death of king *James*, *Lewis*, through the aſcendency which madam *de Maintenon* had over him, acknowledged his ſon as king of *Great Britain*, which determined queen *Anne* and the *Engliſh* parliament to act more vigorouſly than ever againſt *France*. Prince *Eugene*, it is true, received a check at *Luzzara*, but the allies reduced *Keyſerwaerth*, *Venlo*, *Ruremonde*, *Leige*, *Stevenſwaerth*, and *Landau*. ibid. Superiority of the allies.

In the year 1703, the allies took *Bonn* and *Limburg*, but *Boufflers* beat the baron *d'Obdam*, and *Tallard* defeated the prince of *Heſſe Caſſel*, who attempted to relieve *Landau*, which was ſurrendered to *Tallard*, as *Briſac* was to the duke of *Burgundy*. The elector of *Bavaria* took *Augſbourg*, but was prevented from joining the duke of *Vendoſme*. The duke of *Savoy*, at this time, joined the grand alliance, and muſt have been ruined, had he not been ſeaſonably ſupported by the imperial general, count *Staremberg*. The junction of the elector of *Bavaria* with *Tallard*, in 1704, muſt have laid *Germany* under the yoke of *Lewis*, had not the duke of *Marlborough* beaten the *French* at the battle of *Blenheim*, where *Tallard* was taken priſoner, and ſent to *England*; while the reduction of *Landau*, *Triers*, and *Traerbach* were the conſequences of the victory. 1703. 1704. ibid. p. 207, & *ſeq.*

Nothing could be more impolitic than the conduct of *Lewis*, who ſtill retained his haughty ideas amidſt ſo many diſaſters. He proceeded in his perſecution of the proteſtants, who ſtung by deſpair, entered into rebellion, as it was called at the *French* court, in the *Cevennes*; but it was quieted by the prudence of *Villars*. *Lewis*, notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, continued to make the moſt amazing exertions of power. His troops, during the year 1705, preſerved ſo good a countenance, that the allies got no conſiderable advantage over them; but the duke of *Vendoſme*, who was then the favourite The *French* proteſtants perſecuted. 1705.

general of *France*, was ſuperior to prince *Eugene* at the battle
1706. of *Caſſano*, in *Italy*. The year 1706, preſented ſo favourable a proſpect to *France*, that *Lewis* adopted the moſt vigorous meaſures. He reſolved at once to beſiege *Barcelona*, and *Turin*, and to hazard a general battle againſt the allies. He failed in them all, though the duke of *Berwick* took *Nice*, and marſhal *Villars* forced the imperial lines near *Haguenau*. The ſiege of *Barcelona*, which had been taken by the earl of *Peter-*
Vol. IX. p. 213, & *ſeq.* *borough*, was raiſed by the fleet of the confederates, and thus all *Catalonia* fell under their power. We have already ſeen the great events of the year 1706, when the duke of *Marlborough* gained the glorious battle of *Ramilies*. Its conſequences were the reduction of all *Brabant*, part of *Flanders*, and the taking of *Antwerp*, *Malines*, *Oſtend*, *Menin*, *Dendermonde*, and *Aeth*. The duke and prince *Eugene* ſeemed to rival each other in the paths of glory; but nothing could be more amazing than the inſenſibility of *Lewis*, under ſo many repeated blows. He had preferred *Villeroy* to the command of his army, merely through the prepoſſeſſion he had in his favour; and though the *French* had loſt the battle entirely through that general's ignorance and obſtinacy, yet when he appeared at court, all that *Lewis* ſaid to him, was, "Peo-
The ſiege of *Turin* raiſed. "ple, Sir, at our time of life, are not fortunate." His patience was not the reſult of magnanimity, but of pride. He could not imagine that victory would all at once deſert his ſtandards, and he thought that the fortune of his arms in *Piedmont*, would repair the loſs he had ſuffered at the battle of *Ramilies*. He entertained more reſentment againſt the duke of *Savoy*, than againſt all the other confederates; and he had ordered the war againſt him to be proſecuted with ſuch unrelenting rigour, that his generals, the duke of *Orleans* and count *Marſin*, beſieged *Turin*, while prince *Eugene* was on the other ſide of the *Adige*, at the head of an army, and thought to be at too great a diſtance to relieve it. The duke *de Feuillade*, ſon-in-law to the prime miniſter, *Chamillard*, conducted the operations of the ſiege, which were carried on at an incredible expence, with great courage, but no judgment. The duke of *Savoy* left the city at the head of his troops, but was hunted from place to place of his dominions, while his general count *Daun* defended the city with the greateſt intrepidity, till it was known that prince *Eugene*, on the 13th of *Auguſt*, was within a ſhort march of the beſiegers. The latter held a council of war, in which *Marſin* produced an order under the hand of *Lewis*, importing that the other generals, if any diſpute ſhould ariſe, ſhould be directed by *Marſin*, whoſe opinion, on this occaſion, was, that the *French* ſhould keep within their entrenchments.

While they were debating, they were attacked by prince *Eugene*, and the duke of *Savoy*, who were at firſt repulſed, but at the ſecond attack, the entrenchments were forced, and in two hours after the *French* army was totally defeated. The

duke

duke of *Orleans*, after giving the greateſt proof of perſonal courage, was carried wounded out of the field, and *Marſin* was killed. This victory coſt the *French* five thouſand men, killed, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners; beſides ſixteen thouſand who died or were killed during the ſiege, and the remainder of their army retreated in diſorder to *Pignerol*. The victors entered *Turin* triumphally, and the *French*, with their allies, the *Spaniards*, loſt all they held in *Italy*.

Madam *de Maintenon* ventured to diſcloſe the fatal news to *Lewis*, who at the ſame time heard that his general *Medavy* *Grancy* had defeated the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, in the *Mantuan*. *Lewis* ſtill truſted to the diviſions in *England*, the blunders committed by the *Germans* in *Spain*, and the fortune of *Vendoſme*, whom he had ſent for out of *Italy*, to command his army in *Flanders*. He was more fortunate than he had reaſon to expect. He divided the confederates by offering them terms, which they ought to have accepted, but which were rejected by the ambition and avarice of the duke of *Marlborough*. In *Spain*, the arch-duke, who took the title of *Charles* III. was at no pains to improve the glorious ſucceſſes of the earl of *Peterborough*, the *Britiſh* general; and a great party in *England*, exclaimed againſt the backwardneſs of the *Germans* and *Dutch*, who left the vaſt expences of the war to be defrayed by *Great Britain*. *Lewis* took advantage of thoſe circumſtances, and was affectionately ſerved by his people, who raiſed immenſe ſums for ſupporting the war. Deſpondency of *Lewis*.

The year 1707, brought ſome comfort to *Lewis:* Marſhal *Villars* forced the *German* lines at *Stolhoffen*, and ruined the imperial army, under the margrave of *Bareith*. The glorious ſcheme, formed by the *Engliſh* for taking *Toulon*, miſcarried, entirely through the ſelfiſhneſs of the houſe of *Auſtria*, which exerted all its ſtrength in *Naples*. *Fourbin*, the *French* admiral, took two *Engliſh* men of war, and twenty merchants ſhips, beſides burning twenty-two more; but above all, the defeat of the confederates upon the plains of *Almanza*, by the duke of *Berwick* (which we ſhall have occaſion to mention in another part of this work) revived in *Lewis* the ideas of his former grandeur and ſucceſs. In ſhort, the campaign of the year 1707, was far from being glorious to the allies, though it might have been deciſive in their favour, had they acted with the ſame ſpirit as the *Engliſh*. *Lewis* thought that one vigorous effort might give him all he deſired, and conquering all oppoſition from the lowneſs of his finances, and the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, he ordered ſix thouſand land troops, under the command of the marſhal *de Matignon*, to be put on board eight men of war and ſeventy tranſports in the port of *Dunkirk*, to effect a deſcent upon *Scotland*. 1707. His ſucceſſes.

The ſtate of that kingdom was undoubtedly favourable for ſuch an enterprize. The union had rendered the *Scotch*, in general, diſcontented with the *Engliſh* government, and the Invaſion of *Scotland*,

Jacobite faction both there and in *England*, held up a correſpondence with the court of St. *Germains*, where the young Pretender, ſon to king *James*, and his mother, reſided. The reign of *Lewis* contained a ſeries of contradictions, with regard to the *Stuart* family. Under the adminiſtration of *Mazarine*, they had been treated with the greateſt indignities, and driven out of *France*. They were afterwards penſioned and careſſed by *Lewis*; but though, as we have already ſeen, he gave a generous reception to the unfortunate *James* and his family, yet, by the peace of *Ryſwick*, he abandoned their intereſts; though no ſooner was the elder *James* dead, than by the perſuaſion of madam *de Maintenon*, he recognized young *James* as king of *Great Britain*, which was one of the provocations that renewed the war. *James* had ever ſince reſided in *France*, and *Lewis* put him on board the ſquadron intended to invade *Scotland* under *Fourbin*. Some think that the marſhal had ſecret inſtructions from *Lewis*; for though *Fourbin* arrived time enough on the coaſt of *Scotland* to have landed the troops, yet no deſcent was made, and Sir *George Byng*, the *Engliſh* admiral, coming up with a ſuperior ſquadron, the *French*, after a ſlight engagement, were driven back to *Dunkirk*. Others imagine, that a diſagreement or miſunderſtanding on the part of the Jacobites, who did not anſwer the concerted ſignals, rendered the expedition unſucceſsful.

unſucceſsful.

1708. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Lewis* was very ſanguine in his expectations from the campaign of 1708, eſpecially on the ſide of *Flanders*. The duke of *Burgundy*, the apparent heir of his crown, and the darling of *France*, had the command; but he was aſſiſted by the duke of *Vendoſme* and the elector of *Bavaria*, who had been made governor of *French Flanders*, while the duke of *Berwick* commanded on the *Rhine*, as *Villars* did in *Dauphiny*. *Ghent* was ſurprized by *la Faille*, a *French* officer, as *Bruges* was by the count *de la Motte*. The confederate army did not exceed eighty thouſand men, while that of *France* was above a hundred thouſand in number. The duke of *Burgundy* did not ſupport the great expectations conceived of him, for he ſhewed an unbecoming perplexity and indeciſion, when it was known that the allies were preparing to croſs the *Schelde*, to attack him near *Oudenarde*. *Vendoſme* was for attacking them after half their army had paſſed the river, but before any reſolution could be formed, the whole of the allied army had paſſed it; and a vigorous battle enſued. The victory was in diſpute for an hour, and the engagement laſted from four in the afternoon till nine, when the *French* army fell into diſorder. If the victory on the part of the allies was not improved into a total defeat of the *French*, it was owing to night coming on, and the vaſt military talents of *Vendoſme*, who with great difficulty retired towards *Ghent*. The ill ſucceſs of this battle, which was fought on the 11th of *July*, was owing in a great meaſure to the

Battle of *Oudenarde*.

the *French* ſoldiery themſelves, who were diſpirited by a long train of misfortunes, and begun to think that the allies were invincible.

Liſle taken.

It was in vain for the *French* to pretend to diſpute the honour of the battle of *Oudenarde*, for its conſequences decided it againſt them. Prince *Eugene*, who had juſt returned to the *Netherlands*, inveſted *Liſle*, at the time the court of *France* imagined that the allies were themſelves defeated and beſieged. The ſiege of *Liſle*, the citadel of which was reckoned one of the moſt regular fortifications in the world, was undertaken with prodigious diſadvantages on the part of the allies. They had no communication either with *Ghent* or *Antwerp*, and were obliged to bring their convoys from *Oſtend*. A capital one, under general *Webb*, who commanded no more than ſix thouſand *Engliſh*, was attacked by fifteen thouſand *French* near *Wymondale*, who were defeated, and left five thouſand dead on the field. *Liſle* itſelf was held out by a garriſon of twenty thouſand men under *Boufflers*, who bravely defended it for four months, but it was finally taken on the 8th of *December*, and *Ghent* was likewiſe reduced by the allies, as was *Bruges* and many other places.

Propoſals for peace.

The calamities of war were encreaſed by thoſe of a famine all over *France*, which is ſaid to have given *Lewis* a ſenſible concern, but he proceeded on ſound plans of policy, though his affairs ſeemed to be deſperate on all ſides, excepting on that of *Spain*, where the duke of *Orleans* commanded his army, after the battle of *Almanza*. Parties from the *Dutch* garriſons ſcoured the roads of *France*, to *Verſailles* itſelf, where they miſtook one of the dauphin's domeſtics for himſelf, and carried him off priſoner. The duke of *Savoy* obtained many important advantages over *Villars* in *Dauphiny*, where he took *Perouſe*, *Feneſtrelles*, and other places. The *Engliſh* under their admiral, Sir *John Leake*, reduced the iſlands of *Sardinia* and *Minorca*, and the imperialiſts were maſters on the *Rhine*. *Lewis* renewed his offer to the allies, to *Holland* eſpecially. The *Dutch* were left to ſettle their own barrier, to keep great part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* in their hands; to fix a treaty of commerce on their own terms, and any other ſecurity that *Lewis* could give them for his good faith. He offered to the *Engliſh* more than they had demanded in the beginning of the war. In ſhort, his propoſals were ſo ſpecious, that a great party among the *Dutch*, influenced by *Petkum*, the *Holſtein* miniſter, inclined to open conferences. *Heinſius*, the penſionary of *Holland*, though intimately connected with the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene*, was obliged to give way, and, after many ſecret negotiations, the preſident *Rouillé* had a conference with *Heinſius*, and *Vanderduſſen*, another ſtate oracle of *Holland*. All the efforts of *Lewis* towards a pacification were rendered fruitleſs by the preparations for the campaign; but at laſt, he ſucceeded ſo far, that the marquis *de Torcy* and *Rouillé*, his two beſt negotiators, were admitted

to confer with the duke of *Marlborough*, prince *Eugene*, and the preſident *Heinſius*. *Torcy* had ſecret inſtructions from *Lewis* to gratify the duke to the utmoſt of his ambition and avarice. That nobleman was attended by lord *Townſhend*, who appeared there as an *Engliſh* plenipotentiary likewiſe, and *Torcy* inſinuates that his preſence was a check upon *Marlborough*, who was in other reſpects very inclinable to the cauſe of the pretender. But *Torcy* was a *Frenchman*, and a friend of the *Stuart* family. It is certain that the duke remained inflexible, nor would the plenipotentiaries of the allies treat before thoſe of *France* agreed to the moſt mortifying preliminaries. *Lewis* was to abandon his grandſon *Philip*, and to acknowledge *Charles* III. as king of *Spain*. He was to yield up to the emperor *Straſbourg*, *Fort Kehl*, *Briſac* and *Landau*, and to demoliſh *Hunninghen*, *New Briſac*, with all the other fortreſſes he poſſeſſed on the *Rhine*, from *Baſil* to *Philipſbourg*. He was to acknowledge the title of the queen of *Great Britain*, and to demoliſh the harbour of *Dunkirk*; to add *Furnes*, *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Liſle*, *Caſſel*, *Conde* and *Maubeuge* to the *Dutch* barrier, and to deliver up all the places he poſſeſſed in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. He was to reſtore all he held in *Savoy* to its duke, with additional territories, and to evacuate all the places he had ceded, by a certain day.

1709. As ſoon as thoſe preliminaries were ſigned, *Torcy* returned to *France*, but *Lewis* refuſed to ratify them, upon which *Rouillé* was ordered to leave the *Hague*. *Lewis* wiſely addreſſed himſelf in a kind of manifeſto to his ſubjects, ſetting forth the injuſtice and cruelty of his enemies and his own conceſſions, with the reaſons why he could not agree to the preliminaries. This had the deſired effect. The nation was fired with indignation, and the people reſolved to vindicate the honour of their king, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. A famine had for ſome time raged in *France*, and *Lewis* had ſent ſhips to the *Levant*, who brought him home corn, ſo that the only granaries in the kingdom were in the hands of the crown. Thus his ſubjects, through neceſſity, as well as loyalty, flocked to his ſtandards, and above a hundred and twenty thouſand men appeared in the field under *Villars* and *Boufflers*, who ſacrificed all his private reſentment by ſerving under a junior officer. The confederates, after taking *Tournay*, prepared to inveſt *Mons*, which *Villars* endeavoured to prevent by occupying an encampment which was thought to be almoſt impregnable. The allies reſolved to attack him, which they did with inexpreſſible fury. The *French* defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution, that they killed above twenty thouſand of their enemies with the loſs of not above ſeven thouſand of their own men. The duke of *Marlborough*, however, forced the center of their entrenchments, *Villars* was wounded, and the *French* army made their retreat, under *Boufflers*, towards *Valenciennes*. So wanton a carnage attended by an almoſt uſeleſs victory, diſguſted the moſt moderate of the confederates themſelves,

Diſtreſs of the *French*, who are beaten at the battle of *Malplaquet*.

themſelves, as *Lewis* by the preliminaries had offered to evacuate *Mons*, which the allies took about the end of *October*.

The *French* arms were more fortunate in *Germany*, where the marſhal *Dubourg* defeated the imperialiſts under count *Merci*. The duke of *Berwick* more than kept his ground in *Italy*; and the *French* general, *Aſfeldt*, took *Alicant* in *Spain*. *Lewis* found that the credit his arms had obtained during the campaign, could not relieve his ſubjects, or re-people his kingdom. He again ſupplicated for a negotiation, which with difficulty was granted, and the *French* plenipotentiaries *D'Uxelles*, and the famous *Abbé* (afterwards cardinal) *Polignac*, appeared before thoſe of the confederates at *Gertruydenberg*, as petitioners for peace. By them, *Lewis* renewed all his former offers, and even to advance money for driving his grandſon out of *Spain*. The allies madly refuſed even thoſe terms, and inſiſted upon *Lewis* employing his own troops in dethroning his grandſon. To evade that diſagreeable ſtep, he conſented to accept of the preliminaries he had before rejected; but the allies were inexorable, and *Lewis* recalled his embaſſadors. Conferences at *Gertruydenberg*. 1710.

How far *Lewis* would have faithfully fulfilled the terms he propoſed at *Gertruydenberg* is doubtful, but it is certain the rejecting them, gave the firſt fatal blow to the grand alliance. The Tory party in *England* operated upon queen *Anne*'s perſonal reſentment, which ſhe entertained for the treatment ſhe had received from the dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, and ſucceeded in perſuading her, that ſhe was making war only for the benefit of the *Auſtrians* and the *Dutch*, and for the aggrandizement of the *Marlborough* family. She, in ſhort, conceived a diſguſt at the Whigs, and imagined that they intended to give her a ſuperior in the perſon of that duke, by making him general for life. Her ſentiments were ſoon known at the court of *France*, and adopted by the landed intereſt of *England*. A certain writer has forged a magnanimous ſentiment for *Lewis*, when he found that his terms were rejected. "I will draw "out the arriere ban of my kingdom (ſaid he) and die at the "head of my people, before I will grant more." This declaration is little ſuited to the character of a man, who in his younger days, had always declined to expoſe himſelf to the dangers of the field. If he expreſſed himſelf in that manner, it was not till after he knew (which he might eaſily do) that the *Engliſh* miniſtry was reſolved upon a peace. The loyalty and liberality of the *French* towards their king, encreaſed proportionably with the diſtreſſes to which the haughtineſs of his enemies reduced him. He received conſiderable ſupplies from the trading part of his ſubjects, who made immenſe profits by their commerce with *South America*, and in the beginning of the campaign in 1710, after the conferences of *Gertruydenberg* broke up, *Villars* was again at the head of a fine army, but could not prevent the allies from taking *Douay*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, and St. *Venant*, the only important events that happened during that campaign on the ſide of *Flanders*. *Lewis* received Reflection on the ſame. *Voltaire*.

ſome

ſome conſolation for thoſe loſſes, by the ſucceſſes of the duke of *Vendoſme*, who, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that kingdom, re-eſtabliſhed *Philip* on the throne of *Spain*, and the *French* arms under the dukes of *Berwick* and *Noailles* baffled all the attempts of the allies in *Provence*. The Whig miniſtry in *England* was totally removed in the year 1711; but on the 14th of *April* that year, the dauphin died of the ſmall-pox in the 50th year of his age. The duke of *Burgundy*, his elder ſon, ſucceeded him in the title of dauphin. His ſecond ſon, was *Philip* king of *Spain*; and his third, *Gaſton* duke of *Berry*. The duke of *Burgundy* died ſoon after his father, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, the duke of *Bretagne*, as dauphin, who ſurvived his father but a month, and he was ſucceeded by the third ſon, the duke of *Anjou*, who is the preſent king of *France*. About the ſame time, *France* received another irreparable loſs by the death of marſhal *Boufflers*.

1711. Death of the royal family of *France*.

Negotiations for peace.

The negotiation was far advanced, by this time, between the courts of *England* and *France*. One *Gaultier*, a *Frenchman*, who had reſided for ſome time in *London*, was employed by the new *Engliſh* miniſtry, to inſinuate to the *French* court, that the queen was by no means averſe to a negotiation upon proper terms. A train of intrigues followed, which though all of them pointed at peace, did not retard the operations of the war. *Marlborough* was continued in his command of the *Engliſh* army and mercenaries; but the complexion of the grand alliance was entirely altered by the death of the emperor *Joſeph*, on the 17th of *April*, 1711, as the armies were about to take the field. It was eaſy for the *French* miniſters to convince thoſe of *England*, that after that event, they could not contend for the right of the arch-duke *Charles*, to the crown of *Spain*, as he had ſucceeded his brother in the empire.

ibid. p. 224, 225.

Bouchain taken.

The warlike operations ſtill continued, and *Villars* was in poſſeſſion of a very advantageous camp behind the river *Sanſet*, but his army was weakened by the detachments he was obliged to ſend to the elector of *Bavaria*, upon the *Rhine*. Many maſterly ſtrokes of generalſhip paſſed between the duke of *Marlborough* and *Villars*, but the genius of the duke ſtill preſerved its aſcendency, clear, penetrating, and enterprizing as *Villars* was. All he could do, was to prevent the duke from ſignalizing his diſmiſſion from his command, which he every day expected, by ſome deciſive action. He beſieged *Bouchain*, and took it on the 13th of *September*, notwithſtanding the ſtrength of the place, and its garriſon, which conſiſted of four thouſand men. Soon after, both armies retired into winter quarters, and the taking *Bouchain* was the laſt military exploit of the great *Marlborough*. During this campaign, the duke of *Berwick* gained ground upon the duke of *Savoy* in *Italy*, and *Vendoſme* maintained his ſuperiority in *Spain*, while the *French* fleet continued to plunder the *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh* ſettlements in *South America*.

Prior,

Prior, the famous *Engliſh* poet, was now engaged by the Tory miniſtry of *England*, in the ſecret negotiation with *France*, and had ſettled the preliminaries. Their demands were high, but *Lewis* was in no condition to diſpute them, ſo that *Menager*, a *French* agent, was empowered to ratify them on the part of *Lewis*, and ſent to *England* for that purpoſe. The queen behaved with a ſcrupulous good faith towards her allies, and the earl of *Strafford* laid before them the preliminaries ſhe had agreed to. They exclaimed againſt her conduct, but finding her firm, *Utrecht* was agreed upon for the place of the conferences, which opened on the 29th of *January* 1712. The miniſters for *France*, were the marſhal *D'Uxelles*, the abbé *Polignac*, and *Menager*, the two laſt, greatly ſuperior in talents to the earl of *Strafford*, and the biſhop of *Briſtol*, the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries. The allies were unable to anſwer one plain fact urged by the latter, which was that *England* had borne the greateſt burthen of the war, and that their maſters had been deficient in every ſtipulation they entered into, when the grand alliance was formed. Some difficulties aroſe with regard to the ſecurity demanded by the *Engliſh*, that the crowns of *Spain* and *France* ſhould never be united in one perſon; but they were got over, by the conſent of king *Philip* to keep the crown of *Spain*, and to renounce that of *France*. No ſooner did *Lewis* underſtand that the *Engliſh* miniſtry were ſatisfied, than he reſumed his haughtineſs, and talked in a lofty tone to the other allies.

Vol. IX. p. 227. Preliminaries ſettled. 1712.

The duke of *Ormond* had now ſuperſeded the duke of *Marlborough*, in the command of the *Engliſh* army. *Villars* knew that *Ormond* had orders to remain inactive. The earl of *Albemarle*, the *Dutch* general, threw ſome bombs into *Arras*, and prince *Eugene* beſieged, and took *Queſnoy*, while the duke of *Ormond* informed him of his miſtreſs having agreed to the preliminaries of peace, and had ordered him to agree to a ceſſation of arms, and to withdraw in a few days, with the *Engliſh*, and all the troops that were in their pay. This was no more than what prince *Eugene* had foreſeen, and he gave orders for general *Groveſtein* to penetrate into *France* with fifteen hundred horſe, which he did, with ſo ſurprizing a rapidity, that even *Paris* was alarmed. *Villars*, in like manner, ordered one *Paſteur*, a *French* partizan, to ravage the iſland of *Tortola*; and this filled the *Hollanders* with conſternation. The town and port of *Dunkirk* were now in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. Prince *Eugene* had perſuaded the *Engliſh* auxiliaries not to withdraw with the duke of *Ormond*; and had beſieged *Landrecy*. The earl of *Albemarle* lay at *Denain*, to cover the prince's lines, and *Villars*, by a moſt maſterly feint, which deceived *Eugene*, attacked and totally defeated the earl, before the prince could advance to ſupport him. No more than four hundred eſcaped out of ſeventeen battalions, of whom a great number were drowned in the *Schelde*. Prince *Eugene* endeavoured, in vain, to retrieve the

The confederates beaten at *Denain*.

honour of the confederate arms, but was diſſuaded by the *Dutch* deputies from hazarding a general battle. The loſs of the *French* at the battle of *Denain* was inconſiderable, but its conſequences were great, for *Villars* forced the poſt of *Marchiennes*, and took *Douay* and *Bouchain*, with an immenſe loſs to the confederates. On the 8th of *September*, *Villars* inveſted *Queſnoy*, where the artillery of the confederates had been depoſited after the ſiege of *Landrecy*. On the 4th of *October*, the place ſurrendered, though defended by two thouſand men, and the ſurpriſal of fort *Knocque* was the only advantage the confederates gained in this campaign. The grand alliance, now that the *Engliſh* had abandoned it, appeared like a rope of ſand, and all that the *Germans* could do, was to preſerve a ſuperiority in *Italy*, for they loſt footing in all other quarters. A ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded between *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *French* fleet under *Creſſart*, laid waſte the *Dutch* ſettlements in *America*. Though *Lewis* had ſcarcely another object now in his eye than the completion of peace with *England*, and though it was thought that he would have ſacrificed every thing to that end, yet new difficulties daily ſtarted, eſpecially with regard to the *American* limits, not to mention the ſtrong party which the imperialiſts and *Dutch* had in *England*.

Queſnoy taken.

Intrigues for a peace.

The Tories had gone too far to recede without completing the work of peace, and they had diſcovered too much fondneſs for it, during the conferences. They had rendered themſelves extremely obnoxious to the other allies, and the *French* miniſters availed themſelves of their ſituation, by raiſing diſputes upon points, which at the beginning of the negotiation they would have quietly given up. *Lewis* now talked in the ſtrain of a conqueror, and allowed the emperor time, to the 1ſt of *June*, for acceding to the preliminaries that had been concerted between *France* and *England*. Though the *Dutch* had ſcarcely behaved with common decency to the *Engliſh* miniſters, yet they ſaw the neceſſity they were under of being compriſed in the treaty. Prince *Eugene*, and count *Zinzendorf*, the imperial miniſter, endeavoured to animate them with the hopes of a rebellion in *England*, and the promiſe of giving *Villars* battle; but towards the end of the campaign they ſaw all their hopes daſhed, and themſelves reduced to take ſhelter under the wings of the miniſters they had ſo lately inſulted. The conferences then went on at *Utrecht*, and every conceſſion made by *Lewis*, carried with it an air of complaiſance to queen *Anne*, and of defiance to all the other allies. The treaties of commerce between *France* and *England* were ſigned in the beginning of *April*, and were followed by other treaties with *Portugal*, *Pruſſia*, *Savoy*, and *Holland*. *Lewis* acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion to the crown of *Great Britain*; he conſented to give up *Newfoundland*, *Nova Scotia* or *Acadia*, and *Hudſon's Bay*, in *America*; and that *Gibraltar*, and *Minorca*, ſhould be retained by *Great Britain*. The princes of the

Vol. IX. p. 228.

Ibid. Preliminaries ſettled.

the *French* branch of the houſe of *Bourbon* renounced all claim to the ſucceſſion of the *Spaniſh* crown, as king *Philip* did his to that of *France*. The king of *Pruſſia* gained the upper quarter of *Guelderland*, and the ſovereignty of *Neufchatel*, and the *Dutch* obtained an advantageous treaty of commerce.

The peace of *Utrecht* concluded.

However the facts may be varniſhed, it is certain that the imperialiſts, prince *Eugene* particularly, for ſome time, were fully convinced that their party would be able to raiſe a rebellion in *England*, and this was the great motive for the emperor's rejecting all the terms that had been ſettled at *Utrecht*. It was perhaps owing to the moderation of the duke of *Marlborough*, who had more at ſtake than any ſubject in the kingdom, that *England* did not then become a ſcene of blood. The imperial court continued the war after the treaty was ſigned at *Utrecht* in 1713, and proteſted againſt all that had been done; but even the great prince *Eugene*, now that he was unſupported by *Marlborough*, found himſelf an unequal match for *Villars*, who took *Worms*, *Spire*, *Kayſerlautern*, *Wolfſtein*, *Kirn* and *Landau*. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Germany*, will ſee the other great events of the war, all of them terminated in favour of *France*, but *Lewis* had many weighty reaſons, which grew more alarming every day, for reſtoring peace to his dominions. His age and infirmities, and the tender years of his ſucceſſor, made him conſent to a conference being held at *Radſtadt*, between *Villars* and prince *Eugene*. Nothing could be agreed on in this conference, becauſe each party talked in the ſtile of a conqueror. *Villars* had reduced *Friburg*, and thought himſelf in every reſpect on a footing with *Eugene*. The conferences, however, were renewed, and the imperial miniſters, who were jealous of prince *Eugene*'s glory, perſuaded their maſter to accept of worſe terms than had been offered him at *Utrecht*. We have already given the particulars of the peace concluded at *Radſtadt*, and which, every thing conſidered, was glorious for *Lewis*.

1713.

Vol. IX. p. 231.

Ibid. p. 232.

Diſtreſſes of *France*.

Lewis, having thus againſt all probability, obtained peace from *Britain*, and given it to the reſt of *Europe*, employed his few remaining hours in repairing the horrible ravages which the war had introduced into his finances and dominions. Thoſe could not be rectified but by degrees, and by obliging his ſubjects to ſubmit to the moſt cruel loſſes and taxations, that the crown might recover ſtrength, while the people were overwhelmed with miſery. An almoſt general bankruptcy took place in *France*, and thoſe who had money by them, privately ſent it out of the kingdom, to prevent its being ſeized by the hand of power. The rebellion, which broke out in *Great Britain*, in favour of the pretender, would have given *Lewis* an opportunity of plunging *Europe* into freſh troubles, had he not been diſabled by the deſperate ſtate of his internal government. *France* began now to feel the ſores of which ſhe had been inſenſible during the heat of the late war; but low as *Lewis* was, he diſcovered a ſtrong inclination to have over-

Bad faith of *Lewis*. thrown the proteſtant ſucceſſion in *Great Britain*; for he undoubtedly aſſiſted the pretender with what money he could ſpare, and had he been in a condition to have defrayed the expence he would have ſent over the duke of *Berwick* to *Scotland*, at the head of fifteen thouſand men. The earl of *Stair*, a vigilant and an intrepid miniſter, was embaſſador from the *Engliſh* court, when *Lewis* lay upon his death-bed, and was highly inſtrumental in diſconcerting all the ſchemes formed at his court, to favour the houſe of *Stuart*.

Upon the death of the duke of *Berry*, the younger brother of the king of *Spain*, *Lewis* formed a deſign for giving to his two natural ſons, the duke of *Maine*, and the count of *Thouloufe*, all the rights of the legitimate ſucceſſion to the throne of *France*. Though this was a meaſure equally unjuſtifiable as impracticable, yet ſo great was the veneration the parliament of *Paris* had for their aged ſovereign, that they paſſed his edict for that purpoſe into a law, and regiſtered it without intending to regard it.

Religious differences in *France*. The hiſtory of *France*, under *Lewis* XIV. would be imperfect, without ſome account of the religious differences which diſtracted his reign. One *Janſenius*, a doctor of *Louvain*, and afterwards biſhop of *Ypres*, had undertaken to give the true ſenſe of *St. Auſtin*, in a treatiſe concerning Grace and Free-will, but his work was attacked by a Jeſuit, and the diſpute came before his holineſs the pope, who condemned five propoſitions in the biſhop's book. The Janſeniſts were divided in regard to this condemnation. One party admitted that the propoſitions were heterodox, but denied that they were to be found in the book. The other party maintained that they were not heterodox, even if they were found in the book. It was inſiſted upon, that admitting the pope's infallibility in judging upon the orthodoxy of an opinion, yet he might be fallible as to a matter of fact, and miſtaken in imagining that a book contained a doctrine which it did not. The Jeſuits eſpouſed the pope's infallibility in both ſenſes; and pope *Clement* XI. endeavoured to compromiſe the difference, by actually giving up, or rather waving, his right of judging as to the fact. This was far from quieting matters. The Janſeniſts loſt no opportunity in expoſing to the world the whole ſyſtem of Jeſuitical caſuiſtry, and management, while the Jeſuits upbraided their antagoniſts as being Moliniſts, and Quietiſts, and guilty of the crimes which they charged upon them. Cardinal *Noailles* took part with the Janſeniſts, though he had been ſo much their enemy before, that he had ruined their abbey of *Port Royal*. Father *Queſnel* of the oratory, about this time happened to write his famous book, entitled *Moral Reflections on the New Teſtament*, and he had accompanied the famous *Arnaud*, into exile, for being a Janſeniſt. Several biſhops, with cardinal *Noailles* at their head, approved of the book, but others condemned it. The cardinal complained to the king, and he referred the affair to the pope, who condemned it as containing a hundred

and

and one heretical propoſitions. The firſt word of this bull of condemnation was *unigenitus*; from whence the whole was called the bull, or conſtitution, *unigenitus*. Some of the parliament, and many of the clergy appealed from it to a general council, but *Lewis*, who was in his old days Jeſuit-ridden, was reſolved that the bull ſhould be received univerſally, and many of the Janſeniſts were ſeverely puniſhed, or driven out of the kingdom.

Death and

Such was the ſtate of affairs ſpiritual and temporal, in *France*, when *Lewis* on the 11th of *Auguſt*, fell into a complication of diſorders, which, by too freely indulging himſelf in eating and drinking, that he might the better impoſe upon the world, put an end to his life, on the 1ſt of *September* 1715, by bringing on a violent fever, and opening an old ſore in his leg, which tended to a mortification, in the ſeventy third year of his reign. We have already given ſome account of the family of *Lewis* XIV. who was ſucceeded by the preſent king of *France*, who was the third ſon of the dauphin-duke of *Burgundy*, and was born in 1710. *Lewis*, by madam *de la Valiere*, had a daughter, who was married to the prince of *Conti*, but died without iſſue. By madam *de Monteſpan* he had the duke of *Maine*, who left a numerous family, the dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, the count of *Tholouſe* and a daughter. His brother *Philip*, duke of *Orleans*, was married to *Henrietta Maria*, daughter to *Charles* I. of *England*. By her he had a daughter married to the duke of *Savoy*; ſo that his *Sardinian* majeſty in her right is the neareſt in blood to the exiled houſe of *Stuart*. The ſame duke of *Orleans* was afterwards married to *Charlotte Elizabeth*, daughter of *Charles Lewis*, elector *Palatine*, and by her he had the regent duke of *Orleans*. 1715.

Character of *Lewis*.

The character of *Lewis* XIV. has generally been treated in extremes. The flatterers of his memory are too apt to term his oſtentation, magnificence; his pride, magnanimity; and his cruelties, juſtice. Few princes ever ſate on a throne, who poſſeſſed more of thoſe ill qualities than *Lewis* did. The cruelties of his armies in *Germany*, and *Italy*, were exerciſed by his own orders. By admitting the fulſome, and even blaſphemous, adulations paid him by his ſubjects, he acknowledged, that he thought them his due. His munificence to men of genius and learning, was more uncommon than it was meritorious. It ſeldom exceeded a hundred pounds a year, and commonly not fifty. It was paid to their flatteries rather than their abilities, and often given and reſumed by court influence. It is, however, only doing juſtice to the memory of *Lewis*, to acknowledge that notwithſtanding the miſerable education he received, he had a natural turn which qualified him to be no bad judge of the fine arts. The blaze of royalty into which he broke out all at once, upon the death of *Mazarine*, was the moſt ſolid foundation of his glory, but his heart was ſoon corrupted by pride and ambition; and his underſtanding perverted by prieſts and ſtateſmen. He ſeldom puniſhed

niſhed his unſucceſsful generals, or miniſters, becauſe he diſdained to have it thought that his reign was unfortunate, that his judgment was miſled, or his favours miſplaced. His haughtineſs was without bounds, and he preſerved ſo much of it in the midſt of his misfortunes, that they were unpitied. His conduct with regard to *James* II. of *England*, diſcovers him to have been a man of no principle, and that his, was a government of expedients. Had he been dethroned by the allies, his own injuſtice was to blame, and if that event did not take place, it was owing to their being guilty of the very exceſſes which they blamed in him, and which at laſt ſapped the foundation of the grand alliance. It is true, *Lewis* made great conceſſions at *Gertruydenberg*; but there is the greateſt reaſon to believe that they were inſincere, that he never felt for his people, but for himſelf and his family, and that he was incorrigible under his misfortunes. This appeared from the haughty airs he and his miniſters reſumed the moment that queen *Anne* ſhewed a diſpoſition for peace. In his perſon, it is ſaid, he was not brave, but was not obſerved to make any ſignal diſcoveries of cowardice. That he had not that depth of diſcernment which conſtitutes a great king, appears from the choice of his generals and miniſters, whom he always ſupported, till they ruined his affairs both in the field and the cabinet. During the laſt twenty years of his reign, he was entirely under the influence of madam *de Maintenon*, a weak viſionary woman, who governed him by permitting him to think that his will was her law. It is now generally agreed, that ſhe was his wife, though ſhe never appeared as his queen. His two great generals, towards the latter end of his reign, *Vendoſme* and *Villars*, were always under the frowns of his court, and never were employed till his troops would fight under no other.

Lewis *the Fifteenth, ſurnamed the* Well-beloved.

State of parties in *France.*

FRANCE was in the deplorable ſituation we have ſeen, at the death of *Lewis* XIV. The regent duke of *Orleans* had, by the laſt will of *Lewis*, been appointed to little more than the preſidency of the council of regency, which conſiſted of the dukes of *Orleans*, *Bourbon* and *Maine*; the count *de Tholouſe*, the chancellor, the preſident of the royal council, the marſhals *Villeroy*, *Villars*, *Uxelles*, *Tallard* and *Harcourt*; together with the comptroller-general of the finances, and the four ſecretaries of ſtate. Of theſe, the duke of *Maine* was to be governor, and to have the charge of the royal perſon, and *Villeroy* to be ſub-governor. Thoſe were diſpoſitions inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of *France*, and the duke of *Orleans* reſolved

reſolved to avail himſelf of the power of the parliament; but he had many difficulties to ſurmount. The king of *Spain* had a ſtrong party in the kingdom, and he was the declared enemy of the regent duke, who, about the time of the treaty of *Gertruydenberg*, had *Philip* been depoſed, would have claimed the crown of *Spain*.

The duke of *Orleans* declared regent.

On the other hand, the unſettled ſtate of affairs in *Great Britain*, rendered the friendſhip of the regent duke of vaſt importance to *George* I. and his was of no leſs to the regent; but the latter, was favoured by the parliament. The members of that body conſidered the laſt will of *Lewis* XIV. not only to be an invaſion of their privileges, but an act of delirium, and ſet it aſide, together with the legitimation of the late king's natural children, ſo that the duke was voted to be ſole regent, with full powers. In conſideration of this, he reſtored to the parliament of *Paris*, the right of deliberating upon the acts that they paſſed into laws. He next took under his conſideration the ſtate of the crown debts, which were ſaid to amount to three hundred millions ſterling. He called in the Louis d'ors at ſixteen livres, and when they were recoined, he obliged the people to take them at twenty livres, and he made no other apology for this rapacious proceeding, but 'that neceſſity has no law.' He erected a court called *chambre ardent*, for puniſhing the embezzlements of the public revenue, during the late reign, and he gave the court of *Great Britain* ſecret intelligence of all the pretender's proceedings in *Scotland*, though he did not venture openly to diſavow his cauſe. He met with great trouble in ſettling the affairs of religion, and by the indefatigable pains he took, he prevented one party from perſecuting the other. He recalled all who had been exiled, and freed all who had been impriſoned, on account of the bull *unigenitus*. He reſtored to the Janſeniſts, part of their rights; but obliged the biſhops, who refuſed to accept of that bull, to deſiſt, under certain modifications, from their oppoſition. He durſt not, however, ſtop the perſecution of the proteſtants which was then raging, though the king of *England* procured the releaſe of ſome of them from the gallies.

His tyrannical proceedings.

The arrival of the czar, *Peter* the Great, at the court of *France*, for ſome time, diverted the people from the contemplation of the real miſeries they ſuffered; and the project of the *Miſſiſſippi* company, gave them high ſpirits. Some adventurers during the late reign, had entered that river, and had formed a plauſible ſcheme for carrying on a trade there, that ſhould, in time, pay off the public debts. The particulars of this romantic project, with many others, calculated to amuſe and rob the people, are immaterial to our preſent purpoſe. It is ſufficient to ſay, that in money matters, the regent duke acted more arbitrarily than any king of *France* had ever done. He made it penal for the ſubjects not to carry their money to the *Mint*, from whence he forced them to

accept of every Louis d'or at the rate of thirty-ſix livres, to be paid in ſtate bills. All the fair profeſſions that had paſſed between the regent and the parliament now vaniſhed into ſmoke; but their oppoſition and remonſtrances were ineffectual, for he ſtrengthened himſelf by additional connections with the houſe of *Hanover*, whoſe ſucceſſion to the crown of *Great Britain* he guarantied, as *George* I. did that of the houſe of *Orleans* to the throne of *France*.

History of *Law*'s *Miſſiſſippi* ſcheme.

The court of *Spain*, at this time, was not idle, and cardinal *Alberoni*, having formed moſt ambitious ſchemes, was making incredible efforts for reſtoring the *Spaniſh* marine. The regent's adminiſtration, after he had robbed the ſubjects of *France* of near two hundred millions ſterling, became ſo unpopular, that he was obliged to ſupport it by the army, where he was beloved. Some partizans of the *Spaniſh* faction were taken into cuſtody, and ſome were executed, but the regent ſtill proceeded in his ruinous meaſures. He patronized and encouraged one *John Law*, a *Scotch* projector, in eſtabliſhing what he called, the royal bank, and for ſome time, the plauſibility of this project, together with that of the *Miſſiſſippi* ſcheme, ſtifled the public clamour, while the irretrievable blow which the *Spaniſh* fleet got from that of *England*, under Sir *George Eyng*, in 1718, eſtabliſhed the regent's power in *France*, beyond all oppoſition. The art and addreſs with which *Law* amuſed the *French* nation, had prodigious effects, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the parliament, for he prevailed on them to believe that the imaginary wealth of his banks was raiſing them to riches and proſperity, while it was plunging them into miſery. The more penetrating part of the ſubjects ſaw through his artifices, and that they were calculated only to bring all the money of the kingdom into the regent's hands. They endeavoured to elude the edicts, that were every day publiſhing, for converting money into paper; but the government by inſidious pretences, having procured a new circulation of money, inſtantly lowered its value, and obliged the proprietors to exchange it for bank bills. Not contented with this, a power was given to the members of the *India* company to make forcible entries into all houſes without exception, and to ſearch for concealed money, that it might be converted into paper. As the edicts for thoſe arbitrary proceedings regarded only coined money, foreigners in general, who had ſpecie by them, converted it into bullion, and carried it to the working ſilverſmiths, to be formed into plate, ſo that in the ſpace of three months, no fewer than a hundred and twenty thouſand dozens of plate, beſides diſhes, were made in *Paris*, the whole ſuppoſed to amount to ſeven millions, two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The arbitrary regent put a ſtop even to this practice by limiting the making of plate to the weight of an ounce. His oppreſſions at laſt became ſo intolerable, that a general inſurrection all over *France* was daily expected, and he was

1718.

obliged

obliged not only to recall ſome of his edicts, but to ſend Mr. *Law* out of the kingdom, with a guard. The conſequence was, that, at laſt, the *Miſſiſſippi* company, which had coſt *France* immenſe ſums in building ſhips upon their imaginary profits, was diſſolved, and commercial matters were reſtored to their former footing.

Another league formed by *Spain*.

The proceedings both civil and military between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, and the conſpiracies entered into by the *Spaniſh* miniſtry againſt the regent, will be recorded in the *Spaniſh* hiſtory. The firſt intimation of the conſpiracy came from the court of *Great Britain*, and the prince *de Cellamaire*, the *Spaniſh* embaſſador, was put under an arreſt, as were ſeveral great *French* noblemen in the ſame party. It went ſo far, notwithſtanding the defeat of the *Spaniſh* fleet, that *Alberoni* laid a plan for giving a new face to the ſyſtem of affairs all over *Europe*. The imperial power in *Germany*, was to have been reduced by a ſtrong confederacy among the *Northern* princes, into which he perſuaded the czar of *Muſcovy*, and the king of *Sweden* to join; and they were at the ſame time, to have ſupported a rebellion in *Great Britain* in favour of the pretender; but all his ſchemes were daſhed by unforeſeen accidents, and the firmneſs of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, while the regent duke was ſo much alarmed, that he ordered an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men to be quartered in or near *Paris*. This did not prevent the parliament from continuing their oppoſition. The regent baniſhed them to *Pontoiſe*, a town within ſix miles of *Paris*, and by the plenitude of the royal power veſted in him, he erected another court for regiſtering edicts, and ſupplying the functions of that body. In the mean while, as the *French* king's life was very precarious, and as the regent knew that the ſucceſſion would be diſputed by the catholic king, he entered into a new alliance with the king of *Great Britain* and the *States General*. In conſequence of this alliance, he obliged the pretender to depart from *Avignon*, and to croſs the *Alps*, and confirmed ſuch parts of the treaty of *Utrecht* as were moſt favourable to *Great Britain*. It was known that the emperor, whoſe ſole view was the eſtabliſhment of the pragmatic ſanction, neither could nor would oppoſe this treaty, and in fact, the triple was ſoon turned into a quadruple, alliance by the acceſſion of the emperor. *Spain* now ſtood ſingle in the war, and at firſt, her demands were very high; but *Philip*, having diſmiſſed his ambitious miniſter *Alberoni*, grew more moderate, and at laſt, it was agreed that a double marriage between *France* and *Spain* ſhould take place, by the *French* king marrying the infanta of *Spain*, who was but about four years of age, and the prince of *Aſturias* marrying one of the regent's daughters. A third marriage was projected, but never took place, between don *Carlos* and another of the regent's daughters.

The parliament baniſhed.

While *France* was ſuffering all the miſeries of diſtreſs and poverty, a plague broke out at *Marſeilles* by the arrival of a foreign *Marſeillez*.

The plague of

foreign ſhip. It was attended by a moſt horrible mortality, and had gathered ground by its being at firſt treated only as a malignant fever. During the month of *September*, 1720, it was computed that no fewer than forty thouſand people died of the infection at *Marſeilles* alone, beſides the vaſt numbers that were carried off in *Provence* and *Languedoc*. The precautions taken by the *French* in ſtopping the infection, by means of lines of circumvallation and other methods, can never be enough admired, and were at laſt ſucceſsful, but they were ſuch as could only have been executed under an arbitrary government, which can rigorouſly enforce its own ordinances.

Magnificence of the *French* court.

About the time of the king's marriage with the infanta of *Spain*, the court of *France*, notwithſtanding all the calamities the nation had ſuffered, appeared in greater ſplendour than it had done during the moſt glorious periods of the late reign. The jewels that covered the king's robes when he gave audience to a *Turkiſh* embaſſador, were valued at twenty-five millions of livres; thoſe of the princes of the blood, and his chief courtiers, were in proportion. The regent duke, by this magnificence, amuſed the eyes of the public, and he ventured to remove *Villeroi* from his place about the king's perſon, on pretence that he affected to be too independent on the regency. He made his creature, the cardinal *du Bois*, who had been equally the inſtrument of his pleaſures and his

1722. power, firſt miniſter of *France*. In 1722, the king was crowned at *Rheims*, and was afterwards declared to be of age. Among the firſt acts of his nominal government, was his reſerving penſions out of certain biſhops revenues, which were

Death of the regent.

conferred upon the creatures of the regent. *Du Bois* enjoyed his place of firſt miniſter, but a very ſhort time; and, upon his death, the duke of *Orleans* took it into his own hands, but he himſelf was carried off by an apoplexy on the 2d of *December* following. His character was that of a man of pleaſure, but a prince of vaſt abilities, both civil and military.

Duke of *Bourbon* firſt miniſter.

Though the title of regent ceaſed by the king's being declared of age, yet the power continued in the perſon of the duke of *Bourbon*, who was appointed to the poſt of firſt miniſter. His letters patent were regiſtered in parliament,

1723. the very day after the death of the duke of *Orleans*, and he reſtored *Villeroy* to court. During his adminiſtration, the congreſs of *Cambray*, which had been firſt ſuggeſted by cardinal *du Bois*, and had been agreed to by the *European* powers, for ſupplying all the defects of the treaties of *Utrecht*, and *Radſtadt*, was opened. The marſhal *Teſſe*, who was the *French* embaſſador at *Madrid*, and the duke of *Richelieu*, who reſided in the ſame character at *Vienna*, laboured with great zeal for confirming the tranquillity of *Europe*, and the *French* miniſters in general, acted with ſo much addreſs, that *Paris* was then the only theatre of politics in *Europe*. The conferences opened on the 26th of *January* N. S. 1723, but when

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the plenipotentiaries met, their claims appeared ſo incompatible, that the conferences, at firſt, broke up without effect, though the emperor had, purſuant to the quadruple alliance, given the inveſtiture of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to don *Carlos*.

The change of the adminiſtration brought no relief to the people of *France*. The duke of *Bourbon*, for the ſake of foreign commerce, had reduced the Louis d'or from twenty-ſeven to twenty-four livres, and from that to twenty; and every other ſpecies of money in proportion. This occaſioned ſuch a combuſtion among the inland traders, that murders and aſſaſſinations were every night committed in the ſtreets of *Paris*, and a general inſurrection muſt have happened, had not the people been over-awed by the ſtanding army. The eccleſiaſtical ſtate of *France* was as much embroiled as the commercial. The young king was prevailed on to publiſh an edict, in which he was made to ſay, "That of all the great "deſigns which his great grandfather *Lewis* XIV. formed "during the courſe of his reign, there was none he had more "at heart to purſue and ſee executed, than that of extinguiſh-"ing hereſy out of his kingdom." At the ſame time that this barbarous rage was exerted againſt the proteſtants, the court cenſured the biſhop of *Montpelier*, and even the abbeſs *de Chelles*, daughter to the late duke of *Orleans*, with many other illuſtrious eccleſiaſtics, for not accepting of the bull *unigenitus*, which the miniſtry ſeemed reſolved to enforce all over *France*. The priſons of the kingdom were full of recuſants on the ſame account, and a famine with which *France* was afflicted occaſioned inſurrections both in *Paris* and *Rouen*.

Great diſorders in *France*.

Though the duke of *Bourbon* did not poſſeſs the ſhining talents of the duke of *Orleans*, yet he was a much honeſter man. The king of *Spain* had reſigned his dominions to his elder ſon don *Lewis*, but on the death of that prince he had reſumed them. All *Europe* was convinced that his reſignation was only intended to evade the renunciation he had made of the *French* crown, if *Lewis* XV. ſhould die without iſſue, becauſe it enabled him as a private man to aſcend that throne, which he could not do as a monarch. The duke of *Bourbon* was ſeconded by the people of *France*, when he urged to the king the neceſſity he was under of ſending back his infanta queen to *Spain*, and of his taking a wife who could bear him children, recommending at the ſame time to his bed *Maria Leizinſki*, daughter to king *Staniſlaus*. The king complied, and wrote to the king of *Spain*, a polite, but ſenſible letter of the indiſpenſible duty he lay under to his people, to marry a wife, who could have children. This letter was far from appeaſing the king and queen of *Spain*. They ſtormed againſt the duke of *Bourbon*, and ſent back to *France* the queen dowager of *Spain*, and her ſiſter, madam *de Beaujolois*, who had been deſtined to don *Carlos*. About the ſame time, the infanta

The infanta queen ſent home, and the king married to the daughter of *Staniſlaus*.

queen arrived in *Spain*, attended by the *Spaniſh* miniſters who had reſided at *Paris*.

Riſe of the treaty of *Hanover*.

The court of *Madrid*, upon this, withdrew its plenipotentiaries from the congreſs of *Cambray*, where nothing of importance had been done, and demanded that ſome ſignal puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the duke of *Bourbon*. This not being complied with, his catholic majeſty, influenced by his queen, endeavoured to divide *Great Britain* from *France*, by offering to ſubmit to *George* I. as ſole mediator, all his differences with the emperor. That wiſe prince refuſed the mediation, and a treaty without any mediation was concluded between his catholic majeſty and the emperor; which goes by the name of the firſt treaty of *Vienna*, but its contents are foreign to this place. The *Vienna* treaty equally provoked *England* and *France*; and *George* I. having declared that it contained ſtipulations prejudicial to his rights, as king of *Great Britain*, brought on another treaty, which was afterwards concluded at *Hanover*, and in which the king of *Pruſſia* and the *States General* became parties, but without any intention of fulfilling its contents. In the mean while, the *French* government underwent a revolution.

The king governs by cardinal *de Fleury*.

The duke of *Bourbon* found it neceſſary to lay on freſh taxes, particularly one of two per cent. upon all real and perſonal eſtates, which extended to the clergy and nobility. It was in vain for the parliaments of the kingdom to make the moſt pathetic remonſtrances againſt regiſtering thoſe money edicts, for they were obliged to comply, but the oppoſition made to them by the clergy, gave ſuch a ſhock to the credit of the duke of *Bourbon* with the young king, that he was removed from his place of firſt miniſter, and the king took the government into his own hands, in the year 1726. The truth is, *Lewis* was, at this time, ſecretly governed by his preceptor *M. de Fleury*, biſhop of *Frejus*, who was raiſed to the purple by the name of cardinal *de Fleury*. Under a plauſible appearance, he was the friend, if not the ſlave of the Jeſuits, and a violent bigot for the acceptance of the bull *unigenitus*, though he was, at the ſame time, a warm advocate for the continuance of public tranquillity, both in *France* and *Europe*. At the time of his acceſſion to power all the allies in the treaty of *Vienna* and *Hanover*, were making the moſt vigorous preparations for war; but *Fleury* diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration by his pacific meaſures. He could not indeed prevent the *Spaniards* from their unſucceſsful attempt upon *Gibraltar*, nor *England* from fitting out vaſt armaments for diſtreſſing the *Spaniſh* trade both in *Europe* and *America*; but he found means, by co-operating in the diſgrace of the duke of *Bourbon*, who was confined to his own houſe, to ſoften the queen of *Spain*, on the head of peace. On the 17th of *Auguſt*, 1727, *Te Deum* was ſung at *Paris* for the birth of two princeſſes, but the king in his letter to that archbiſhop, enjoined

1726.

1727.

enjoined him to pray for the birth of a dauphin. By the death of *George* I. which happened about this time, the *French* branch of the houſe of *Bourbon* loſt a firm ally. It was thought that that prince's jealouſy of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and his affection for his *German* dominions, led him into connections with *France*, which gave her too much weight, in the ſcale of public power, and it is certain that ſhe made now the capital figure in *Europe*. *Fleury*'s plan led him to renew the conferences of *Cambray*, but he had the art to get them transferred to *Soiſſons*, that he might the more conveniently attend them, without being at too great a diſtance from his maſter's perſon. So far back as *May* 1727, the cardinal had prevailed with the courts of *Spain* and *Great Britain* to ſign the preliminaries, but diſputes ariſing about their meaning, an act was ſigned at the court of *Spain*, which took away all differences. The *French* king, to give the greater luſtre to his miniſter, hunted at *Compeigne*, while the conferences were going on at *Soiſſons*; ſo that they never were above the diſtance of two hours journey between one another. Thoſe conferences were fruitleſs, becauſe her catholic majeſty knew, that, on the one hand, the emperor was not ſincerely diſpoſed towards the favourite object ſhe had in view, the ſettlement of her family in *Italy*, that ſhe received no adequate return for the immenſe ſubſidy of a million ſterling a year, which ſhe remitted to *Germany*, and that the emperor was unable to ſupport againſt the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* the commercial arrangements in favour of his *Oſtend* company, that had been made by the treaty of *Vienna*. Thoſe conſiderations, in fact, determined her catholic majeſty to do nothing concluſive at the congreſs of *Soiſſons*. She, however, renewed all the high claims which *Spain* had upon *Great Britain*, that ſhe might intimidate the latter into her meaſures with regard to her family ſettlement, and ſhe was ſucceſsful. Congreſs of *Soiſſons*.

Though the conferences at *Soiſſons* ended without effect, yet the *French* miniſter gained his end ſo far, that he broke off the intimate connections that had ſubſiſted between the courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and laid a foundation for their ſubſequent miſunderſtandings. During thoſe tranſactions, the queen of *France*, to the great diſappointment of her huſband and the kingdom, was brought to bed of another daughter; the perſecuting meaſures of the court againſt the proteſtants, and the oppoſers of the bull *unigenitus*, were ſtill continued; and in *November*, the king recovered of a dangerous illneſs he had contracted. The negotiations for a peace, in the year 1729, took the turn that cardinal *Fleury* had wiſhed for and foreſeen, for they were transferred to *Seville*, where a new treaty was entered into between *England*, *Spain*, *France*, and *Holland*, for carrying the queen of *Spain*'s family ſettlement into execution, if it ſhould be oppoſed by the emperor, which it actually was. Great pains were employed for bringing *Lewis* to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction; but that meaſure Treaty of *Seville*. 1729.

was always carefully eluded by the cardinal, under pretence that *France* was no party in the ſecond treaty of *Vienna*, by which *England* had agreed to that guaranty. Very little of conſequence occurred, if we except the parliamentary and religious
1733. diſputes in *France*, till the year 1733, when *Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*, died. *Lewis* could not in decency become an unconcerned ſpectator in a new election. His father-in-law, *Staniſlaus*, was called by a great party in *Poland* to that throne, but he was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the elector of *Saxony*, ſon to the late king. The cardinal could not avoid entering into the affair, and the marquis *Del Monte*, the *French* embaſſador at *Warſaw*, had orders to engage all the votes of the dietines he could, in favour of *Staniſlaus*; and in this, he was ſo ſucceſsful, that *Staniſlaus* ventured to travel in diſguiſe through *Germany*, and lodged for ſome time concealed in the houſe of the *French* embaſſador.

Staniſlaus dethroned, after being elected king of *Poland*.

The czarina of *Muſcovy*, the emperor of *Germany*, and the king of *Pruſſia*, did not think it conſiſtent with their intereſts that *France* ſhould give a king to *Poland*. The *Ruſſian* and imperial armies took the field, which made the primate haſten the election, and he declared that a majority of voices was in favour of *Staniſlaus*. The imperial troops aſſembled in *Sileſia*, with a view of penetrating into *Poland*, while the command of a *French* army upon the *Rhine*, was given to the duke of *Berwick*, who, upon that event taking place, was to enter *Germany*. In the mean while a *Ruſſian* army of fifty thouſand men, under general *Lacy*, entered *Poland*, for the protection of the *Saxon* intereſt there, proclaimed *Auguſtus* king, and took poſſeſſion of *Warſaw*; while king *Staniſlaus* and the primate were forced to fly to *Dantzic*. This arbitrary proceeding of the northern powers, produced a treaty between *France*, *Spain* and the king of *Sardinia*, for maintaining the liberties of *Europe*; but the coldneſs of *Fleury* in the intereſt of *Staniſlaus*, damped all their zeal, though they could not entirely check the ardour of the *French* court, for the duke of *Berwick*, before the end of the campaign, paſſed the *Rhine* and took *Fort Kehl*. His *Sardinian* majeſty about the ſame time declared war againſt the emperor, and by the aſſiſtance of a *French* army under *Villars*, drove the imperialiſts out of the *Milaneſe*. The emperor, intimidated by ſo powerful a confederacy againſt him, and knowing that he would be but ill ſupported by the *Ruſſians*, whoſe only object in the war was to aſſiſt *Auguſtus*, applied for the mediation of *Great Britain*, to terminate all differences between him and the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. Sir *Robert Walpole* was then the *Britiſh* miniſter, and the mediation was accepted of by king *George*; but his catholic majeſty pretended it was too late, and ſent a freſh army into *Italy*, which took the fortreſs of *Aula*. During the winter, his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſpoke warmly in favour of his father-in-law, and ſeemed diſpoſed to hazard every thing in his cauſe.

The

The pacific diſpoſition of the *Britiſh* miniſter, however it might flatter the *French* for the preſent, proved fatal to them in the end. It is true, they made many noble ſettlements under *Fleury*'s adminiſtration, and their trade was extended to a degree never known before; but *Fleury*'s limited ideas never ſuggeſted to him that a marine is neceſſary to protect commerce, and that a more warlike miniſter, than he had to deal with, might ariſe in *Britain*. He was equally miſtaken with regard to the internal government of *France*. Being devoted to the univerſal acceptance of the bull unigenitus, he erected the prerogative of the king as a law of the kingdom, and inſiſted upon the parliaments deſiſting from their oppoſition to his majeſty's will and pleaſure. The parliaments, without diſputing the ſupremacy of the king in matters of government, pretended that they muſt be traitors to his authority, if they ſhould render it ſubject to the pleaſure of the pope, who was a foreign prince, and which they muſt effectually do, if they received his bull for the king's law. This was the language of their remonſtrances. They urged them with a boldneſs that would have coſt them their heads under ſuch a miniſter as *Richelieu*, but they were treated with a roughneſs that would have driven a ſpirited parliament to other arguments than remonſtrances. The king again and again commanded them, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to deſiſt from remonſtrating. They as often diſobeyed him, and when they were ſent into baniſhment, (the only cenſure inflicted upon them) their puniſhment ſerved but to encreaſe their popularity. The oppoſition of the parliament rendered it however neceſſary for *Fleury* to keep large armies on foot, and notwithſtanding his pacific diſpoſitions, he was forced to give way to *France* being engaged in wars that were, in fact, foreign to her intereſt. Such was that of *Poland*, and their fighting for the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. The *French* miniſtry addreſſed a manifeſto to the electors and princes of the empire, declaring that their king had no other intention in taking *Fort Kehl*, but to be in a capacity to aſſiſt them as guarantee of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, in caſe the emperor ſhould offer to oppreſs them. *Fleury*'s regard to the trade of *France*, at this time, was ſuch, that the count *de Maurepas*, ſecretary of ſtate, wrote a letter to the merchants of *Dunkirk*, who were apprehenſive that the war between *France* and the emperor might communicate itſelf to the imperial *Flanders*, and thereby ruin their commerce, permitting them to trade as uſual with the *Auſtrian Low Countries*.

Remonſtrances of the *French* parliaments.

The unwillingneſs of *Fleury* to ſupport *Staniſlaus*, appeared from his not ſending a good fleet to protect him while he was in *Dantzic*. Inſtead of that, he only ſent fifteen hundred men, under a brigadier, who in vain attempted to land at *Fort Wechſelmunde*. Finding that impracticable, they bore away for *Copenhagen*, where being joined by a few more troops, the whole not amounting to three thouſand, they returned, under count

Dantzic bombarded.

count *Plelo*, the *French* embaſſador in *Denmark*, to the relief of *Dantzic*, which by this time ſuffered all the miſeries of war from the *Ruſſian* army, which was beſieging it. The *Dantzickers*, at firſt, flattered themſelves with the hopes of being vigorouſly ſupported by *France*, and were in hopes that the king of *Pruſſia* would declare for them, ſo that they behaved towards the *Ruſſians* with a ſpirit that was more for their honour than their intereſt. Count *Plelo* landed with the *French* auxiliaries, who, according to *Voltaire*, did not exceed fifteen hundred men. He attacked the *Ruſſian* entrenchments, but as he had foreſeen, in a letter which he wrote home to the *French* miniſtry, he fell in the attempt, and the *French* were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war, on condition of their being carried to their own country. A *Ruſſian* ſhip which was then taken by the *French*, furniſhed a pretext for carrying them to *Peterſburgh*, where the empreſs *Anne* nobly refuted all the ideas which they had conceived of *Ruſſian* barbarity, by treating them not only with humanity, but magnificence. The *Ruſſian* fleet, under *Gordon*, ſoon after appeared before *Dantzic*. *Fort Wechſelmunde* was ſurrendered. The greateſt part of *Dantzic* was reduced to aſhes by a bombardment, and king *Staniſlaus* perceiving that his perſon, upon which the *Ruſſians* had ſet a price, was the chief object of their reſentment, eſcaped in the habit of a peaſant, after undergoing incredible hardſhips, to *Marienwarder* in the *Pruſſian* dominions. The *French* embaſſador, *Monte*, was taken by the *Ruſſians*, and notwithſtanding his character, treated as a captive. *Dantzic* fell likewiſe into the hands of the victors, and ſubmitted to *Auguſtus*, as did all the noblemen in the party of *Staniſlaus*.

Philipſbourg taken.

All the great abilities of prince *Eugene*, the imperial general on the *Rhine*, could not check the progreſs of the *French* in *Germany*. Not being joined by the troops of the empire, he was obliged to remain inactive in a ſtrong camp at *Heilbron*, while the count, afterwards the famous duke, *de Belleiſle*, took *Traerbach*, and the duke of *Berwick* inveſted *Philipſbourg*, but on the 12th of *June*, his head was carried off by a cannon ball. He was ſucceeded in his command by his old companion in arms, the marquis *D'Aſfeldt*, who executed the duke's plan ſo completely, that he baffled all the attempts of prince *Eugene*, after he was joined by the troops of the empire, to raiſe the ſiege; and the place, after a noble defence, was ſurrendered to the *French*. Our hiſtory of *Spain* will give a detail of the *French* operations in *Italy*, under which head they naturally fall.

1734. *Inſult offered by France to Great Britain.*

It is difficult to account for the contempt the *French* at this time expreſſed againſt *Great Britain*; for in the winter of this year, an edict was publiſhed in *Paris*, commanding all the *Britiſh* ſubjects in *France*, from the age of fifteen to that of fifty, if not in actual employment, to leave that kingdom, under pain of being ſent to the gallies. This ordinance was executed with rigour, and the priſons of that capital were filled

filled with *Britiſh* ſubjects. The cardinal however thought proper to releaſe them, and to publiſh another edict, which confined the meaning of the former to vagabonds alone. The advantages of the *French* upon the *Rhine*, anſwered the real intention of the *French* miniſter, and he found means, when he ſaw the empreſs of *Ruſſia* was determined to ſend a powerful army to the ſupport of the emperor, to hint, that it was not impracticable for the latter to enter upon a ſecret negotiation. The imperialiſts readily embraced the offer, and the cardinal, after a few conferences, digeſted his favourite plan into preliminaries, which the imperialiſts ſigned. The conqueſts which *France* had made in *Germany*, were to be reſtored; *don Carlos* was to be acknowledged king of *Naples* and *Sicily*, but the reverſion of the dutchy of *Tuſcany* was to go to the duke of *Lorrain*, who was to put king *Staniſlaus* into poſſeſſion of his dutchy; but after the death of *Staniſlaus*, it was to be for ever annexed to the crown of *France*. Perhaps the emperor would not have conſented to thoſe conditions, which left him in poſſeſſion only of the *Milaneſe*, the *Mantuan* and *Parma* in *Italy*, had not *France* agreed to guaranty the pragmatic ſanction. The duke of *Lorrain* was to receive a penſion of three millions five hundred thouſand livres, till he could be put in complete poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*, which did not happen till the year 1737. A peace concluded.

By this unexpected peace the ſyſtem of *Europe* was again changed, the duke of *Lorrain* having been actually married to the emperor's eldeſt daughter, heireſs to all the *Auſtrian* dominions. This was far from diſconcerting the cardinal's meaſures. When the *French* queen ſometimes uſed to ſay to him, that ſhe did not think her father had been properly ſupported; he and his creatures in the miniſtry roundly told her, ſhe was not to expect that *France* would engage in a ruinous war merely for the ſake of her father. We ſhould carry our refinements to a ridiculous length, were we to pretend that the cardinal foreſaw the diſpute about the *Poliſh* crown was to terminate in the acquiſition of *Lorrain* by *France*, for it certainly was owing to events, of which the cardinal made the beſt in the proſecution of his plan. When the *Spaniſh* embaſſador on the part of his court upbraided him with having given away *Tuſcany*, which belonged to *don Carlos*, he told him that the obſtinacy and injuſtice of the court of *Madrid* rendered it unavoidable, becauſe their breach of promiſe to the king of *Sardinia*, had exaſperated that prince ſo much, that he was ready to throw himſelf into the hands of the emperor. The *French*, contrary to their expectations, came into immediate poſſeſſion of *Lorrain*, which they gave to *Staniſlaus*, and they gave up *Fort Kehl* and *Philipſbourg* to the *Germans*, but not without demoliſhing their own additional fortifications. The greateſt diſquiet the cardinal met with, in perfecting this great work of peace, which is perhaps the only ſhining period in his adminiſtration, aroſe from *Chauvelin*, the keeper of the ſeals, whom Its conſequences.

whom he conſidered, not only as the friend of *Spain*, but the rival of his power. The cardinal pretended that his moderation did not ſuffer him to carry that miniſter's puniſhment, for the ſecret practices he had been guilty of, to its full length. He was therefore contented with his diſgrace and exile.

A new war breaks out between *Spain* and *England*,

The adminiſtration of *Fleury*, after this event, was a continued calm, till the war broke out between *Spain* and *England*. He foreſaw that this might break into his pacific ſyſtem, and he again and again offered the mediation of *France* for making up all differences between the two crowns. He even went ſo far as to propoſe to Sir *Robert Walpole*, to procure for the *Engliſh* a free navigation in the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, provided *England* would reſtore to *Spain*, *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. The ſpirit of the *Britiſh* nation at this time did not ſuffer Sir *Robert* to give much attention to this propoſal, and the war which broke out between the two crowns juſtified all the cardinal's apprehenſions. The death of the great duke of *Tuſcany*, in

1737. *July* 1737, freed *France* from the great annuity ſhe paid to the duke of *Lorrain*, and ſeemed to crown the glory of the cardinal as a miniſter. The queen of *Spain* would gladly have engaged the court of *England* to have aſſiſted her in keeping *Tuſcany*, but that being found impracticable, ſhe engaged the *French* king and his miniſter ſo much in her intereſt, that they filled all *Europe* with remonſtrances againſt the injuſtice of the *Engliſh* nation. Their marine was encreaſed, and they marched large bodies of troops to their ſea-coaſts, in order to draw the attention of the *Engliſh* thither, during their war with *Spain*. Upon the taking of *Porto Bello*, and the other advantages gained by the *Engliſh* over the *Spaniards*, the cardinal could no longer ſtick to the neutrality he had ſo much affected; and, upon the *Engliſh* fitting out a vaſt armament for *America*, in order to ſtop its ſailing, he once more offered the *French* king's mediation to put an end to the war. This being rejected, the marquis *d'Antin* had orders from the *French* court to ſail with a ſtrong ſquadron which lay at *Breſt*, for the protection of the *Spaniſh* poſſeſſions in *America*. The vigilance of the *Engliſh* miniſtry in preventing *d'Antin*'s ſquadron from being victualled from *Ireland*, had reduced it to a moſt miſerable plight; but he was obliged to ſail to *America*, where he died, and almoſt all his ſea-men periſhed, without being able to effect any thing in favour of the *Spaniards*. While the fate of *d'Antin*'s expedition was uncertain, and before it was known at the *French* court that he had loſt three thouſand of his men, their miniſtry, in groſs violation of the treaty of *Utrecht*, employed ſome thouſands of men under the duke *de Boufflers* and the marquis *de Gevry*, in repairing the fortifications of *Dunkirk*. This, together with a freſh declaration they emitted in vindication of *d'Antin*'s ſailing to *America*, was looked upon as preludes of a declaration of war; but, at this time, it is neceſſary to mention ſome great events that happened in *Europe*. The firſt was the death of the king

in which *France* is engaged.

of

of *Pruſſia*, who was ſucceeded by his ſon, the preſent king, long the ally, and afterwards the enemy, of *France*. The ſecond was the death of the emperor *Charles* the VIth, and the laſt was the death of the czarina *Anna Imanouna*.

That of the emperor, which happened on the 9th of *October* 1740, was the moſt intereſting to *France*, who had ſo lately guarantied the pragmatic ſanction in favour of his eldeſt daughter, *Maria Tereſa*, wife to the duke of *Lorrain*. The *French* may be ſaid at this time to have been intoxicated with proſperity. Without denying the fact of the guaranty, they pretended that they could not act againſt the prior rights of the elector of *Bavaria* and the king of *Poland*, who had been married to the daughters of the emperor *Joſeph*, elder brother to *Charles* the VIth. The active count *de Belleiſle* formed a plan for placing the elector of *Bavaria* on the imperial throne, and for that purpoſe, he received money ſufficient to bribe the *German* electors, while the elector of *Bavaria* was declared the *French* generaliſſimo in *Germany*, and put at the head of twenty-five thouſand of their troops, to take poſſeſſion of the *Auſtrian* territories. *Fleury* could not reſiſt the impetuoſity of a torrent which promiſed ſo fair to bear down the houſe of *Auſtria*, the great barrier to the *French* ambition in *Germany*. *Belleiſle*'s ſcheme was aſſiſted by the tenderneſs of the king of *Great Britain*, to enter upon a war that might endanger his *German* dominions, and by the king of *Pruſſia*'s invading *Sileſia*, where he conquered all before him. *Belleiſle* negotiated with ſuch ſucceſs in *Germany*, that he threatened to give law to the daughter of *Charles* the VIth, who took the title of queen of *Hungary*, upon the baſtions of *Vienna*; and even the king of *Great Britain* concluded a treaty of neutrality with *France*, and promiſed his vote for raiſing the elector of *Bavaria* to the imperial throne; an event which afterwards took place. Nothing but the immoderate inſolence of *France* could have now prevented the ruin of the houſe of *Auſtria*. The queen of *Hungary* had madly rejected all the offers made her by his *Pruſſian* majeſty. She was deaf to all the calm exhortations of *George* the IId, but elated beyond meaſure by the diſpoſitions of the *Britiſh* parliament in her favour.

1740. Death of the emperor of *Germany*, and its conſequences.

Cardinal *Fleury* was now eighty-five years of age, but though he was unable to ſtop the impetuoſity of *Belleiſle* and the princes of the blood, yet he had ſtill credit enough to limit the execution of their plans. *Belleiſle* demanded to be put at the head of fifty thouſand men, of whom twenty thouſand were to be cavalry, that he might paſs the *Rhine* towards the *Danube*, while forty thouſand *French* were to lie on the borders of *Weſtphalia*, to over-awe the electorate of *Hanover*. This mighty ſcheme gave umbrage to the king of *Pruſſia*. The elector of *Bavaria* himſelf thought, that, if executed, it would put him, as emperor, too much in the power of *France*, and made propoſals to the queen of *Hungary*, which ſhe rejected, and thereby obliged him to throw himſelf, without reſerve,

Plan and activity of count *Belleiſle*,

reſerve, into the arms of *France*, who declared that ſhe acted only as guarantee of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*. Cardinal *Fleury* underhand diſliked the whole of *Belleiſle*'s plan, and he was furniſhed with no more than ten thouſand cavalry. Some are of opinion that the elector of *Bavaria* had a ſecret correſpondence with the cardinal; for inſtead of marching to the gates of *Vienna*, from whence the queen had fled to *Hungary*, he all of a ſudden turned ſhort, and marched towards *Bohemia*. This gave a breathing time to the *Auſtrian* generals, but the elector of *Saxony* having joined the *French* and *Bavarians* with twenty thouſand men, *Prague* was taken by the confederates.

whoſe ſchemes are fruſtrated.

Belleiſle was then at *Franckfort*, and exclaimed moſt bitterly at the groſs deviations that had been made from his grand plan of operations. It was in vain for him to complain to his own court, where the elector of *Bavaria* excuſed himſelf on account of the great ſtrength of the fortifications and garriſon of *Vienna*; and upon the 12th of *February* 1741, he was choſen emperor, at the very time that *Khevenhuller* and the other *Auſtrian* generals, were ruining the *French* and *Bavarians* in the field, and obtaining the moſt important advantages. *Khevenhuller*, after ravaging *Bavaria*, made himſelf maſter of its capital, *Munich*. Prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* was at the head of fifty thouſand men, and it was owing to the king of *Pruſſia*, who entered *Bohemia*, and fought the battle of *Czaſlau*, that all the *French* army under marſhal *Broglio*, was not cut in pieces. The war obliged *Lewis* to impoſe new taxes upon his people. The parliament oppoſed them, but by words and remonſtrances only, nor could they prevail upon him to ſtop the proſecutions on account of the bull *unigenitus*. At laſt, he publiſhed edicts for collecting the tenth penny upon all ranks of his ſubjects. It was apprehended that this would raiſe a civil war in *France*, and ſome appearances of that kind actually broke out at *Lyons*, but were attended with no material conſequences.

1741.

Death of cardinal *Fleury*.

The death of cardinal *Fleury*, which happened about this time, left *Belleiſle* and the warlike part of the *French* miniſtry at liberty to continue their plan of operations; but prince *Charles* of *Lorrain* was now at the head of an army, which obliged the *French* generals, *Broglio* and *Belleiſle*, to retire under the cannon of *Prague*. This retreat afforded a lively picture of the *French* character. Inſolent and unmerciful conquerors, while they had the ſuperiority, timid and confuſed when their affairs were doubtful. They had recourſe to every ſtratagem of war, but were unſucceſsful in all. They loſt half their army through irreſolution, without coming to an action, and offered to ſurrender *Prague*, *Egra*, and all they held in *Bohemia*, provided they were ſuffered to depart with their arms, artillery and baggage. The *Auſtrians*, in their turn, were guilty of the like extremes in conduct. Inſtead of liſtening to this propoſal, or to the very moderate terms propoſed by the emperor, nothing would ſatisfy the court of *Vienna* but the utter extermination of the *French* army

in

in *Bohemia*. Deſpair effected what prudence and reſolution failed in. *Lewis* ordered marſhal *Maillebois*, who commanded an army upon the *Rhine*, to march to *Belleiſle*'s relief; and he was joined at *Amberg* by the *French* and imperialiſts from *Bavaria*. This diverſion obliged prince *Charles* to leave the blockade of *Prague*, where *Belleiſle* was then ſhut up, to the *Auſtrian* general, *Feſtititz*, and to march againſt *Maillebois* with the main body of the army; but he could not bring him to an engagement. Neither durſt *Maillebois* proceed to *Prague*, and to the amazement of his own court, he fell back upon the *Palatinate*, but loſt more men in his retreat than he could have done in an unſucceſsful engagement.

Belleiſle blocked up in *Prague*,

In the mean while *Feſtititz* was obliged to abandon the blockade of *Prague*. The *French* took poſt at *Leutmeritz*, and *Broglio*, in the diſguiſe of a courier, eſcaped to take the command of *Maillebois*'s army, who was now diſgraced. His retreat had obliged the *French* generals once more to ſhut themſelves up in *Prague*, where their troops were reduced to ſuch extremity, that they ſubſiſted for ſome weeks upon horſeflesh and unclean animals. It was then *Belleiſle* ſhewed a maſterly genius in war, by outwitting *Lobkowitz*, one of the beſt of the *Auſtrian* generals, who commanded the blockade of *Prague*. The diſpoſitions of *Belleiſle* were ſo admirable, that he left that city with fourteen thouſand men, carried with him ſome citizens as hoſtages, for the ſafety of nine hundred men, whom he left in garriſon to blind the *Auſtrians*, gained a day's march of the *Auſtrians*, and though he himſelf was then much indiſpoſed, he behaved with ſuch a preſence of mind and activity, that the *Auſtrian* cavalry who were ſent to purſue him, could make no impreſſion upon the main body of his army. All this however could not be done without immenſe loſs. Great numbers of his men periſhed in the ſnow, through the inclemency of the ſeaſon, amidſt the dreadful mountains he paſſed, and he loſt all his artillery and equipages; nor was he well received at the court of *Verſailles*, where he upbraided the miniſters for having ſo poorly ſupported him. Notwithſtanding thoſe misfortunes, in the beginning of the year 1743, *France* had a great army on foot, but the emperor could not perſuade *Broglio* to hazard a battle for the deliverance of *Bavaria*, which had once more fallen into the hands of the *Auſtrians*; ſo that the emperor *Charles* the VIIth, was obliged like a fugitive to hide his head in *Franckfort*, where he lived, with ſcarcely the accommodations of a private nobleman. He now ſaw that the *French* court had adopted his cauſe only for their own conveniency, and he had concluded a neutrality with the *Auſtrians* for his electoral dominions. The low ſtate of the emperor awakened compaſſion in the breaſts of their *Britannic* and *Pruſſian* majeſties, which at this time was of more ſervice to him than all the pretended friendſhip of *France*.

from whence he bravely eſcapes.

1743.

During the winter of the year 1742, ſixteen thouſand *Britiſh* troops were quartered in the *Netherlands*; and in *May* 1743, they

The *French* loſe the battle

of *Dettingen.*

they began their march to join prince *Charles* of *Lorrain.* The *French* court were embarraſſed by the ſtate of affairs in *Germany*, and gave the command of an army far ſuperior to the *Britiſh* and *Hanoverian*, to the marſhal duke *de Noailles*, while marſhal *Coigny* was ordered with another army to guard the paſſes of the *Rhine*, in caſe prince *Charles*, finding himſelf unable to join the *Britiſh* troops, ſhould make an irruption into *Alſace*. The diſpoſitions of *Noailles* were maſterly; but the *Britiſh* commander, field marſhal *Stair*, found himſelf ſo much cramped in his command, that he loſt all the advantageous poſts upon the *Upper Mayne*; ſo that when his *Britannic* majeſty and his ſon, the duke of *Cumberland*, joined their army on the 9th of *June*, the *French* were ſo well ſituated, that there was a moral probability of their obliging their enemies to ſurrender at diſcretion. The preſumption and inſolence of the *French*, diſappointed all the well laid ſchemes of *Noailles*. The duke of *Grammont*, who commanded the front of the *French* army, inſtead of acting on the defenſive, attacked the *Britiſh* troops, and the *French* were defeated with the loſs of five thouſand men. Had it not been for the partiality of his *Britannic* majeſty in favour of his electoral dominions, this battle, which was called that of *Dettingen*, might have been deciſive of the war. The advice of the earl of *Stair* was, to purſue and deſtroy the enemy's army; but king *George* did not chuſe to hazard the total devaſtation of *Hanover* by the *French*, and the purſuit was prevented.

1744. The *French* attempt an invaſion of *Great Britain*, but are prevented.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the troops of *France* amounted to two hundred and thirty thouſand men, beſides a very powerful marine. The ſtate of affairs in *America*, which were then unfavourable to the *Engliſh*, determined them to join the *Spaniards*, as principals in the war. As *Great Britain* was the only power they had to dread, they formed a plan of diverſion for her forces, by inviting into *France* the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to the *Britiſh* crown. It is uncertain upon what terms the young adventurer, whoſe family had been ſo often the dupes of *French* treachery, embraced the propoſal, nor are the deſigns of the *French* in their operations, very intelligible. Cardinal *Tencin*, who owed his elevation to the purple to the old pretender, had ſucceeded to great part of *Fleury*'s power, and without doubt, was the firſt who ſuggeſted to *Lewis* the ſcheme of an invaſion. We can ſcarcely ſuppoſe the *French* court to have been ſo credulous as to imagine they could have impoſed a deſcendent of the *Stuarts* on the people of *England* for their king; but without any ſuch romantic view, the ſcheme was undoubtedly founded on true maxims of policy, as the invaſion muſt have created a powerful revulſion of *Britiſh* troops from the continent. The young adventurer arrived in diſguiſe at *Paris*, and the firſt ſcheme of his reſtoration, was no leſs than that of ſending him at the head of an army and a powerful fleet with the marſhal *de Saxe*, the beſt officer in *France*, to command under him, in a deſcent upon *England.*

That

That country was indeed then miſerably divided by faction; but that in favour of the pretender was magnified beyond all credibility at the *French* court by jacobites, exiles and jeſuits. *Roquefeuille*, a *French* marine officer of character, had the command of the fleet which was to conſiſt of twenty ſhips of the line; and the troops, with the young pretender and marſhal *de Saxe* being put on board, he ſet ſail for the *Engliſh* channel. The *Britiſh* miniſtry, though apprized of the invaſion, left too much to chance; but, by a fortuitous concurrence of circumſtances, their admiral, ſir *John Norris*, by almoſt incredible efforts, oppoſed them with a ſuperior navy, which *Roquefeuille* did not think proper to engage, and fortunately for his fleet, he eſcaped to *Breſt*, though with ſome loſs of ſhips, which were driven aſhore and deſtroyed. After this mutual declarations of war between *France* and *Great Britain* were publiſhed, and the *Engliſh* fleet ſuffered, under *Matthews* and *Leſtock*, the indelible ſtain of permitting the *French* and *Spaniſh* ſquadrons to eſcape out of *Toulon*. Monſ. *de Court* was the *French* admiral, and his loſs, through the diſſention that reigned between the two *Britiſh* commanders, was but inconſiderable.

Obſtinacy of the court of *Vienna*.

Tranquillity, at this time, might have been reſtored to *Europe*, had it not been for the obſtinacy of the court of *Vienna*, which would hearken to no terms of accommodation, though the emperor, in effect, offered to abandon the alliance and protection of *France*, if he could obtain but reaſonable terms. The *Engliſh* miniſtry were well diſpoſed, at firſt, to accept his offers, but the queen of *Hungary* was reſolved to obtain all or none. Even *George* the IId, though ſincerely diſpoſed for peace, thought it was practicable to exterminate the *French* in *Germany*, and his miniſters came over to the ſame opinion. The diſtreſſes of the emperor thus daily multiplying, ſaved him from perdition. The king of *Pruſſia*, the king of *Sweden*, as landgrave of *Heſſe Caſſel*, and the elector palatine, formed a league with him at *Francfort*, and engaged to ſupport the imperial dignity according to the *Germanic* conſtitutions. *France* now declared war againſt the queen of *Hungary*, and an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, with a moſt dreadful train of artillery, were aſſembled for the conqueſt of the *Netherlands*, under the marſhal count *de Saxe*.

Danger of the *French* king.

That general was natural ſon to the late king of *Poland*, and, with a narrow capacity in all other reſpects, was a great military genius. He had ſeen much ſervice, and though a proteſtant, his merit recommended him to the command of the *French* army. His rendezvous on the plains of *Liſle* was very ſplendid, for the army was reviewed by *Lewis* in perſon, attended by the ladies of his court, and in a few days he took *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Fort Knocque* and *Furnes*. On the 29th of *June Lewis* made a triumphal entry into *Dunkirk*. While he thus thought himſelf on the pinnacle of fortune, prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, by an amazing train of operations, paſſed

the *Rhine*, and obliged *Seckendorf* and *Coigny*, the imperial and *French* generals in *Alſace*, to fall back, that they might cover *Straſbourg*. The *Auſtrians* took *Haguenau* and *Saverne*, and laid all *Lower Alſace* under contribution. *Lewis* ordered thirty thouſand men to defile from the *Netherlands*, to oppoſe prince *Charles*; but while he was marching to head his armies in *Alſace*, he fell into ſo ſevere a diſtemper, that his phyſicians deſpaired of his life. It was from that circumſtance, that his friends and flatterers affixed to his name the epithet of the *Wellbeloved*. All *France* ſeemed to be in mourning. The queen, the royal family, and the princes of the blood, hurried, under the greateſt affliction, to take their laſt leave of him at *Metz* in *Lorrain*. His notorious infidelities to the marriage bed, gave him ſome compunction, and he ordered his ladies of pleaſure to be diſmiſſed, while the ſtrength of his conſtitution getting the better of his diſeaſe, he recovered.

Conduct of marſhal *Saxe* in the *Netherlands*.

The king of *Pruſſia* was, by this time, maſter of the electorate of *Saxony*, but affected to act only as a mediator. He overran great part of *Bohemia* in that character, but in the mean while, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the marſhals *Coigny*, *Belleiſle*, and *Noailles*, prince *Charles* repaſſed the *Rhine* in ſight of their army, and ſoon obliged his *Pruſſian* majeſty to relinquiſh all his conqueſts in *Bohemia*, and to perform a precipitate, if not a ſhameful, retreat to *Sileſia*. In *Auguſt*, *Lewis* being now perfectly well recovered, arrived at his army, which had beſieged *Fribourg*, and after loſing fifteen thouſand men during the ſiege, he cloſed the campaign with the conqueſt of that important place. The vaſt efforts made by the *French* upon the *Rhine*, diſabled marſhal *Saxe*, who had been left to command the army in the *Netherlands*, from acting offenſively. He was favoured by the miſconduct of the generals *Wade* and *Aremberg*, who commanded the allied army; but hated one another, and, though triple his force, they were unable to bring him to a battle; ſo that all parties went into winter quarters. The *French* fleet was then at ſea, under Monſ. *Rochambault*, and the *Engliſh*, under Sir *John Balchen*, went in queſt of it, but it was ſaved by a ſtorm which overtook the *Engliſh*, and ſent their admiral, in the fineſt firſt-rate ſhip in the world, to the bottom. A few days after the reduction of *Fribourg*, marſhal *Belleiſle* and his brother were apprehended in the *Hanoverian* territories, by a magiſtrate of that electorate, and ſent over to *England*. They inſiſted on having the benefit of the cartel, but it was denied them at firſt, and they reſided as priſoners in *England* for ſome months, till the affair was adjuſted to their ſatisfaction, and then they returned to *France*.

The queen of *Hungary* reſtores the electorate of *Bavaria*.

Upon the death of the emperor *Charles* the VIIth, notwithſtanding the intrigues of the *French*, the queen of *Hungary*'s huſband, the great duke of *Tuſcany*, ſtood a candidate for the imperial throne, and the *French* were beaten by the *Auſtrian* general, *Bathiani*, in *Bavaria*; out of which the young elector was driven. To prevent his loſing the whole of his dominions,

dominions, he entered into a compromiſe with the queen of *Hungary*, who generouſly reſtored him to his electorate, and acknowledged the imperial dignity of his father, upon his promiſing to give his vote for the great duke. The day for the election drawing near, the prince of *Condé*, who lay with a *French* army in the neighbourhood of *Franckfort*, was obliged to repaſs the *Rhine* at *Nordlingen*, by the great duke in perſon, and the majority of voices being in his favour, he was declared to be duly elected emperor. This did not prevent the *French* king from puſhing his conqueſts on the ſide of the *Netherlands*. In the ſpring, marſhal *Saxe* had aſſembled a great army, to which the king and the dauphin repaired, and on the 30th of *April* they beſieged the ſtrong town of *Tournay*. The duke of *Cumberland*, who commanded the allied army, reſolved to riſk every thing to ſave ſo important a place; and notwithſtanding the inferiority of his numbers, he attacked the *French* in their lines, at *Fontenoy*, with ſo great intrepidity, that they muſt have been totally defeated, had the *Dutch* troops done their duty. Marſhal *Saxe* was more than once on the point of forcing the *French* king and his ſon to retire from the field of battle, where it is ſaid they behaved with ſufficient reſolution. The ſcandalous cowardice of the *Dutch*, however, forced the duke at laſt to retreat, and to leave the victory to the *French*. It is thought that the allies loſt above twelve thouſand men, and the *French* the ſame number in this battle, and on the 21ſt of *June*, *Tournay* capitulated. The duke took up a ſtrong camp at *Leſſines*, and ſent a detachment of four thouſand men to reinforce the garriſon of *Ghent*, but moſt of them were cut off on their march, and *Ghent* fell into the hands of the enemy, as did *Oſtend*, *Dendermonde*, *Oudenarde*, *Neuport*, and *Aeth*, while *Lewis* returned in triumph to *Paris*.

Her huſband choſen emperor.

Campaign in the *Netherlands*.

Battle of *Fontenoy*.

Thoſe loſſes in the *Netherlands* were, in part, compenſated to the *Engliſh*, by the vaſt naval advantages they obtained this year, over the *French* in the *Eaſt Indies* and *America*, and by the reduction of *Louiſbourg*, the *American Dunkirk*, together with the conqueſt of *Cape Breton*.

Though the *French* conqueſts in the *Netherlands* ſeemed wholly to engroſs that court, yet they never had loſt ſight of raiſing a rebellion in *Great Britain*, by means of the young pretender. Ever ſince he had been driven from the coaſt of *Britain*, he had kept up a cloſe correſpondence with the diſcontented in *England* as well as *Scotland*; and having communicated his diſpatches to the *French* court, he embarked on board a frigate at St. *Lazare*, and putting to ſea, he was joined on the 14th of *July* by the *Elizabeth*, a *French* man of war of 66 guns. The *Elizabeth* was attacked by the *Lion*, an *Engliſh* man of war of the ſame force. and the *French* ſailors were never known to behave ſo well as they did in the dreadful engagement which followed. Both ſhips were equally diſabled from continuing the combat, and it was with the greateſt difficulty that they continued above water, till they reached their

The young pretender fails to *Scotland*, where he raiſes a rebellion;

ſeveral harbours. The young pretender continued his courſe in the frigate, and arrived off the coaſt of *Scotland*, where he landed, and ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of about fifteen hundred men. He was attended by a *French* agent, whom he called an embaſſador, but it ſoon appeared that he was to expect but little aſſiſtance from that court. A few ſhips indeed dropt in with arms, and ſome money was ſent aſhore; but upon the whole, the aſſiſtance he received from *France* was very inconſiderable; nor was even the money (which did not exceed fifty thouſand pounds) ſent him by *Lewis*, but by his father, and his friends on the continent. *France* however, who never meant that he ſhould ſucceed, gained her ends. A flame was blown up in *Britain*, which diſconcerted all his *Britannic* majeſty's meaſures on the continent. The ſucceſs of the young adventurer was at firſt rapid beyond belief. After diſarming and making priſoners a large detachment of regulars in the *Highlands*, he marched ſouthward, took poſſeſſion of the capital, and in a manner at its gates, he attacked and totally defeated the king's troops under general Sir *John Cope*. He amuſed himſelf, after this, with the hopes of being able to take the caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where the national bank and treaſures were lodged, and trifled his time at *Edinburgh*, inſtead of improving the panic into which his ſucceſſes had thrown the friends of the government.

At laſt, he marched forward, ſurprized the town and fortreſs of *Carliſle*, and proceeded to *Derby*, within ninety miles of *London* itſelf. By this time the duke of *Cumberland* was arrived in *England*, as were ſix thouſand *Dutch* troops, and very conſiderable detachments from the *Britiſh* army in *Flanders*. The *French* made a ſhew of vaſt preparations at *Boulogne* and *Dunkirk*, for a deſcent upon the ſouthern parts of *England*; but they were rendered ineffectual, by the vigilance of the *Engliſh* admiral, *Vernon*, and a number of their ſhips, bound for *Scotland*, with men, arms, and accoutrements, were intercepted, ſo that not above five hundred *French*, moſt of them of *Fitz James*'s regiment, were landed. The young adventurer ſaw his hopes daſhed; but notwithſtanding the moſt prudent diſpoſitions of the duke of *Cumberland*, and field marſhal *Wade*, he made a moſt amazing retreat northwards, and returned to *Scotland* almoſt without loſs. The *French*, who had landed, were commanded by lord *John Drummond*, an officer deſtitute of experience and reſolution; but the young pretender was ſtill in hopes that the ſpirit of his *Scotch* friends would repair all the diſappointments he had met with from the court of *France*, and his cold reception by the *Engliſh* jacobites. His expectations were not wholly deſtitute of foundation, and the hopes of his party were again revived, by their giving a freſh defeat to the king's troops under general *Hawley*, at *Falkirk*. The duke of *Cumberland* then took the command of the army, which he was at great pains to diſcipline, ſo that his ſoldiers ſhould be a match for the rebels, in their own way of fighting.

fighting. The latter were then beſieging *Stirling*; but when they heard that his royal highneſs was approaching, they blew up their magazines, and made a moſt precipitate retreat northwards, in order, as they gave out, to collect their whole force, that they might fight a deciſive battle. The many ſkirmiſhes and adventures that followed, are foreign to this hiſtory. The duke of *Cumberland* proved victorious at the battle of *Culloden*, and the *French* troops in the rebel army ſurrendered themſelves to his royal highneſs, without having done any thing worthy of the name of ſoldiers; and thus ended all the hopes of the *French* from the *Britiſh* rebels. which is quelled.

By this time, the *States General*, after the moſt abject ſubmiſſion to the *French* court, found themſelves ſtript of their barrier. Marſhal *Saxe* had, during the winter of 1745, taken *Bruſſels*; and the rebellion that raged in *Great Britain* diſabled *George* the IId from ſupporting the party of his ſon-in-law, the prince of *Orange*, who were deſirous to enter as principals in the war. In *April* 1746, the *French* king and his general *Saxe*, were at the head of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, and forced *Bathiani*, the general of the allies, to take poſt in the neighbourhood of *Brabant*. The conſequence was, that the *French* made themſelves maſters, by means of a more dreadful train of artillery than ever had been ſeen in the field before, of *Antwerp*, *Mons*, St. *Guiſlain*, and *Charleroy*; ſo that by the middle of *July*, *Lewis* ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Flanders*, *Hainault*, and *Brabant*. *Lowendahl*, the kinſman of *Saxe*, and ſecond only to him in military genius, took *Huy*, and cut off the communication of the allies, who were commanded by prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*, with *Maeſtricht*. The prince was obliged to repaſs the *Maeſe*, and the *French* took *Namur*. By the motions of prince *Charles*, he had received ſome reinforcements from *Great Britain* under Sir *John Ligonier*, and regained his communication with *Maeſtricht*, but he found *Saxe* too advantageouſly encamped at *Tongres*, to force him to a battle. *Saxe* watched his opportunity, and defeated the allies under the prince of *Waldeck*, at *Roucoux*. This battle was ineffectually bloody, and of little ſervice to either ſide. Soon after both armies went into winter quarters. 1745. 1746. Vaſt progreſs of the *French* in *Flanders*.

During the operations in the *Netherlands*, the allies formed great hopes from two expeditions. The one was, the invaſion of *Provence*, where the *Auſtrian* general, *Brown*, beſieged *Antibes*, but without effect, for he was forced, by *Belleiſle*, to repaſs the *Var*. The other expedition was to have been executed againſt *Port l'Orient*, by general *Sinclair*, a *Britiſh* officer, at the head of ſix or ſeven thouſand men, but very unequal to that, or indeed any other, command, for he abandoned his enterprize juſt as the inhabitants were preparing to ſend him the keys of their town. Upon the receſs of the armies, ſome conferences for peace were held at *Breda*, but the terms demanded by the *French* were ſuch, that the court of *London* determined to proſecute the war with more vigour than ever. *Provence* invaded by the *Auſtrians*.

For that purpoſe the duke of *Cumberland* paſſed over to *Holland*, where he concerted the operations of the ſucceeding campaign; and in *February* following, he encamped at the head of the *Engliſh*, *Hanoverians*, and *Heſſians*, at *Tilberg*. *Bathiani* remained in the neighbourhood of *Venlo*, with the *Germans*, and the prince of *Waldeck* in that of *Breda*, with the *Dutch*. It was thought that his royal highneſs committed an error by taking the field ſo early in a rigorous ſeaſon. *Saxe* lay in his cantonments, and is ſaid to have inſulted his royal highneſs upon his error. It is certain that vaſt numbers of the allies died through the inclemency of the weather; nor did *Saxe*, who was now created marſhal general of *France*, make any movement till *April*, when he detached twenty-ſeven thouſand men, under *Lowendahl*, into *Dutch Flanders*. That accompliſhed general, who ſhone at ſieges, as much as *Saxe* did in the field, ſoon reduced *Sluys*, and a great number of other places, which were ſhamefully given up by the *Dutch*; and *Lowendahl* had orders to prepare flat-bottom'd boats for a deſcent upon *Zealand*. Here *Saxe*, in his turn, committed an error, for the imminent danger they were in, united the common people in *Holland* againſt their puſillanimous magiſtrates, and the prince of *Orange* was choſen their Stadtholder. *Maeſtricht* and *Bergen-op-Zoom* were then covered by the poſition of the duke of *Cumberland*, between the two *Neths*; but *Saxe* made diſpoſitions for beſieging *Maeſtricht*, and at the ſame time, for fighting the allies. A battle accordingly enſued, at *Laſeldt*, to the diſadvantage of the latter, through the cowardice of the *Dutch*. The duke of *Cumberland* was in the moſt imminent danger of being made priſoner, when he was diſengaged by Sir *John Ligonier*, at the head of a regiment of *Britiſh* cavalry; but that general was himſelf taken priſoner, and carried to the *French* camp.

A deſcent formed upon *Zealand*.

Battle of *Laſeldt*.

Bergen-op-Zoom taken.

From that hour, we may date the ſerious negotiations for peace, entered into by the *French*. *Lewis*, in fact, had been more ſucceſsful than he could have expected, and he knew that he would gain more by having the *Dutch* for his obſequious allies, than if they were his ſubjects. He hinted his inclinations for peace to his captive, who communicated what paſſed, to his own court; but in the mean time the operations of war went on with vigour, for *Lowendahl*, in an almoſt wonderful manner, beſieged and took *Bergen-op-Zoom*, one of the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes in *Europe*, and ſituated in *Dutch Brabant*. This conqueſt crowned the glory of *Lewis* for that campaign, and *Lowendahl* was rewarded with a marſhal's baton. Thoſe ſplendid conqueſts ſerved only to diſguiſe from the vulgar, the true ſtate of *France*. Her commerce was ruined in almoſt every quarter of the globe. She had not now the face of a naval armament in *America*, but ſhe fitted out two ſquadrons, one under *Jonquiere*, who was to act in the *Weſt Indies*, and another under *St. George*, who was deſtined to the *Eaſt Indies*. Before they ſeparated, they were defeated

defeated by the *Engliſh* admirals, *Anſon* and *Warren*; and rear admiral *Hawke* defeated another *French* fleet under *l'Etendeur*, only two ſhips of the line eſcaping. Such, and many other, were the blows that diſpoſed *Lewis* for peace. The empire had now an *Auſtrian* head: The *French* king could reap no real benefit from the aggrandizement of the king of *Pruſſia*, and the *Dutch* ſeemed to be united againſt him as one man. In *Italy*, *Lewis* had the empty glory of aſſiſting the *Genoeſe* againſt the *Auſtrian* tyranny; but the *French* troops, under the chevalier *de Belleiſle*, brother to the marſhal, were defeated, at the paſs of *Exilles*, in attempting to penetrate into *Piedmont*, and he himſelf was killed. It affected *Lewis* deeply, at the ſame time, that the *Britiſh* commerce in the midſt of the war, was in a more flouriſhing ſtate than it ever had been known, in the time of peace.

Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* concluded. 1748.

The deſire of a negotiation was quickened in *Lewis*, by a treaty of ſubſidy entered into by king *George* with the court of *Ruſſia*, who had engaged to ſend thirty-five thouſand of its beſt troops to the aſſiſtance of the allies. *Aix-la-Chapelle* was pitched upon for the place of treaty, and the preliminaries of peace were actually ſigned there on the 13th of *May* 1748, but ſtill the operations in the field continued. The *French* had inveſted *Maeſtricht*, which made a noble defence, and the ſiege was far advanced, when advice arrived of the preliminaries having been ſigned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. By a ſecret convention, it was agreed that *Maeſtricht*, for the glory of the *French* arms, ſhould be delivered up to *Saxe*, but he was to return it ſafe to its former owners.

Firmneſs of the *French* parliaments.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, by which the *Britiſh* court gave hoſtages till certain matters were regulated in *America* and the *Eaſt Indies*, was far from being either for the intereſt or the glory of *Great Britain*. The only apology made for it, came from the gentlemen of the army, which, they ſaid, muſt have been abſolutely ruined if it had not been concluded. *Lewis*, on the other hand, boaſted of his moderation, by conſenting to give up his chief conqueſts in the *Netherlands*, but in a defenceleſs ſtate. He was at that time in no eaſy circumſtances at home, through the jarring claims of his clergy and parliaments. They aroſe to ſuch a height, that the chambers of parliament refuſed to regiſter the king's letters patent, till they had juſtice done to their privileges. He baniſhed them all; but they exulted in their exile, and at laſt, *Lewis* diſſolved all the known tribunals of juſtice in *France*, and, by his own authority, he inſtituted a royal chamber, by which all cauſes, civil and criminal, were to be judged. The parliaments maintained their former firmneſs. They were backed by the people of *France*, as *Lewis* was by his ſtanding army; but after many altercations, the monarch was obliged to recede from his high pretenſions, and the parliament was reſtored to its former functions.

Riſe of the *American* war.

Thoſe differences between the king and his parliaments employed all the interval of time between the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and the breaking out of the ſucceeding war, which was terminated by the peace of *Paris* in 1763. It was ſoon diſcovered that the treaty, with all its ſpecious appearances, was, on the part of *France*, no better than an inſidious truce. No ſooner was it concluded, than ſhe made preparations for ſettling the neutral iſlands of St. *Lucia*, *Dominica*, St. *Vincent* and *Tobago*; but in this ſhe was deterred by the repreſentations of the *Engliſh* miniſters at *Paris*. The moſt important points of the *Britiſh* navigation, and poſſeſſions in *North America*, had been left to the ſettlement of commiſſaries, a ſpecies of negotiation in which the *French* have always been our ſuperiors. The eſtabliſhment of the town and colony of *Halifax* in *Nova Scotia*, gave them diſquiet, and they had made a conſiderable progreſs in ſettling the iſland of *Tobago*, under the authority of their governor of *Martinico*, till they were interrupted by captain *Tyrrel*, a *Britiſh* ſea officer. Upon proper repreſentations being made at the *French* court, his moſt chriſtian majeſty thought proper to diſown the proceedings of his governor. The *French* made a great merit of this, and behaved in ſuch a manner towards the court of *London*, as if they were ready to ſacrifice every thing to ſatisfy his *Britannic* majeſty, and they had ſoon an opportunity of exhibiting a ſignal inſtance of their complaiſance. They had agreed, by the late peace, that the young pretender ſhould be ſent out of *France*, but he refuſed to depart, before the promiſes made to him by his moſt chriſtian majeſty were fulfilled. He even affected to appear in public in the ſame places with the *Britiſh* hoſtages. *Lewis*, upon this, without any ceremony, gave orders that he ſhould be arreſted, which he accordingly was, in entering the opera houſe, and ſent pinioned to a dungeon, where he remained a priſoner for three days, till he conformed himſelf to his moſt chriſtian majeſty's pleaſure. At this time, *Lewis*, to do him juſtice, applied himſelf with great aſſiduity in repairing the ravages which the war had made in his dominions. He reduced half his army, and an incredible progreſs was made in reſtoring his marine. In the diſputes between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, he and the king of *Pruſſia* inclined to take part with the former, and thoſe two powers, as being the natural enemies of the houſe of *Auſtria*, co-operated together in all the affairs of *Germany*.

The young pretender arreſted, and ſent out of *France*.

Diſputes between the *Engliſh* and *French* about *America*.

At *Paris*, conferences were held between the commiſſaries of *England* and *France*, concerning the limits of *Nova Scotia*. The latter had recourſe to the moſt infamous evaſions and palpable forgeries to certify their pretenſions, while, at the ſame time, they were making ſuch encroachments upon the *Britiſh* back ſettlements, as evidently pointed towards a war. The archbiſhop of *Paris*, the moſt violent prelate in *Europe*, ſeemed to be born for diſturbing the tranquillity of his country, by diſowning

diſowning the authority of the parliaments, and preſſing the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus*. This, once more, filled *France* full of intrigues, and produced freſh diſorders, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the royal prerogative. The conferences concerning the limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, were ſtill proceeding, but to no purpoſe. The *Britiſh* commiſſaries produced the moſt irrefragable proofs of the juſtice of their demands, but it was not long before the diſpute exceeded the bounds of negotiation. The *French* claimed all the lands upon the *Ohio*, and an excluſive right of trading with the *Indians* on the banks of that river. The *Engliſh*, by an impolitic admeaſurement of the *Indian* lands there, had rendered the natives their enemies; a circumſtance of which the *French* governor of *Quebec* availed himſelf to the full. He claimed all the privileges of trading with the inland natives, and perhaps he was too precipitate in unmaſking the real deſigns of his court, by ordering three *Engliſh* traders to be arreſted, and ſent priſoners, firſt to *Quebec*, and then to *Rochelle* in old *France*. This alarmed the *Britiſh* miniſtry, and though the affair was huſhed up as much as poſſible, the traders were ſet at liberty, upon their being demanded by the earl of *Albemarle*, the *Britiſh* embaſſador at *Paris*. The *French* court made fair profeſſions, and pretended to ſend orders to their *American* governors for keeping up a good correſpondence with the *Britiſh* nation, but they produced only daily encroachments upon the *Engliſh* trade and territory. Theſe were ſo flagrant that at laſt, Mr. *Dinwiddie*, the lieutenant governor of *Virginia*, towards the end of the year 1753, ſent one major *Waſhington* to expoſtulate with the commandant of a *French* fort, which had been built on the *Britiſh* lands, at the *Riviere au Bœuf*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Ohio*, near the lake *Erie*. The commandant pretended he would tranſmit the complaint to his ſuperior officer, the marquis *Du Queſne*, but took no farther notice of it; upon which, the *Engliſh* governor ordered a fort to be erected near the forks of the river. 1753.

Encroachments of the *French* there.

The whole tenour of the *French* conduct was equally faithleſs, and one of their officers, *La Corne*, fortified a poſt on the bay of *Chignecto*, ſo that the inhabitants of *Annapolis-royal*, though really ſubjects to *Great Britain*, joined with the *French*. The misfortune was, that the wrong ſteps taken by the *Engliſh* planters and the *Ohio* company, made the *Indians*, who had too great reaſon for complaint, irreconcileable to the *Engliſh* intereſt, and the *French* under pretence that they had no controul over the ſavages, gave way to their committing the moſt cruel barbarities. Major *Lawrence* was detached from *Halifax* by general *Cornwallis* to reduce the *Annapolitans*, but found himſelf too weak, becauſe they were under the protection of *La Corne*, and were well provided with arms and ammunition. Thus diſappointed, the major was obliged to return to *Halifax*; and the *Indians* inſtigated by the *Annapolitans* or *French* neutrals, as they were called, committed every

every ſpecies of barbarity upon the inhabitants of *Halifax*, and the *Engliſh* who fell into their hands. Major *Laurence* was reinforced with a thouſand men, and attacked the poſt, at *Chignecto*, with ſo much vigour, that he killed and wounded many of the neutrals, and obliged the remainder to fly acroſs the river, where *La Corne* received and protected them. Several forts were built, one called *Beauſejour*, by the *French*; and another called fort *St. Laurence* by the *Engliſh*, which protected their reſpective partizans in that predatory ſcalping war. The *Indians* and the *French* neutrals mingled together as one body, and were furniſhed by the *French* governors with boats, arms, and ammunition, and every thing that could ſerve to annoy the *Engliſh*. They committed great cruelties on the inhabitants of the little town of *Dartmouth*, which lay acroſs *Halifax* bay, by ſcalping ſome and carrying off others into a ſervitude that was worſe than death itſelf. It would be endleſs to recount the number of forts they erected towards the back ſettlements, to ſecure an excluſive trade with the *Indians*, and to annoy the *Engliſh*, while at the ſame time the commiſſaries of both kingdoms were calmly debating at *Paris*, concerning the property of the ground on which thoſe forts were erected. The earl of *Albemarle* preſented memorials on thoſe heads, and demanded the demolition of *Niagara* particularly; but he received little other ſatisfaction than fair words and promiſes. The *Engliſh* ſubjects in *America*, at laſt, received orders to repell force by force, and to drive the *French* from their ſettlements on the *Ohio*; but while they were deliberating on the manner of carrying thoſe orders into execution, the *French* took *Loggs Town*, with the block-houſe and truck-houſe, with all their contents amounting to the value of twenty thouſand pounds. Monſ. *Contrecœur*, a *French* officer, about the ſame time came from *Venango*, on the banks of the *Ohio*, and took a *Virginia* fort on the forks of the *Monongahela*.

Farther invaſions of the *French* in *America*.

It amazed all *Europe* that the *French* ſhould be ſo ſucceſsful againſt an enemy ten times more powerful than themſelves on that continent. It was owing to their arbitrary form of government, by which every one of their governors or officers had the means of immediately executing their orders. But the forms of the *Britiſh* conſtitution ſubjected the *Engliſh* governors to checks, which required too much time, and in the mean while the *French* being always alert and ready, were proceeding with ſucceſs before the *Engliſh* were in a condition to take the field. The latter were ſenſible of this diſadvantage, and a plan was ſent from *Great Britain* for a political confederacy among all their governments, and for bringing the *Indians* off from the *French* intereſt by dint of preſents. A congreſs accordingly was held at *Albany*, and ſo ſucceſsful had the *French* been in debauching the chiefs of the *Indians*, that few of the latter attended, but they who did, accepted the preſents, and gave fair, but deceitful, words. Upon the breaking

Meaſures of the *Engliſh* there.

ing up of the congreſs, colonel *Waſhington* was ſent with four hundred men to take poſt on the banks of the *Ohio*, where he threw up ſome works breaſt high, and called them fort *Neceſſity*. A *French* officer, one *Jamonville*, was ſent by *Du Viller*, his ſuperior officer, to expoſtulate with *Waſhington* for his having built a fort upon *French* property. According to the *French* accounts, *Jamonville* and moſt of the party who attended him were butchered without provocation. The *Engliſh* ſay, that he began hoſtilities from an over impetuoſity. *Du Viller*, who was at the head of nine hundred men, attacked and defeated *Waſhington*, and obliged him to ſurrender the fort. Unfortunately for the *Engliſh* intereſt, the governors and aſſemblies were at this time miſerably divided, ſo that no effectual oppoſition was made to the *French*, till two *American* regiments, one under *Pepperell*, and another under *Shirley*, were ordered to be raiſed. The *Engliſh* embaſſador at *Paris*, complained of what had happened in *America*, but was anſwered only by the *French* court ſending daily ſupplies of troops, arms and ammunition to *Quebec*, to ſupport their uſurpations.

Troops ſent from *Great Britain* to *America*.

Theſe were ſo flagrant, that the *Britiſh* miniſtry took the matter upon themſelves, and came to a reſolution to ſend a body of troops to *America* to co-operate with the provincials. The *French* continued to behave with the utmoſt diſſimulation and inſolence. They even impoſed upon their own miniſter at the *Britiſh* court, the duke *de Mirepoix*, who was a man of honour, by authorizing him to declare that no infraction of treaties was made on the part of *France*. The duke having found out the duplicity of his own court, went to *Paris*, where he upbraided the miniſtry, but they found means to perſuade him of their good faith, and he was ſent back to *London* fraught with the ſame aſſurances as before. Scarcely had he delivered them, when undoubted intelligence arrived, that a powerful armament was ready to ſail from *Breſt* and *Rochfort* to *America*, upon which admiral *Boſcawen* ſailed with eleven ſhips of the line and a frigate, and ſome land troops, to obſerve the enemy's motions, but with orders to act offenſively. The *French* armament was ſtronger than was imagined, for it was found to conſiſt of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, which carried four thouſand regulars, under baron *Dieſkau*, a general of ability and experience. This ſquadron was commanded by one Mr. *M'Namara*, and Monſ. *Bois de la Mothe*; but the former, after ſeeing the latter out of the chops of the channel, returned to *France* with eleven capital ſhips.

Two *French* ſhips taken by *Boſcawen*.

The truth is, that the vigour and injuſtice the *French* miniſters diſcovered on this occaſion, was owing to a full conviction they had that his *Britannic* majeſty's tenderneſs for his *German* dominions, would tie up the hands of his admirals and generals. The *Engliſh* miniſters, on the one hand, declared loudly to *Mirepoix*, that *Boſcawen* had orders to attack

tack the *French* fleet wherever he met it. *Mirepoix*, on the other hand, affirmed that he had expreſs orders from his maſter, to declare that he would conſider the firſt gun fired in a hoſtile manner at ſea, as a declaration of war. *Boſcawen* ſailed on the 27th of *April*, and arrived on the banks of *Newfoundland*, but the fogs prevented him from ſeeing the *French* fleet which was there at the ſame time. The latter, however, knew of *Boſcawen*'s arrival, and part of them eſcaped up the river St. *Laurence*, and part by the ſtraits of *Belleiſle*, which, till then, were not thought to be navigable by ſhips of the line. Only two of the *French* ſhips, the *Alcide*, and the *Lys*, were taken, both of them bored for ſixty-four guns, and each carrying a conſiderable number of land troops, with a large ſum of money; but they did not ſurrender, till after a ſmart engagement. The *French* court could ſcarcely believe the news of this engagement, and the *Engliſh* were overjoyed, as they conſidered it as a declaration of war. The duke *de Mirepoix* was recalled from *London*, as *Buſſy* was from *Hanover*, where he was attending his *Britannic* majeſty, and negotiating a neutrality for *Hanover*, in which, however, he did not ſucceed. The ſame provocation that juſtified *Boſcawen*'s hoſtility, juſtified farther meaſures for diſabling the *French*; and orders were iſſued in *England* for bringing all *French* ſhips which ſhould be met with at ſea, either homeward or outward bound, into *Britiſh* ports.

Syſtem of affairs in *Europe*.

The great difference between the genius of the *French* and the *Britiſh* nations was diſcernable, now that the latter were unfettered by any foreign conſiderations. *George* II. had been offered the moſt advantageous terms by the *French* miniſtry, if he would agree to a neutrality for *Hanover*. He conſidered that meaſure as ſo precarious a dependence, that he choſe to throw himſelf upon the affections of his *Britiſh* ſubjects, who did not deceive him. They enabled him to conclude a treaty with the king of *Pruſſia*, to whom they paid a ſubſidy of ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year. The *French* were unſucceſsful in their endeavours to procure the mediation of *Spain* for a ſuſpenſion of arms, but they brought over the elector of *Cologne* to their party, and they had now recourſe to their laſt meaſure, that of erecting vaſt magazines in *Weſtphalia*, for the invaſion of *Hanover*. The complication of intereſts which then prevailed in *Europe*, altered its whole ſyſtem. The empreſs of *Ruſſia*, and the empreſs queen, had concluded a negotiation to which the king of *Poland* was invited, for a partition of the *Pruſſian* dominions. The count *d'Aubeterre*, the *French* embaſſador at *Vienna*, offered to enter into all their meaſures, provided the two empreſſes would abandon the friendſhip of *Great Britain*, which they did by a ſecret treaty, concluded at *Verſailles*. Thus the unnatural alliance between the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Bourbon* againſt thoſe of *Hanover* and *Brandenburgh* commenced.

The

The ſea was now covered with *Britiſh* armaments, while thoſe of *France* were ſhut up in their ports and harbours. Before the end of the year 1755, above three hundred rich *French* ſhips from St. *Domingo* and *Martinico*, carrying above eight thouſand ſailors, were brought into the *Britiſh* ports; an amazing proof of the encreaſe of the *French* commerce, ſince the late peace. Their trade was ruined abroad, and their diſſentions grew at home, where the parliament continued ſo firm, that *Lewis* was in a manner forced to take its part againſt the eccleſiaſtics, whom he obliged to make him a preſent of ſixteen millions of livres, by way of free gift. In *America*, lieutenant colonel *Monkton*, after defeating the *French*, took *Fort Beauſejour*, though it mounted twenty-ſix pieces of cannon; the garriſon was ſent to *Louiſbourg*, which, by the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, had reverted to the *French*; but on condition of their not ſerving in *America* for ſix months. The lieutenant colonel, after that, reduced a *French* fort upon the river *Gaſpereau*, where he ſeized upon the *French* magazines. In the courſe of this ſucceſsful expedition, above fifteen thouſand *Acadians*, ſubjects of *England*, but debauched by the *French*, were diſarmed and pardoned; and the *French* fort at the mouth of the river St. *John*, was demoliſhed. 1755. Captures of the *French* by the *Engliſh*.

A reſolution was next taken at the court of *Great Britain* of ſending major general *Braddock* to conduct the operations againſt the *French* upon the *Ohio*, and he landed in *Virginia* with the regiments of *Dunbar* and *Halket* before the end of *February*. This expedition did not prove more unfortunate in its progreſs, than in the choice of its general, who was a haughty proud man, and had a ſovereign contempt for the provincials whom he was to command. He deſpiſed all advices given him for being upon his guard in his march, againſt a ſurprize from the *French* and *Indians*. He joined the camp formed by the *Virginian's* at *Will's Creek*, where *Fort Cumberland* was built, and ſet out from thence to attack *Fort du Queſne*, but left colonel *Dunbar* with all the military ſtores behind, that he might march with the greater expedition. Proceeding without the leaſt care or caution, he fell into one of thoſe ambuſhes he had been ſo often forewarned of. Seven hundred of his little army were cut off all at once, and he himſelf was killed without their ſeeing an enemy, ſo artfully had the *French* and *Indians* ambuſhed themſelves. The ſurviving regulars were carried off by the provincials, who behaved with the greateſt coolneſs and intrepidity, but the enemy became poſſeſſed of his baggage, artillery, ammunition, and papers. According to the *French* accounts, which we have little reaſon to diſbelieve, this terrible defeat (the ſlaughter of which fell chiefly upon the officers) was effected by no more than four hundred men, and thoſe moſtly *Indians*, whoſe loſs was ſo ſmall, that it is not to be mentioned. *Braddock's* unhappy expedition.

The expedition againſt *Crown Point*, which was committed to the provincials, was more fortunate. Colonel (afterwards general) *Johnſon* defeats *Dieſkau*.

general) *Johnſon*, an *Iriſhman*, but well acquainted with that country, commanded it, while *Shirley*, who ſucceeded *Braddock* in his command, undertook the reduction of *Niagara*. *Johnſon* took up a camp near *Lake St. George*, guarded with a breaſt work, and ſoon had intelligence that the *French* under *Dieſkau*, after having forced an important paſs, were in full march to attack him. Upon reconnoitring *Dieſkau*'s army, it was found that he had no cannon, and they began their firing at too great a diſtance, while the *Engliſh* pointed their artillery ſo well, that *Dieſkau* was ſoon abandoned by all his *Indians*. He ſeems to have fallen into the ſame error that proved ſo fatal to *Braddock*; for inſtead of attacking the breaſtwork at once, he made a halt that he might proceed regularly, which gave the *Engliſh* time to recover from their conſternation. *Dieſkau* continued his ineffectual fire, but was at laſt attacked by *Johnſon*'s men. Eight hundred *French* were killed, and *Dieſkau* himſelf was taken priſoner, being dangerouſly wounded. When he ſet out from *Ticonderoga*, his deſign was to have ſurprized the entrenched camp of the *Engliſh* at the carrying place, which he might eaſily have done, but being told that it was provided with cannon, and that *Johnſon*'s camp had none, he proceeded on his ill judged attack. The *Engliſh*, however, loſt about two hundred men in a detachment under colonel *Williams*, previous to this battle. *Johnſon* was blamed for not purſuing the *French*, but he had been wounded, and was therefore the leſs able to give orders. Perhaps, he likewiſe was afraid of ambuſcades. As this victory was acquired ſo late as the 7th of *September*, it had few or no conſequences in favour of the *Engliſh*. As to *Shirley*'s expedition againſt *Niagara*, it miſcarried through indolence, ſlowneſs, and perhaps more ſhameful cauſes. Upon the whole, the operations in *America* this year were to the diſadvantage of the *Engliſh*.

The *French* conquer *Minorca*.

The ſcene was very different in *Europe*, where the *Britiſh* ports continued to be crouded with *French* captures. The court of *Verſailles* endeavoured to ſtir up all *Europe* againſt the injuſtice of the *Engliſh*, as it was called, but with very little ſucceſs, eſpecially at the court of *Madrid*, where the *Engliſh* influence proved ſuperior to that of *France*. The moderation of the *French* miniſtry was amazing, for they ſet at liberty an *Engliſh* ſhip of war, and her crew, taken in carrying governor *Littleton* to *America*. Perceiving that their moderation did them no ſervice, *Rouille*, their ſecretary for foreign affairs, demanded, in a letter to the *Britiſh* ſecretary of ſtate, ſatisfaction for the depredations committed by the *Engliſh* upon the *French* commerce; but was given to underſtand that the war had been begun by the hoſtilities and encroachments committed by the *French* in *America*, upon which the *French* made their uſual threatning diſpoſitions for invading *Great Britain*. This had too great an effect on the *Engliſh* parliament; but it ſoon appeared that their true deſign pointed to another

another quarter, and that they had equipped a fleet for attacking *Minorca*. Their intention was diſcovered when it was too late, for their general, the duke of *Richelieu*, opened the trenches before *Philip's Fort*, the only ſtrength the *Engliſh* had on that iſland, on the 25th of *April*. Twenty days before that, admiral *Byng* ſailed with twelve ſhips of the line, but thoſe excellently well provided, for the relief of the fort, at the time that *Galaſſioniere*, the *French* admiral, was on his return to *Toulon*, after landing the *French* troops. *Byng*, who was averſe to the expedition, and had no ſtomach for fighting, arrived at *Philip's Fort*, when the *French* fleet appeared to the ſouth eaſt. An engagement enſued, in which, the infamous conduct of *Byng* (whatever his partizans may ſay in his favour) ſuffered the *French* fleet to eſcape, when he might have deſtroyed it; and without attempting to relieve *Philip's Fort* returned to *Gibraltar*. It is well known that *Byng* was ſhot by ſentence of a court martial, for his behaviour on that occaſion. The duke of *Richelieu* proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and *Blakeney*, an old inactive man, while his garriſon was in a manner undiminiſhed and undiſpirited, and before a breach was made in the place, capitulated, more diſgracefully, perhaps, than *Byng* had fought, and was honoured by his maſter *George* II. by a peerage, and a ribband of the Bath.

The *French* were as much elated by the conqueſt of *Philip's Fort*, as they could have been by that of *London*, and affairs ſtill went on unſucceſsfully in *America*, where in *Auguſt*, 1756, the *Engliſh* loſt *Fort Oſwego*, which was moſt commodiouſly ſituated at the mouth of the *Onnondaga* river; but in the mean while, war was formally proclaimed between *Great Britain* and *France*. On the 25th of *June*, general *Abercrombie* from *England*, took upon himſelf the command of the *Britiſh* troops lying at *Albany*, on the frontiers of *New York*, but found all in confuſion through the irruptions of the *French* and their *Indians*. As he only ſerved under the earl of *Loudon*, he poſtponed the execution of any important operation till his lordſhip's arrival, which was unaccountably delayed. The operations of this period are too trifling to be deſcribed here. It is ſufficient to ſay that the reduction of *Oſwego* was intruſted by *Vaudreuil*, the governor of *New France*, to Monſ. *de Moncalm*, an active able officer, who likewiſe reduced *Fort Ontario*. Upon the ſurrender of *Oſwego*, *Moncalm*, undoubtedly, behaved as a ruffian, for in violation of the articles, he not only ſuffered the *Britiſh* officers and ſoldiers to be inſulted, robbed, and ſome of them maſſacred by his *Indians*, but gave up twenty of the garriſon as an atonement to thoſe barbarians for the ſame number of their countrymen who had been killed in the ſiege, and they were put to death with the moſt excruciating torments.

1756. Loſſes of the *Engliſh* in *America*.

It was the 29th of *July*, before the earl of *Loudon* arrived at *Albany*, and took upon him the command of the army. He found the ſeaſon too far advanced to undertake any thing of

conſequence

conſequence that year, and the *French*, with their barbarous allies, were left to continue their cruelties.

Campaign in *Weſtphalia*.

Upon the mutual declaration of war between *France* and *Great Britain*, the *French* exerted themſelves to prove what uſeful allies they were to the houſe of *Auſtria*. They ſent two armies into the field, one conſiſting of about eighty thouſand troops, under count *D'Etrees*, aſſiſted by *Contades*, *Chevert*, and St. *Germain*, three able generals; and having paſſed the *Rhine*, they advanced by *Weſtphalia*, but pretended to act in no other capacity than thoſe of allies to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and guarantees of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*. The other army, conſiſting of twenty-five thouſand men, was commanded by the prince *de Soubiſe*, and intended to co-operate with the imperial army of execution. In that character, *Soubiſe*, before he paſſed the *Rhine*, took poſſeſſion of *Cleves*, *Mœurs*, and *Gueldres*, as did a detachment from *D'Etrees* army of *Embden*, and all the other *Pruſſian* poſſeſſions in *Eaſt Frieſland*. It is not our intention to deſcribe this war farther than the part the *French* took in it. It is certain that the king of *Pruſſia* was attacked by a moſt powerful confederacy, and was put to the ban of the empire; but many of the *German* princes, though overawed by the *Auſtrian* power, were ſo backward in their contingencies, that had it not been for *Soubiſe*, the army of the empire muſt have been ineffectual. The duke of *Cumberland* was ſent to command an army of obſervation (as it was called) upon the *Weſer*; but it conſiſted of no more than thirty-ſix, or at moſt, forty thouſand men. His royal highneſs exerted great abilities in endeavouring to prevent the *French* from paſſing that river, but all in vain. The *Hanoverians*, who ſerved under him, were ſecretly diſguſted with the rejection of the neutrality for their country; and even ſome of the moſt conſiderable of the *Hanoverian* regency, were of the ſame ſentiments. Though *D'Etrees* was put to great difficulties in that barren country to find ſubſiſtence for his troops, yet he effected his paſſage of the *Weſer*, and he advanced againſt *Bielfield*. The duke of *Cumberland*'s commiſſion did not leave him to act offenſively, but under certain circumſtances; and being forced to retire gradually before the vaſt ſuperiority of the *French* army, he made a ſtand at *Haſtenbeck*, a ſmall diſtance from *Hammelen*. By this time, all the landgraviate of *Heſſe Caſſel* was upon the point of ſubmitting to *Contades*, and *D'Etrees*'s army had been very conſiderably reinforced. He attacked the rear of the *Hanoverians* at *Haſtenbeck*, and obliged the duke, after loſing about fifteen hundred men, to retreat towards *Ferden*; but the *French* reduced *Hammelen*.

Convention of *Cloſterſeven*.

The diſplacing ſo able a general as *d'Etrees* was, at this critical juncture, exhibits a ſtrong proof of the *French* monarch's weakneſs. The duke of *Richelieu*, who had acquired ſome reputation by the reduction of *Minorca*, was a favourite with madam *Pompadour*, his moſt chriſtian majeſty's miſtreſs, and formed

formed a ſcheme for repairing by rapacity, the fortune he had diſſipated in luxury. *Pompadour* prevailed with her royal lover, to give him the command of his victorious armies in *Weſtphalia*, and he accordingly ſuperſeded *d'Etrees*. He ſent the duke *de Randan*, a moſt humane nobleman, to take poſſeſſion of the city of *Hanover*, which he did, without reſiſtance. He iſſued orders for the tenants of *Hanover* to repair to his camp, that their contributions might be ſettled; and then he marched towards *Ferden*, from whence his royal highneſs retired to a ſtrong camp between *Otterſburg* and *Rothenburg*, and from thence he retired, with his army, under the cannon of *Stade*. The ſprings which brought on the ſubſequent negotiation, have never been explained to the public. *Stade* is the ſtrongeſt fortification in all the *Hanoverian* dominions; nor could the duke of *Richelieu* have attacked his royal highneſs there, without the moſt manifeſt diſadvantages. *George* the IId had given his *Hanoverian* regency, by all appearance, a ſecret power of controuling the operations of the war, and they perſuaded the king of *Denmark*, whoſe intereſt it was, to ſend his miniſter, the count *de Lynar*, to mediate between his royal highneſs and the duke *de Richelieu*. A convention was accordingly ſettled at *Cloſterſeven*, on the 8th of *September*, by which the *Hanoverian* troops, to the number of thirty-eight thouſand, agreed to lay down their arms, and to retire to different cantonments in their own country. This convention was the more mortifying, becauſe, after being obliged to ſign it, his royal highneſs never thought himſelf at liberty to reſume his military functions, and *Richelieu* giving a looſe to his rapaciouſneſs, laid hold of all the *Hanoverian* revenues.

An expedition againſt *Rochfort* miſcarries.

The change of the miniſtry in *England*, at this time, produced an alteration in the management of the war. A reſolution was taken to attack *France*; and a ſecret, well-formed, enterprize was concerted for reducing *Rochfort*, which muſt have not only given a dreadful blow to the *French* marine, but have created a powerful diverſion in favour of the king of *Pruſſia*. A fleet was equipped in *England*, and ſix thouſand land troops put on board it, under the command of lieutenant general Sir *John Mordaunt*, and the major generals *Conway* and *Cornwallis*. All *Europe*, *France* eſpecially, was deeply concerned in the deſtination of this armament, which on the 21ſt of *September* appeared off *Rochfort*, and reduced the iſle of *Aix*. The commanders, inſtead of executing, deliberated upon, their orders, and ſo much time was ſpent in their conſultations, that there was ſome appearance of a camp on the ſhore; neither was it plain whether *Rochfort* was ſurrounded by a wet or a dry ditch, or whether, if the army had landed, it could have been taken by a *coup de main*, as the *Engliſh* generals and miniſters had all along propoſed. At the ſame time, both the weather and the coaſt proved unfavourable for landing the troops, and the admiral, Sir *Edward Hawke*, declared, that in caſe of a longer ſtay, he could not be anſwerable for the

ſafety of his majeſty's ſhips; ſo that, after long and ineffectual debates, the army returned to *England* without landing. The *Engliſh* commander in chief was tried by a general court-martial, for this unaccountable miſcarriage, but acquitted. The failure of the expedition againſt *Rochfort*, had almoſt proved fatal to the king of *Pruſſia*, whoſe enemies endeavoured to overwhelm him; but he made head againſt them all. *Richelieu*, who now deſpiſed the *Hanoverians*, plundered wherever he marched, and extended his contributions over *Halberſtadt*, and the old marche of *Brandenburgh*. The prince of *Soubiſe* entered *Saxony*, that he might leave the imperialiſts at liberty to reconquer *Sileſia*. His *Pruſſian* majeſty ſecretly determined upon a battle with *Soubiſe* and the imperialiſts, but his motions were ſo various and myſterious, that his deſign was known to none but himſelf. His enemies advanced without the leaſt apprehenſion or diſtruſt, to the confines of *Miſnia*, where they arrived about the 22d of *October*.

The king of *Pruſſia* gains the battle of *Roſbach*.

The cantonments of the *Pruſſian* army were then ſo diſtant from each other, that *Soubiſe* had not the ſmalleſt idea of the king aſſembling his army, which the excellent diſcipline he had introduced into his troops, enabled him, however, to do; and on the 5th of *November*, both armies meeting near the village of *Roſbach*, a battle became unavoidable. The *Pruſſian* army did not exceed twenty-five thouſand. The combined army under the princes *de Soubiſe* and *Saxe Hilburghauſen*, exceeded fifty thouſand. The king of *Pruſſia* acted with a courage and conduct equal to the great ſtake he had depending, and gained a complete victory, though the *French* horſe are ſaid to have behaved well in the beginning of the engagement. Night alone ſaved the vanquiſhed from, almoſt, total deſtruction. Three thouſand of them were killed on the ſpot, and ſix thouſand taken, together with ſixty-three pieces of cannon; eight *French* generals, and two hundred and fifty officers were made priſoners. The event of the battle of *Roſbach*, gave the enemies of *France* a very indifferent opinion of her troops. Though by the convention of *Cloſterſeven*, the *French* were equally, as the *Hanoverians*, bound to articles, yet *Richelieu* obſerved none. He converted his maſter's money to his own uſe, and left his troops to pay themſelves by oppreſſing and plundering the unfortunate *Hanoverians* and *Heſſians*, whom he not only attempted to diſarm, but to ſhut up in cantonments ſo narrow, that they could not ſubſiſt. In ſhort, the *French* general was unable to reſettle diſcipline in his army, which, through habits of vice and indolence, was daily diminiſhing. It was in vain for the court of *Hanover* to complain of all thoſe, and many other, infractions of the treaty of *Cloſterſeven*; for inſtead of obtaining redreſs, one *de Faidy* ſet up a money-booth in the city of *Hanover* itſelf, for collecting the revenues of that electorate, and the *French* miniſters, every where, declared that they conſidered it as a conquered country.

His

His *Britannic* majeſty ſecretly ſent a commiſſion to prince *Ferdinand*, brother to the reigning duke of *Brunſwic*, and he put himſelf at the head of the *Hanoverians*, who immediately reſumed their arms, and cut in pieces the *French* wherever they met them. They took the town of *Harburg*, and the *French* retired on all ſides. The defence they made in the caſtle of *Harburg*, was the only ſoldierlike action they performed, but it was likewiſe reduced. *Broglio* retired over the *Aller* with the laſt body of cavalry, and prince *Ferdinand* took poſt at *Ultzen*, halfway between *Zell* and *Lunenburg*, where he remained unmoleſted by the *French*. The conduct of *Richelieu* was ſo infamous, that, at laſt, his moſt chriſtian majeſty recalled him, and appointed the count *de Clermont* to the command of his army in *Weſtphalia*; and thus the ſame troops were, in the ſpace of one year, headed by three generals. Early in the year 1758, the *Hanoverians* being reinforced by a ſmall body of *Pruſſian* cavalry, reſumed their operations. They puſhed the *French* from poſt to poſt. They forced them to evacuate *Otterſburg*, *Bremen*, and *Werden*, and took from them the caſtle of *Rotterſberg*. The hereditary prince of *Brunſwic*, though not then twenty years of age, who ſo glorioufly afterwards diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his actions, and his marriage with his *Britannic* majeſty's eldeſt ſiſter, ſurprized count *Chabot*, at *Hoya*, a ſtrong town on the *Weſer*, in a manner that would have done honour to the ableſt general, and thereby put the *Hanoverians*, not only in poſſeſſion of a moſt important paſs, but ſecured to them the paſſage of the *Weſer*; and all this, with the loſs of no more than a hundred men killed and wounded.

The *Hanoverians* reſume their arms, and drive the *French* from that electorate.

1758.

The duke *de Randan*, at laſt received orders to evacuate the city of *Hanover*, where his government had been humane, mild and generous, beyond example, and continued ſo to the end. He ſuffered his ſoldiers to be guilty of no irregularity. Inſtead of deſtroying, he diſtributed among the poor, the large magazines he had erected; and when he left the city, he was followed by the grateful tears and bleſſings of the inhabitants. Prince *Ferdinand* continued to advance, with the *Weſer* between his army, till the whole of the electorate was evacuated, *Minden* excepted, which was garriſoned by four thouſand men; but on the 14th of *March*, they were obliged to ſurrender priſoners of war. The miſeries of the *French*, during their retreat towards the *Rhine*, which they performed in three columns, were inexpreſſible; but their inſolence and rapaciouſneſs, took from their enemies all compaſſion for their ſufferings, and thouſ nds of them were knocked on the head by the boors, as they lay oppreſſed by fatigue and famine on the highways. When their wretched remains arrived at the *Rhine*, the count *de Clermont*, who led the middle diviſion, took poſſeſſion of *Weſel*, while the others repaſſed the river, diminiſhed in half the numbers of thoſe who had paſſed it.

Their retreat towards the *Rhine*.

Operations there.

All *France* was ſenſibly mortified and alarmed at the unexpected diſgrace and ruin of their army in *Weſtphalia*. The authority of the king was leſſened by his conteſt between himſelf, his parliament, and his clergy; and the complaints of the people, at ſeeing their moſt important concerns depending on his miſtreſs's toilette, became outrageous. The publick voice pointed out the duke *de Belleiſle*, as the only *Frenchman* who could retrieve the public diſgraces, and he was placed at the head of the military department, as ſecretary at war, upon his own terms, and after making a ſpeech, in which he bitterly inveighed againſt the late conduct of his countrymen in the field. The army in *Germany* was recruited, and re-eſtabliſhed on a reſpectable footing, and the connections with the empreſs queen, and her allies, were renewed and enforced; but *France* was then without thoſe reſources of money which ariſe from trade. The *Engliſh* had ruined her commerce; ſhe had neither ſtores nor ſeamen to ſecure her coaſts from inſults; and ſhe was, in a manner, obliged to leave her *American* war to the management of her ſubjects and allies there. It was evident that the war in *Germany* ought to have been indifferent to her, had it not been for her concerns in *America*, in which ſhe was diſappointed; but this was far from diſcouraging her new miniſter, who was ſpirited in all he undertook, even to a degree of romance. On the firſt of *June*, 1758, and the ſix following days, prince *Ferdinand* paſſed the *Rhine*, with his army, in the ſight of fifty thouſand *French*, who retired before him. His intention was, to oblige the prince *de Soubiſe* to abandon the plan of operations he had concerted againſt the landgraviate of *Heſſe*.

Prince *Ferdinand* beats the *French* at *Crevelt*.

Notwithſtanding the glory which prince *Ferdinand* and his nephew acquired in this campaign, it is to be wiſhed their military talents had been employed towards ſome more deciſive purpoſe. They had obtained their great end, that of driving the *French* out of *Hanover*, but the latter now fought in a manner upon their own ground, and on their own terms, and were well ſupplied. Though *Clermont* at firſt retired before them, yet it was only to chuſe an advantageous camp at *Crevelt*, and ſuch as he thought almoſt impregnable. The allies however attacked him on the 23d of *June*, with ſuch irreſiſtible reſolution, that they drove the *French* infantry from every poſt, and they muſt have been totally cut in pieces, had not their remains retreated towards *Nuys*, under their cavalry, who that day acted with incomparable courage and conduct. Seven thouſand of the *French* were killed in this battle, and among them the young count *de Giſors*, in the firſt action he had ever ſeen. A youth ſo virtuous, ſo amiable and accompliſhed, that his loſs may juſtly be conſidered as national. The loſs of the allies amounted to above three thouſand. The prince of *Soubiſe* was then upon the frontiers of *Heſſe*, and *Clermont*, notwithſtanding his late defeat, ſent him conſiderable

ſiderable reinforcements. Prince *Ferdinand*, in the mean while, on the 28th of *June*, repaſſed the *Rhine*, and took *Duſſeldorp*, which ſerved for little more than to ſecure the paſſage of the *Rhine*, and to multiply his poſts on that river. It was now evident that the victory at *Crevelt*, was of very little conſequence to the allies, and that prince *Ferdinand* muſt be obliged to retreat from the *Rhine* with all his troops. He had flattered himſelf with the hopes that his taking *Duſſeldorp* would have favoured the operations of the prince of *Yſemburg*, the *Heſſian* general, and have obliged *Soubiſe* to fall back upon the main body of the *French* army now commanded by *Contades*; but he was deceived, for *Yſemburg* was totally defeated on the 23d of *July*, near *Sangerſhauſen*, by the duke *de Broglio*. This defeat deſtroyed the whole plan of the *Hanoverian* operations on the *Rhine*, as it gave the *French* the poſſeſſion of the *Weſer*, and all the adjacent part of *Weſtphalia*.

His dangerous ſituation.

The ſituation of prince *Ferdinand* and his army, was now critical. He lay with the ſtrong fortreſs of *Gueldre* on his right, and the enemy's army on his left, at the time when the victory at *Sungerſhauſen* rendered it highly probable that the *French* would be enabled to cut off the *Engliſh* troops, who were juſt landed under the duke of *Marlborough* at *Embden*, which had been recovered from the *French*. Prince *Ferdinand* found his quarters daily ſtraitened for proviſions, and *Chevert*, one of the beſt officers among the *French*, formed a plan for ſurprizing the *Hanoverian* general *Imhoff*, who was poſted at *Rees*, to preſerve the communication between the duke of *Marlborough*'s and prince *Ferdinand*'s armies. *Imhoff* ſaw the intention of *Chevert*, who was near triple his force, and formed the deſperate, but brave, reſolution of not waiting to be attacked, and to act offenſively. He accordingly marched out of his lines, and by the courage and good countenance of his party, he defeated one of the moſt dangerous and beſt concerted deſigns that was formed all that war. The *French* finding themſelves unexpectedly attacked by the *Hanoverians*, with the greateſt fury, and their bayonets at the muzzles of their pieces, fled under the cannon of *Weſel*, leaving a conſiderable number of priſoners, beſides baggage, and eleven pieces of cannon, in the hands of the *Hanoverians*. The badneſs of the roads rendered it impracticable for *Imhoff* to join prince *Ferdinand*'s army, but he made ſuch judicious diſpoſitions, that he joined that which was ſtill advancing under the duke of *Marlborough*, while prince *Ferdinand*, with no little difficulty from the weather, repaſſed the *Rhine* at *Griethuyſen*, on the 9th and 10th of *Auguſt*. The duke of *Broglio*, and the prince *de Soubiſe*, could no more improve their victory at *Sangerſhauſen*, than prince *Ferdinand* could his at *Crevelt*; for *Yſemburg*, notwithſtanding his late defeat, ſtill maintained a ſtrong poſt which gave him a correſpondence with prince *Ferdinand*, after the latter had repaſſed the *Rhine*. Prince *Ferdinand* knew the advantages of this communication, and diſ-

posed his army so admirably along the *Lippe*, as to check the progress of the enemy, either in *Hesse* or *Hanover*. The *French* reinforced *Soubise*'s army, and it defeated that of *Ysemburg*, at *Lawerenhagen* on the 30th of *September*, by which the *French* were enabled to push their forraging parties even to the gates of *Hanover*. Prince *Ferdinand*'s army had been weakened before the battle of *Lawerenhagen*, by a detachment he had sent to support *Ysemburg*, under general *Oberg*; but his dispositions were so admirable, that he joined the remains of *Ysemburg*'s army, and preserved the command of the *Weser*, though in fact, he seemed to give up the defence of *Hanover*; so that it became doubtful to many, whether that exhausted electorate was the real object for which the *French* now fought in *Germany*. But we are now to attend the naval operations of *England* against *France*.

The *Hessians* defeated by *Broglio*.

Expeditions by the *English* against the coast of *France*,

The bad success of the expedition against *Rochfort*, deterred neither the people nor the ministry of *England*, from renewing their attempts against their coasts. About the latter end of *May* 1758, two squadrons were ready to sail from *England*. One under lord *Anson*, the first lord of the *British* admiralty, was destined for the bay of *Biscay*, and to alarm the *French* coasts; the other, under commodore *Howe*, was to make a descent in *Cancalle Bay*, a small distance from St. *Malo*, where the troops landed without opposition. Advancing towards that town, they found it was not to be surprised, and they wanted both numbers and artillery to besiege it. They burned, however, on the 8th of *June*, a hundred sail of shipping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the town, without the enemy firing a single gun; and then retiring to a fortified post they had left at *Cancalle*, the troops were reimbarked; but finding it impracticable to proceed to any farther operations that year, they returned to St. *Helen*'s on the 29th of *June*. General *Bligh* succeeded the duke of *Marlborough*, then in *Germany*, in the command, and prince *Edward* of *England* went on board the fleet, which was again commanded by commodore *Howe*, and set sail from St. *Helen*'s on the 15th of *August*. In a few days, the *British* fleet appeared before *Cherbourg*, where the *French* had thrown up entrenchments, drawn lines, and made all imaginable dispositions to prevent the landing of the *English*. They were, however, shamefully abandoned, and those of the *British* commodore were so just, that the landing was effected on the 6th of *August*, without loss; and the *English*, though no more than six thousand regulars, entered the town of *Cherbourg* without opposition. *Cherbourg* was the most improveable place on the coast of *France* for distressing the *British* navigation, and incredible were the sums that had been expended upon its mole, bason, harbour and other works. Its costly improvements had been for some time discontinued, the *French* finances not being equal to the expence, but with a design to resume them at a proper time, and to render *Cherbourg* a second *Dunkirk*.

where they demolished *Cherbourg*.

Dunkirk. The *Britiſh* engineers demoliſhed, in a few days, all that had been done, and rendered the works irreparable, carrying off the artillery, which were all of braſs, and reckoned the fineſt in *France*, to the eternal diſgrace of that kingdom.

The *Engliſh* troops, who had remained for ten days without the ſight of an enemy, on the *French* coaſt, reimbarked, and landed in the bay of St. *Lunar*; but the fleet, for ſafety, moved up to that of St. *Cas*. General *Bligh* commanded the *Engliſh* regulars, who were, perhaps, too ſecure, from what had happened, and they marched into the country as far as the village of *Matignon*, being ſkirted all the way by parties of the *French*, till they received certain intelligence that the duke *d'Aiguillon*, governor of *Bretagne*, was within ſix miles of their army, at the head of twelve battalions, and ſix ſquadrons of regulars, beſides two regiments of militia. The *Engliſh* then tumultuouſly reſolved to retire to St. *Cas*, where the fleet lay, with an intention to go on board. The diſtance was not above three miles, but the *Engliſh*, either from a contempt of their enemy, or ſome other unaccountable cauſe, trifled ſo egregiouſly while they were upon this ſhort march, that their rear, which conſiſted of the grenadiers of the firſt regiment of guards, were not embarked, when they were moſt furiouſly charged by all the duke *d'Aiguillon*'s army. The handful of *Engliſh* made a moſt noble reſiſtance while their ammunition laſted, and were ſeconded by a briſk fire from their ſhips at ſea, which ſerved as a pretext for the *French* to give them no quarter. A great number of the *Engliſh* fell by the enemy, and ſome were drowned in endeavouring to get to their boats. When the firing from the ſhips ceaſed, quarter was given, but not before four hundred of the *Engliſh* were killed, and ſix hundred taken priſoners. The *French* exulted immeaſurably upon this little advantage; and though the news at firſt threw a damp upon the *Engliſh*, yet it ſoon ſtimulated them to revenge.

They are defeated at St. *Cas*.

On the 19th of *February* 1758, admiral *Boſcawen* took upon him the command of an armament for *America*, which was to aſſiſt in the ſecond reduction of *Louiſbourg*. All the *Britiſh* force of *America* was now collected, and never was ſo numerous a force ſeen on that continent as the *Engliſh* now brought to the field. It conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand regular troops, and twenty-eight thouſand provincials, little or nothing inferior to regulars in the field. Fourteen thouſand were deſtined to act againſt *Louiſbourg*, under general *Amherſt*; eight thouſand againſt *Fort du Queſne*, under general *Forbes*; ſixteen thouſand were to act under general *Abercrombie*, who had ſucceeded the earl of *Loudon* as the *Britiſh* commander in chief in *America*, for the reduction of *Crown Point*, on *Lake Champlain*; and a reſerve was left at *Annapolis* and *Nova Scotia*. The chevalier *Ducrour* was the *French* commandant in *Louiſbourg*, and the *Engliſh* found great difficulties in landing, which at laſt was effected, by the active intrepidity of general

Louiſbourg reduced by the *Engliſh*,

Wolfe, the firſt in command under *Amherſt*. Upon him the chief weight of the ſiege lay to the land ſide, and here the ſuperiority of the *Engliſh* genius appeared, by their conquering what their enemies would have thought unſurmountable difficulties, had they been the beſiegers. The place ſurrendered on the 26th of *July*, and the garriſon, with the irregulars and ſeamen, the whole amounting to 5637, ſurrendered priſoners of war. The loſs of *Louiſbourg* was irreparable to the *French* on many accounts. General *Forbes* was no leſs ſucceſsful againſt *Fort du Queſne*, for notwithſtanding an advantage which the *French* garriſon gained over an advanced *Engliſh* guard, the garriſon, on the 24th of *November*, abandoned the place, which is now called *Pittſburgh*; but general *Forbes* died of the fatigue he ſuffered in this expedition. It now remains, that we ſpeak of the attempt upon *Crown Point*.

who are defeated at *Ticonderoga*.

On the 5th of *July* general *Abercrombie* embarked his troops on *Lake George*, and being landed, they proceeded towards *Ticonderoga*, which ſerves as an outwork for *Crown Point*; but their march, being entirely through unfrequented woods filled with the enemies parties, was both dangerous and diſcouraging. On the 8th of *July* the army appeared before *Ticonderoga*, which was fortified by a kind of breaſtwork eight feet high, mounted with cannon, and defended by above four thouſand men, while a vaſt number of trees that had been felled before the breaſtwork, rendered its approach very difficult. A reſolution was taken to attack this entrenchment, which was by no means regular in its conſtruction, before the heavy artillery came up. The attack was made with the greateſt intrepidity, but without effect; the courage of the *Britiſh* troops proved fatal only to themſelves, as their enemies were ſecured againſt all their efforts; and two thouſand of their beſt men being killed, a retreat was ordered, and the *Engliſh* regained their former camp on *Lake George*, the evening after the action. It was ſome comfort for them, for the loſs they had ſuſtained at *Ticonderoga*, that colonel *Bradſtreet*, on the 27th of *Auguſt* following, demoliſhed *Fort Frontenac*, a *French* poſt of great importance at the communication of *Lake Ontario*. with the river St. *Laurence*.

The allies defeated at *Bergen*.

The repulſe of *Ticonderoga* was the laſt loſs of any conſequence which the *Engliſh* ſuſtained, during the continuance of this war, the moſt extenſive perhaps that ever was carried on. In all other quarters of the globe, they were victorious almoſt beyond precedent. They kept the command of the *Mediterranean*, notwithſtanding their enemies were in poſſeſſion of *Minorca*. They were victorious in the *Eaſt Indies*, though the *French* had ſent thither general *Lally*; and in *Africa* they became maſters of the two richeſt and moſt flouriſhing ſettlements the *French* had on that coaſt, that upon the river *Senegal* and the iſland of *Goree*. On the 2d of *January*, 1759, the *French*, by an almoſt unexampled ſtroke of treachery, ſurprized

1759.

ſurprized *Francfort* on the *Mayne*, by which they acquired the command of the courſe of the *Mayne* and the *Rhine*, a free communication with their allies, and free acceſs to all kind of proviſions. Prince *Ferdinand* formed a ſcheme for diſlodging them from ſo important a poſt, and put himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men. The duke of *Broglio* foreſaw his intention, and took poſt near *Bergen*, a village between *Franckfort* and *Hanau*. Prince *Ferdinand* attacked him there, but was repulſed with the loſs of two thouſand men, and his retreat without ſuffering more, was greatly commended. His defeat obliged him to act for ſome time on the defenſive, and left the king of *Pruſſia* expoſed to great danger in *Bohemia* and *Sileſia*. The progreſs of the *French* was very rapid after the affair at *Bergen*. *D'Armentieres*, one of their beſt generals, took poſt at *Weſel*. They overan the biſhopric of *Paderborn*, and they became maſters of *Heſſe* without oppoſition, while the marſhal *de Contades*, at the head of their grand army, found nothing to reſiſt him. Prince *Ferdinand* in his retreat, before him left garriſons in *Lipſtadt*, *Retberg*, *Munſter* and *Minden*, to interrupt his progreſs; and was ſo fortunate as to preſerve his communication with the *Weſer*. All the precautions of the prince proved in vain. *Minden* was taken by aſſault, and its garriſon, conſiſting of fifteen hundred men, were made priſoners. *Ritberg* was ſurprized, and *Lipſtadt* blockaded; *Weſel* was in the hands of *d'Armentieres*, who made its garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand men, priſoners of war. After which, he beſieged and took *Munſter* itſelf, on the 25th of *July*, where the garriſon, conſiſting of four thouſand more, were made priſoners likewiſe.

The battle of *Minden*

Theſe conqueſts ſeemed deciſive in favour of *France*. *Belleiſle* and *Contades* entered into a cloſe correſpondence together, concerning the means of preſerving *Hanover* and its electorate (the reconqueſt of which they made not the leaſt doubt of) from being torn from them a ſecond time. *Belleiſle*, for this purpoſe, laid down a ſcheme of operations, the inhumanity of which, could not have been credited by poſterity, had they not been publiſhed from his own writings. It conſiſts chiefly of making all *Weſtphalia* a deſart, in order to prevent the allies from approaching the *French* in their winter quarters. This doctrine is inculcated in *Belleiſle*'s letters to *Contades* with the greateſt earneſtneſs and preciſion; and indeed the conqueſt of *Hanover* was even at the court of *England* thought to be inevitable, and the archives of the electorate, with the richeſt part of the furniture belonging to the king as elector, had been ſent to *Stade*, that it might be tranſmitted to *England*. Prince *Ferdinand* had then his head quarters at *Peterſhagen*, and the *French* army lay about nine miles diſtant in the neighbourhood of *Minden*, but ſo advantageouſly ſituated, that they were unaſſailable. Prince *Ferdinand* made movements to draw them from their ſituation, and took poſt at *Hillen*, conſiderably to his right; but left a ſtrong body under general *Wangenheim*,

Wangenheim, with the *Weſer* upon their left, and the town of *Thornhauſen* on their right; and on the 28th of *July*, he gave the command of ſix thouſand men to the hereditary prince of *Brunſwick*, with orders to poſt himſelf in ſuch a manner upon the enemy's left flank, as to cut off their communication with *Paderborn*. *Contades* and his council of war, imagined that thoſe movements were the effects of deſpair, without any regular plan; and they reſolved to deſtroy *Wangenheim*'s diviſion, in order to obtain their favourite end, that of cutting off prince *Ferdinand*'s communication with the *Weſer*. On the 1ſt of *July*, they left their advantageous poſt, and paſſed the moraſs in their front; but prince *Ferdinand*, in the night time, had changed his poſition, and the duke of *Broglio* who was to lead the attack, ſaw, to his inexpreſſible amazement, all the allied army drawn up in regular order to receive him. It was too late to recede, and the allies now becoming the aggreſſors advanced againſt the enemy's center, which was compoſed of horſe.

gained by the *Engliſh* infantry.

The whole ſtreſs of the battle lay upon the *Engliſh* infantry, ſupported by a ſmall body of *Hanoverians*. It would be doing injuſtice to think of deſcribing the intrepidity, the diſcipline, and the manœuvres of the few *Engliſh* battalions on this occaſion. It is ſufficient to ſay, that they ſuſtained and repelled the repeated attacks of a cavalry, that a few days before were the terror of *Europe*. Their foot attempted to ſupport them, but nothing could withſtand the *Britiſh* impetuoſity, and the defeat of the *French* became thereby the more complete. It is thought that had prince *Ferdinand* been a little more preciſe in his orders for the *Britiſh* cavalry to have ſupported their infantry, the enemy's army muſt have been utterly ruined, eſpecially, as in the morning of that very day, the hereditary prince entirely defeated the duke *de Briſac*, and drove the remainder of his detachment into *Minden*; by which the *French* loſt all their advantageous poſts on the *Weſer*. The duke *de Broglio* conducted the retreat, or rather the flight of the *French* to *Minden* in an admirable manner. About ſeven thouſand were killed; the loſs of the allies was two thouſand, two thirds of whom were *Engliſh*; and it is but juſtice to record, that this glorious victory, which was in all reſpects equal to thoſe of *Creſſy* and *Agincourt*, was chiefly owing to the *Britiſh* regiments of *Waldegrave* and *Kingſley*.

The *French* retire to *Caſſel*.

Future ages may find out the reaſons why the allies reaped no further advantages from the glorious victory of *Minden*, than barely to prevent their utter deſtruction. The *French* abandoned *Minden*, which prince *Ferdinand* garriſoned, and then he ſet out, when it was too late, in purſuit of the enemy, who retired in the moſt diſtreſsful condition towards *Caſſel*. It is true the allies picked up ſome baggage, plunder, and priſoners in the purſuit, but they miſſed what ought to have been their main aim. They took the caſtle of *Ziegenheyn*, and the hereditary prince defeated the famous *French* partizan *Fiſcher*;

Fiſcher; but it was the 11th of *September*, before the allies could reduce the inconſiderable caſtle of *Marpurg*, into which the *French* found means to throw a garriſon, and this conqueſt terminated the offenſive part of the campaign, on the ſide of the allies. The army of *Contades* was ſtill ſuperior to that of prince *Ferdinand*. The latter ſtill had *Munſter* behind him, and prince *Ferdinand* had ordered the *Hanoverian* general, *Imhoff*, to inveſt it; but upon the approach of *d'Armentieres*, with fifteen thouſand men, the ſiege was raiſed. *Imhoff* was reinforced, and *d'Armentieres* in his turn retired to *Weſel*, the moſt fortunate poſt the *French* had, next to *Franckfort*, in all *Weſtphalia*; but *Imhoff*, though he had formed the ſiege anew, could not reduce *Munſter*.

Deſpondency of the *French* king.

The deſpondency of *Lewis* and the *French* court, on their receiving intelligence of the battle of *Minden*, was in proportion to the ſanguine hopes they had conceived before. *Lewis* ſhut himſelf up for ſome time with his favourite miſtreſs in a gloomy ſilence, and the particulars were explained by mutual recriminations between the duke *de Broglio* and marſhal *Contades*, who arrived at court. The public took part with *Broglio*, who was incomparably the better officer, and *d'Etrees* was ſent to direct and command under both. He generouſly accepted of the commiſſion, and had the glory to ſerve under his inferiors, that he might ſerve his country. But we are now to attend more diſtant operations.

An expedition againſt the *French Caribbees*.

In *November* 1758, a ſquadron of nine ſhips of the line, with ſixty tranſports, carrying ſix regiments of foot, ſailed from *England* for the *Weſt Indies*, in order to attack the *French Caribbee* iſlands. We begin with *Martinico*, reckoned the moſt conſiderable of them all. The land troops were commanded by general *Hopſon*, whoſe years and infirmities diſqualified him for ſuch a command, and the ſea forces were to be under the orders of commodore *Moore*. *St. Pierre*, and *Port Royal*, were the two principal places of force and trade in the iſland, through the middle of which a ridge of high mountains ran, the ſides of which were frequently interſected with deep gullies, ſo that the whole preſented a moſt uninviting, diſcouraging proſpect for the aſſailants. Add to this, the iſland then contained a body of regular troops, and could arm ſome thouſands of excellent militia, and a large number of ſlaves likewiſe diſciplined. The firſt attempt upon *Port Royal*, by the *Engliſh*, proved ineffectual, through the backwardneſs of *Hopſon*, and ſome jealouſies that ſeem to have ariſen between the ſea and the land officers; and the troops were reimbarked juſt at the time (as appeared afterwards) when the principal poſt of the iſland *Morne Tortueſon*, might have been carried by one ſpirited attack. The *Engliſh* fleet then moved towards *St. Pierre*, but after ſome debate it was reſolved, on the 19th of *January*, to bear away towards the iſland of *Guadaloupe*.

Guadaloupe

Guadaloupe

Guadaloupe, till its conqueſt by the *Engliſh*, might have been looked upon as a jewel, the beauties of which were induſtriouſly concealed by its owners. It was a leſs ſplendid, but a more deſirable, object of acquiſition than *Martinico*, which was the poſt where the commodities of *Guadaloupe* were entered. The whole of it is about ninety leagues in circuit; but it is divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea. The eaſtern half, called *Grand Terre*, is deſtitute of freſh water, and therefore not near ſo well cultivated as the other part, which is called *Bas Terre*, and is one of the moſt delightful ſpots in *America*.

conquered by the *Engliſh*.

The *Engliſh* attacked the town, citadel and batteries of *Bas Terre*, all at the ſame time, on the 23d day of *January*, ſo vigorouſly, that the citadel and the batteries were ſilenced by night, and the town, with the rich warehouſes and magazines it contained, was reduced to aſhes. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was but inconſiderable, ſo that next day, viz. *January* the 24th, the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion both of the town and citadel. This was far from completing the conqueſt of the iſland. The country was ſtrong by nature, and the inhabitants retiring into it with their armed ſlaves, ſeemed diſpoſed to diſpute every inch of ground. General *Hopſon* died on the 27th of *February*, and was ſucceeded in his command by general *Barrington*, a far more active and able officer. To him was owing the reduction of *Grand Terre*, and the forts which commanded it; but the inhabitants had now fortified themſelves in a ſtrong paſs, called *Dos d'Aſne*, or the *Aſſe's Back*, which gave the *Engliſh* great trouble. The latter, however, with great difficulty, forced their way into *Cape Terre*, which is by far the moſt fruitful and valuable part of the iſland; upon which, the inhabitants capitulated on condition of retaining their rights religious and civil; ſo that by the 9th of *May*, not only *Guadaloupe*, but three other ſmall iſlands near it, *Deſeada*, *Sanlos* and *Petite Terre* were reduced to the power of the *Britiſh* crown. The ink of the capitulation was ſcarcely dried, when a ſtrong *French* ſquadron under Monſ. *Bompart*, landed upon *Grand Terre* with ſix hundred regulars, two thouſand buccaneers, beſides a vaſt quantity of arms and ammunition; but underſtanding what had been done, *Bompart* returned without making any attempt. On the 20th of *May*, the ſmall, but important, iſland of *Marigalante* ſurrendered upon the ſame terms that had been granted to *Guadaloupe*.

Grand plan of the *Engliſh* in *America*.

France, to her coſt, found that *Great Britain* had now changed her former ſyſtem of making war, and that her miniſtry was reſolved to attack her ſubjects in every quarter of *America*, ſo as to oblige them to diſſipate their ſtrength, which when united, had proved but too equal a match for that of *England*, in all but the expedition againſt *Louiſbourg*. A plan was laid down for attacking all at once *Crown Point*, *Niagara*, the forts to the ſouth of *Lake Erie*, and even *Quebec* itſelf, the capital

capital of *French America*. The propriety of this plan was acknowledged, and, though it failed in the execution, it ſucceeded in the event. General *Amherſt*, who was then commander in chief of the *Britiſh* troops in *North America*, took upon himſelf, with about twelve thouſand regulars and provincials, the reduction of *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, from whence he was to croſs the lake *Champlain*, and by the river *Sorel* or *Richelieu*, to march to the great river St. *Lawrence*, and join general *Wolfe*, to whom the expedition againſt *Quebec*, the moſt important of all the three, was committed; and brigadier general *Prideaux*, aſſiſted by ſir *William Johnſon*, was to undertake the conqueſt of *Niagara*, a poſt of ſuch importance, that it commanded that vaſt continent, and overawed all the *Britiſh* allies among the *Indians*. The ſame diviſion, after the reduction of *Niagara*, was to beſiege *Montreal*, and then to join the main body under general *Amherſt*; while colonel *Stanwix* with a ſmall detachment, was ſent againſt the ſmall *French* forts upon *Lake Ontario*. Nothing could be a worſe concerted plan than this was, for reaſons which we have not room to enumerate, and yet it ſucceeded through the irreſiſtible ſpirit and perſeverance of the *Britiſh* troops.

Succeſs of the generals *Amherſt*, and *Prideaux*.

The *French* government at home, notwithſtanding its diſtreſs, was in a condition to have ſent both men and money to the relief of their colonies, but their marine was in ſuch a condition that they knew not how to convey them to *America*, unleſs they ſhould abandon the grand expedition, on which was now their main dependence, a deſcent upon *England*. Their governor general of *Canada*, was Monſ. *de Vaudreuil*, who commanded a flying camp in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*; but their chief ſecurity lay in ten thouſand men, who had been diſciplined, and were commanded by *Moncalm*; while Monſ. *de Levi*, another of their generals, with another flying army, ſcoured the country about *Niagara*. The army under *Amherſt* was firſt in motion, and on the 7th of *July*, the *French* abandoned *Ticonderoga*, and retired to *Crown Point*, which they likewiſe abandoned. The *French* general, Monſ. *de Burlemaque*, retired to the bottom of *Lake Champlain*, where he took poſt at the *Iſle du Noix*, with about three thouſand five hundred men, and a very conſiderable number of armed veſſels and boats, under the command of Monſ. *Le Bras*, and Monſ. *de Rigal*, and other ſea officers. General *Amherſt* was reſolved to maintain a ſuperiority on the lake, and made ſeveral attempts for that purpoſe; but through the ſtorminеſs of the weather he did not perfectly ſucceed, though he did in a great meaſure. *Amherſt* returned to *Crown Point*, where he found ſufficient employment for ſome months in repairing that fortreſs and *Ticonderoga*. But we are now to attend the expedition under general *Prideaux* and ſir *William Johnſon*.

Prideaux.

Thoſe two gentlemen without any oppoſition, led their detachment to the cataract of *Niagara*, which they were vigorouſly beſieging, when general *Prideaux* was killed by the burſting

burſting of a cohorn. The ſiege was ſo warmly proſecuted by Sir *William Johnſon*, that the *French*, alarmed at the danger of ſo capital a poſt, aſſembled from their neighbouring ſettlements to the number of twelve hundred men, beſides a vaſt number of *Indian* auxiliaries under Monſ. *d'Aubry*, either to reinforce or relieve the place. Sir *William* knew of their intention, and made ſuch a diſpoſition, that he gave them a total defeat in ſight of the garriſon, on the 24th of *June*. Sir *William* ſent the *French* commandant in *Niagara* a full account of the action, and the names of the chief priſoners, upon which he capitulated. He himſelf and his garriſon, to the number of ſix hundred men, were ſent priſoners of war to *New York*; the women, at their own requeſt, were ſent to *Montreal*; and the *Engliſh* in all their conqueſts behaved with as much politeneſs and humanity as the *French* did in theirs with barbarity and cruelty. General *Gage* was appointed by general *Amherſt* to ſucceed general *Prideaux* in his command. We are only now to obſerve, that the reduction of *Niagara* by the *Engliſh*, entirely disjointed the grand ſcheme of the *French*, of keeping up a communication between *Louiſiana* and *Canada*.

Siege of *Quebec*.

The above conqueſts made by the *Britiſh* arms, were but ſecondary to the grand object, that of *Quebec*. When Mr. *Wolfe*'s partition of troops was allotted to him, it was preſumed that he would have been aſſiſted time enough, in his expedition againſt *Quebec*, by general *Amherſt*. In fact, Mr. *Wolfe*, who was appointed to this command (for he was a young man) merely for his military genius, had not under him above ſeven thouſand men regulars and provincial, but he was happy in co-operating with ſo vigilant and gallant an officer as admiral *Saunders*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet. It was the 26th of *June*, before the ſea and land forces arrived at the iſle of *Orleans*, which forms one of the ſides of the baſon of *Quebec*. The *Engliſh* made themſelves maſters of all the poſts on that iſland, from whence *Quebec* appeared to be almoſt impregnable, eſpecially as the banks of the river were not only high, but fortified and inacceſſible. Both the general and the admiral made every diſpoſition, and uſed every ſtratagem to bring the enemy to an action, but all was in vain, for *Moncalm* knew his own ſtrength too well to leave any thing to chance. It was even with the greateſt difficulty that the admiral could ſave the *Engliſh* ſhipping from the burning rafts and veſſels, which the enemy launched into the river to deſtroy them. Mr. *Wolfe*, on the 30th of *July*, vexed even into an indiſpoſition by the difficulties and diſappointments he encountered, made an excellent attack upon the enemy at the mouth of the river *Montmorenci*, but it was defeated by the impetuoſity of the *Engliſh* grenadiers, who ruſhed upon the *French* entrenchments without waiting for the troops who were to ſupport them. This check was ſeverely felt by Mr. *Wolfe*, whoſe laſt hopes were that he ſhould be ſoon joined by general

general *Amherſt*. In the mean while, notwithſtanding the low eſtate of his health, he continued his unremitting attempts to draw the enemy to an engagement, but all to no purpoſe, though ſome ſtratagem was practiſed every hour by the fleet for that end. He ſucceeded when he had the greateſt reaſon to deſpair, and in a dark night, through the excellent operations of the ſhipping, he landed a party at the bottom of a ſteep aſcent, containing a path where two perſons only could march abreaſt; and even that was fortified by a captain's command, and Monſ. *de Bougainville*, who had been detached by *Moncalm*, to obſerve the motions of the *Engliſh* fleet, was in the neighbourhood; but nothing was now unſurmountable to the *Engliſh*. Colonel *Howe*'s light infantry and the *Highlanders* were the firſt to mount the precipice, which they did by the help of ſtumps and boughs of trees, and diſlodged the captain's guard, and in a few hours all the *Engliſh* army had gained the plain, which was called the heights of *Abraham*. *Moncalm* no ſooner heard of this, than he collected all his force to give battle to the *Engliſh*, which was the only reſource he now had, as his enemies were in a condition to batter the upper, as well as the lower, town of *Quebec*. His diſpoſitions were very judicious; he filled the buſhes in his front with fifteen hundred of his *Indians*, and beſt markſmen. His left conſiſted of regulars, and his right of provincials, ſupported by two battalions of regulars, the whole formed ſo as to flank the left of the *Engliſh*. Brigadier *Monkton* commanded the right wing of the *Engliſh*, and brigadier *Townſhend* was ſent to the left with the regiment of *Amherſt*, which he formed *en potence* to prevent its being out-flanked. About nine in the morning, the *French* advanced to the attack in an impetuous, but diſordered, manner, and were received by the *Engliſh* within forty yards of their line, with a fire ſo ſteady, that a number of them were killed, and the reſt began to ſtagger. It was at this critical moment, that the brave *Engliſh* general, who was at the head of the right, and was diſtinguiſhed by his activity and the expoſiture of his perſon, received two wounds from the enemy's markſmen, who had ſingled him out; the firſt was upon his wriſt, which he endeavoured to conceal by wrapping round it his handkerchief; but the other proved fatal, and he expired juſt at the inſtant that the enemy began to give way to the united efforts of the *Britiſh* troops.

Battle of *Quebec*.

Wolfe kil ed.

After the death of *Wolfe*, the chief command devolved upon general *Monkton*, but he being dangerouſly wounded, as he was bravely doing his duty at the head of *Laſcelle*'s regiment, his place was ſupplied by brigadier *Townſhend*, who flew to the center, where he found the *Engliſh* ſomewhat in confuſion in purſuing the enemy; but he ſoon formed them with great judgment and expedition, and then the enemy was every where routed by the bayonets of the ſoldiers, and the broad-ſwords of the *Highlanders*; while colonel *Howe* with his light infantry, prevented any impreſſions to be made by the *Canadians*

dians or their *Indians* on the left flank of the army. When the victory ſeemed to be complete; the *Engliſh* were alarmed by the appearance of Monſ. *Bougainville* with two thouſand men, in their rear. Had he come an hour ſooner, it is hard to ſay what the conſequence might have been; but the main body of the *French* was now ſo thoroughly defeated, that he thought proper to retire without making any, but a very faint, attempt, and general *Townſhend* very wiſely would not, by purſuing them, riſk the advantage and glory that had been gained. It is thought that in this action, about fifteen hundred *French* and *Canadians* were killed, among whom was Monſ. *Moncalm*, who died next day in *Quebec*, and his ſecond in command, who died on board a *Britiſh* ſhip. The number of *Britiſh* killed and wounded, are ſaid to have amounted to about five hundred. *Moncalm* died with the reputation of his having ſuſtained the glory of the *French* better and longer than any other officer could have done in that country; but he did it at the expence of good faith and humanity. The wreck of his army, after throwing ſome reinforcements into *Quebec*, retired up the river towards *Trois Rivieres* and *Montreal*.

Quebec ſurrendered to the *Engliſh*,

Upon the retreat of the *French* army, the garriſon and inhabitants of *Quebec* capitulated, and were ſecured in their religious and civil rights, till a general peace ſhould decide their fate. General *Murray*, with about five thouſand men, was made governor of the place. The fleet returned to *England*, and all poſſible precautions were taken for the ſecurity of the new conqueſt, which indeed was very precarious, and when every thing is conſidered, wonderful. *Bougainville* had been joined by Monſ. *de Levi*, from *Montreal*, and was in the neighbourhood of the *Britiſh* army when it entered *Quebec*. Had the garriſon defended itſelf for a few days, the *Britiſh* troops could not have ſubſiſted in the field, and conſequently the upper town could not have been reduced; but the truth is, all the hopes of the *Canadians* vaniſhed with the death of *Moncalm*. All imaginable precautions were taken to force the two *French* generals to abandon the field; but we ſhall here, though not in the ſtrict order of events, put the *Engliſh* in quiet poſſeſſion of their conqueſt.

but is beſieged by the *French*,

General *Townſhend* returned to *England* with the fleet; general *Monckton* was carried to *New York*, where he was cured of his wound; and it muſt be acknowledged that the condition of Mr. *Murray* was uncomfortable and diſcouraging. It is true, he commanded ſeven thouſand men, regulars and irregulars, but he was ſhut up in a place where the fortifications were damaged; nor had he a ſingle ſhip in the river to aſſiſt him. *Levi* and *Bougainville* ſtill kept the field, and could muſter near twelve thouſand men, of whom, five were regulars, and ſix thouſand excellent militia. He had ſome thoughts of attempting to carry the town by a coup de main, but being diſappointed in that, he took up winter quarters, and did not appear

appear in the field till the 17th of *April*, 1760, when he took possession of the river with six frigates, and of the heights of *Abraham* with his army. It happened unfortunately for the *English* garrison, that it was now vastly reduced by the scurvy, and other diseases; so that general *Murray*, who was resolved not to be besieged, could not venture to take the field with above three thousand men. With this handful, and favoured by a good train of artillery, he attacked the enemy, and put them into disorder; but they supported their center so well, and made such an advantage of their vast superiority of numbers, that he was in danger of being hemmed in, and his retreat to *Quebec* cut off. After seeing one third of his army killed or wounded, he ordered a retreat, which he performed with great regularity, but with the loss of some of his artillery through the vast wreaths of snow then lying on the ground, which prevented their being carried off. It is said, on good authority, that the *French*, in this action, lost, at least, two thousand men. Mr. *Murray* was now obliged to shut himself up in the walls of *Quebec*, which the *French*, whose success depended entirely on the celerity of their motions, invested on the very night of the late battle. It was, however, the 11th of *May*, before they could bring two batteries, and those very ill supplied, to play on the fortifications; but by this time, an *English* frigate arrived in the bason, with an account that lord *Colville*, with a *British* squadron, was in the river St. *Laurence*. On the 15th, a ship of the line, and another frigate arrived, and Monsr. *de Levi* saw from the eminence of *Abraham*, the two *English* frigates destroy all his fleet; so that not doubting that a large reinforcement was about to debark, he precipitately abandoned the siege and retired, leaving in the hands of the *English* his artillery and baggage. 1760. and relieved by the *English* shipping.

The conquerors of *Quebec* had heard but few, and those faint, accounts, of general *Amherst*'s operations on the side of *Lake Champlain*. Monsr. *Burlemaque* continued still at the *Isle du Noix*, and *Amherst* was obliged to go into winter quarters till the spring of 1760. *De Levi*, after raising the siege of *Quebec*, had fixed his head quarters at *Montreal*, where he called in all his parties, to make his last stand. It is incredible what pitiful shifts and gross falshoods *Vandreuil* had recourse to, that he might keep up the spirits of the *Canadians*. He trusted greatly in the situation of the country, which he imagined must necessarily prevent the progress of *Amherst*, especially with an army; but *Amherst*'s communication with *Murray* was now open, and by a well disposed plan of operations, which, though slow, were successful, he arrived before *Montreal*, where general *Murray* arrived the very same day, according to the plan that had been concerted between them. *Montreal* was the staple of the *French Indian* trade on the river St. *Laurence*, and *Vandreuil* finding himself at a loss for farther shifts or falshoods, consented that the garrison should surrender and be sent to *France*, on condition not to serve during the war. Reduction of all *Canada* by the *English*.

war. This happened on the 8th of *September*, 1760. The conqueſt of *Canada* was completed by the taking of *Montreal*, which general *Amherſt* immediately entered; and never, perhaps, was a general better ſerved than he was on this occaſion by the generals *Murray*, *Gage*, Sir *William Johnſon*, colonel *Haviland*, and many other of his officers. The humanity of the *Engliſh* manifeſted itſelf through every ſtep of thoſe long expeditions. No violence, no robbing, no plundering was offered to any who remained quiet in their habitations, notwithſtanding the groſs provocations the *Engliſh* had received; and they even relieved their enemies, who were in the moſt deplorable condition for want of ſubſiſtence, with their own bread and victuals. The *French* court, in the ſummer, made a faint attempt to prevent this cataſtrophe, ſo diſgraceful to themſelves, from taking place. Captain *Byron* had intelligence that three *French* frigates, and about twenty ſail of veſſels with troops and military ſtores for the garriſon of *Montreal*, had taken refuge in the bay of *Chaleurs*, where he took and deſtroyed them all.

The *Cherokees* reduced by the *Engliſh*.

While *Canada* was conquering, the *French* found means to render the *Cherokees*, a powerful *Indian* nation, who had made great profeſſions of friendſhip to the *Engliſh*, their enemies. As they lay in the neighbourhood of the *Creeks*, another powerful nation, there was the greater danger in their revolt, which was attended by the moſt ſhocking ſcalpings and barbarities upon the *Engliſh*. Mr. *Lyttelton* was then governor of *Carolina*, and finding all his endeavours to reduce them in vain, he marched into their country with eleven hundred men; but with ſuch a ſhew of reſolution, that the barbarians thought their entire deſtruction was at hand, and on the 26th of *December*, they agreed to a peace upon the governor's own terms. No ſooner was he returned to *Carolina*, than the inhabitants renewed all their barbarities, and blocked up the forts *Edward* and *Loudon*. Mr. *Amherſt* hearing of their faithleſs proceedings, immediately ſent colonel *Montgomery* with twelve hundred men under his command, and by forced marches he arrived in the neighbourhood of *Little Keowee*, one of the *Cherokee* towns. Apprehending that the ſavages were not apprized of his arrival, he ſent a detachment of his light infantry againſt that village, who put to death all the men they found there, with their bayonets; when he himſelf with the main body proceeded againſt *Eſtatoe*, which they found abandoned, but they put to death all the *Indians* who fell into their hands. It was ſurprizing to ſee the plenty with which this town was ſtored; all which the *Engliſh* took poſſeſſion of, and laid the town itſelf in aſhes. The trunk of an *Engliſhman*'s body who had been tortured and put to death that morning, encreaſed the fury of the *Britiſh* detachment to ſuch a degree, that they gave no quarter to the barbarians they met with, but the greateſt part of them eſcaped into their woods. This expedition ſuggeſted the firſt idea of the arts with which

which the *French* had ſpirited up thoſe ſavages againſt the *Engliſh*. They ſeemed to poſſeſs induſtry and order in their habitations; they were far from being deſtitute of the conveniencies of life, and the ſoldiers made ſome booty in money, watches, cloaths and peltry. After it was thought they had been ſufficiently chaſtiſed, they were invited to a treaty, and to be admitted to terms; but they ſtill continued obſtinate, and colonel *Montgomery* was forced to make a ſecond irruption into their middle ſettlements on the 24th of *June*. This proved an expedition of more difficulty than had been foreſeen. His men were obliged to march through a continued train of ambuſhes, ſome of his officers and horſes were killed, and about the beginning of *July*, he ſaw a neceſſity of returning to *Fort Prince George*, which he accordingly did after loſing in the whole of his expedition about ſeventy men. The *Cherokees*, inſtigated undoubtedly by the *French*, ſome of whom wore their habits and ſpoke their language, beſieged *Fort Loudon* belonging to the *Engliſh*, and commanded by captain *Demere*, and, notwithſtanding their rudeneſs in ſuch operations, reduced it to ſuch difficulties, that the garriſon was obliged to capitulate on condition of their being allowed to march to the *Engliſh* ſettlements; but they ſcarcely had been gone ſixteen miles, when they were ſurrounded by a body of the ſavages, who maſſacred all the officers, excepting one captain *Stuart*, who had ſerved as interpreter, killed twenty-five ſoldiers, and carried the reſt into a ſlavery that was worſe than death.

Proſperous ſtate of the *French* in *Germany*, 1761.

We ſhall omit, in this place, any detail of the negotiations for peace, which were now upon the anvil, as they are moſt intelligible when they are not intermixed with warlike operations, and proceed to the war in *Germany*. In the beginning of the year 1761, the *French* were in poſſeſſion of all the country of *Heſſe*, the county of *Hanau*, and the city of *Gottingen*, by which they had a ready entrance into the electorate of *Hanover*. Theſe were alarming conſiderations, as it appeared, that notwithſtanding the glorious victories the allies had atchieved, the *French* were in fact their ſuperiors in *Germany*. Prince *Ferdinand*, in this uncomfortable, and indeed deſperate, ſituation, unknown to his enemies, divided his army into three parts, and putting himſelf in the center, he advanced towards *Caſſel*, then in poſſeſſion of the *French*. The hereditary prince commanded the right wing, and leaving the country of *Heſſe* to the eaſtward, he carried his arms into the very heart of the *French* quarters; and the left wing, which was commanded by general *Sporken*, penetrated into *Thuringia*. This expedition was executed with vaſt luſtre by the confederates, who drove the *French* every where before them, and it is thought that had their whole army been encamped upon a plain, it muſt have been defeated by the ardour of the allies. The reaſons given for the attempt, were to cut off the communication between the *French* and the army of the empire; to open a communication with the *Pruſſians*, and to prevent

but they are diſlodged by the allies,

Gottingen from being relieved. All thoſe ſchemes were more ſpecious than ſolid, for though the *French* retired with incredible precipitation, yet the allies were guilty of irreparable errors by following them ſo inconſiderately as they did, while they had behind them *Caſſel*, *Gottingen*, and a vaſt number of other fortified places and poſts. The hereditary prince attempted to ſurprize *Fritzlar*, and was repulſed; but upon bringing up cannon, the place capitulated upon honourable terms. The marquis of *Granby*, who commanded the *Engliſh*, reduced ſeveral forts and caſtles in the neighbourhood, but the *Hanoverians* were repulſed in attacking *Marpurg*, where one of their beſt generals, *Briendenbach*, was killed. The *French* continued to retire towards *Franckfort* on the *Mayne*, and five of their capital ſtores, containing moſt amazing quantities of grain and flour, fell into the hands of the allies.

who are worſted in their turn.

After the *French* had been driven out of the open country of *Heſſe*, prince *Ferdinand* gave orders for blockading *Ziegenhayn* and *Marpurg*, and made diſpoſitions for the ſiege of *Caſſel*, which was now the great object of the campaign, if not of the war; as upon that depended the fate of *Gottingen*, and conſequently of *Hanover*. When preparations were making for this ſiege, general *Sporken* had proceeded ſo far on the ſide of *Saxony*, that he was joined by a body of *Pruſſians*, and on the 14th of *February*, he defeated the *French* and *Saxons* at *Langenſaltze* upon the *Unſtrut*. After this, the *French* and the army of the empire fell back upon *Bamberg*, and *Sporken* had nothing to oppoſe him on that ſide; but thoſe ſucceſſes were as unfortunate as they were ſpecious, for while *Sporken* was puſhing his advantages on the *Werra* and the *Unſtrut*, *De Vaux*, the *French* governor of *Gottingen*, routed a large *Hanoverian* convoy, took *Dunderſtadt*, and a number of places in the neighbourhood, and at laſt diſabled Mr. *Sporken* either from co-operating with the main army, or from returning by the way he had advanced.

Caſſel was by this time inveſted, and marſhal *Broglio*, who, upon the whole, behaved with incomparable abilities, recalled all his out detachments, and united them in one body, for raiſing the ſiege of *Caſſel*, while the force of the allies was diſſipated in too many ſervices. The garriſon of *Caſſel* conſiſted of ſeventeen battalions, under the count *de Broglio*, beſides other corps. Prince *Ferdinand* had, in his rear, three ſtrong poſts of the enemy, and their main army in his front. Marſhal *Broglio* ſoon availed himſelf of his compacted ſituation, and the disjointed ſtate of his enemies. He attacked and defeated the hereditary prince near *Strangerode*, where two thouſand priſoners were made, and the *Heſſian*, *Hanoverian* and *Brunſwick* foot were broken. This action diſcouraged the allies more, perhaps, than it ought to have done, for the ſiege of *Caſſel* and *Ziegenhayn* were immediately raiſed, and they fell back upon the *Dymel*, after once more abandoning the whole country of *Heſſe* to the enemy. All the advantage that accrued

crued to the allies from the firſt glaring ſucceſs, conſiſted in retarding the farther operations of the *French*, who otherwiſe might have perhaps driven their enemies out of *Germany*. On the other hand, the allies loſt a great number of men by the ſeverity of the campaign. Towards the latter end of *June*, the two capital bodies of the *French*, that under marſhal *Broglio*, and that under *Soubiſe*, made motions for a junction. They were oppoſed on the 29th by general *Sporken*, who lay in the front of the allies, but he was beat, and this obliged the *German* general of the allies to fall back in his turn upon the *Lippe*, by which the *French* became maſters of *Warburg*, *Dringleburg*, and *Paderbern*. A partizan kind of a war then followed under general *Luckner* and others, moſtly to the advantage of the allies, and many marches and counter-marches were made with great appearance of art and generalſhip; but the latter ſeems to have lain on the ſide of the *French*, for *Broglio* effected his junction with *Soubiſe* at *Soeſt*, between *Lipſtadt* and *Ham*, almoſt within ſight of the allies.

This brought on the battle of *Kirch Denkern*, in which the *Britiſh* troops performed wonders, and the *French* were defeated with the loſs, as is ſaid, of five thouſand men. The allies, as uſual, even by this victory, obtained nothing but glory, excepting a freſh miſunderſtanding between *Broglio* and *Soubiſe*, each endeavouring to clear himſelf of the blame of the defeat. The court of *France* was filled with memorials and invectives on both ſides. *Broglio* blamed *Soubiſe* for having deferred his attack too long. *Soubiſe* accuſed *Broglio* of having begun his too early. The impartial part of the public was on the ſide of *Broglio*. Be that as it will, it is certain that the allies were loſers by the victory they gained, and the *French* were in a better condition after the defeat than before. The army under *Soubiſe* paſſed the *Lippe*, and prepared to beſiege *Munſter*; that under *Broglio*, paſſed the *Weſer*, and pointed its march towards *Hanover*. The hereditary prince obſerved the former, and prince *Ferdinand* the latter. The partizan war was again renewed, to the diſgrace indeed of both ſides, though the allies had generally the advantage in the ſkirmiſhes. The hereditary prince, by taking *Dorſten*, obliged *Soubiſe* to abandon the ſiege of *Munſter*, and in proportion as *Broglio* advanced towards *Hanover*, prince *Ferdinand* threatened *Heſſe*; from whence he drew all his ſubſiſtence. In the main, however, the great outlines of the *French* operations were more judicious and regular than thoſe of the allies, and *Broglio*, at laſt, took up a camp, from which he was equally enabled to advance againſt *Hanover* or towards *Heſſe*, beſides taking ſeveral places in the foreſt of *Hartz*, and laying vaſt tracts of that country under contribution; while prince *Xavier* of *Saxony*, bombarded and took *Wolfenbuttel*, and advanced to beſiege *Brunſwick*.

but they gain the battle of *Kirch Denkern*.

This ſudden turn of war in favour of *France*, juſtifies the obſervation we have ſo often made, that the *French* proſpered by

The *French*

prosper by their defeats.

by their defeats. The reason is, that the whole of their plan was better laid, and they had more regard than the allies had, to their resources. When prince *Xavier* was marching towards *Brunswick*, that duke retired to *Hamburgh*, where he met with the elector of *Hesse*, who had been in like manner driven from his capital; but the city and dutchy of *Brunswick* was delivered by the hereditary prince, who obliged the enemy likewise to abandon *Wolfenbuttel*. Prince *Ferdinand*'s attention having thus for some time been diverted to his native country; *Soubise* had nothing in the field to withstand him, and his troops laid waste *Westphalia* in a manner infamously barbarous. They took *Osnaburg*, which they plundered, and treated the inhabitants with the utmost inhumanity. They took *Embden*, where their rapaciousness was so intolerable, that they were driven out of it by the boors of the neighbouring country; and on the 3d of *October*, they made the garrison of *Meppen* on the *Ems*, consisting of five thousand men, prisoners of war. The *French*, after that, attempted to surprize *Bremen*, which must have given them possession of the *Weser*, and have cut off the *English* from their subsistence. The enterprize might have succeeded, had it not been that their oppressions and rapaciousness inspiring the inhabitants with horror, they joined the garrison, and drove the *French* from their city with loss and shame. All this time, prince *Ferdinand* remained in a state next to inactivity, with his head quarters at *Buhne*, and his lines extending from thence towards *Hammelen*.

A national bankruptcy in *France*.

The losses which *France* suffered in *America* and *Germany*, were but slightly felt in that kingdom, in comparison to the total bankruptcy to which her court had been reduced during the course of the war. This bankruptcy was publicly owned, and perhaps aggravated by the *French* ministerial papers, and it had an effect very little foreseen by those who were unacquainted with the true character of the *French*. They could not bear to see their king coining even his table plate into money for the payment of his armies, and abridging himself and his family in the common decencies due to their rank. Cities, communities and private persons ran to supply him with all they had, and as his defeats had rendered his arms prosperous, so his bankruptcy rendered his treasury rich. The narrow escape he had met with from the knife of *Damien*, a hair brained Euthusiast, who was put to death under the most exquisite tortures, had endeared his person to his people, and

1762.

the campaign of the year 1762, promised great matters in his favour. In the dispute between *Broglio* and *Soubise*, the mistress took part with the latter, and the former was disgraced. It was thought with some reason, that notwithstanding his great qualities, that he was of a disposition that would rather suffer disgrace from an enemy, than see the advancement of a fellow officer whom he hated. *Soubise* succeeded *Broglio* in his command, and with him was joined marshal *D'Etrees*. That general

general had been ſent from court, to reſtore to the army that diſcipline which the differences between the two generals had entirely aboliſhed, and he generouſly agreed to ſerve under them, though he was ſenior to both. Their army was poſted on the *Weſer*, and another was given to the prince of *Condé* on the *Lower Rhine*. Prince *Ferdinand* lay encamped behind the *Dymel*, to obſerve the motions of *Soubiſe*, as the hereditary prince did thoſe of *Condé*, in the biſhopric of *Munſter*. *Soubiſe*'s army was encamped to great advantage at *Graebenſtein*, on the frontiers of *Heſſe*, where prince *Ferdinand*, who began to apprehend that the councils of *England* were preponderating towards peace, reſolved to attack them. He ordered general *Luckner* to paſs the *Weſer* in the night time, and take poſt in the rear of the enemy, as general *Sporken* did on their flank. He himſelf attacked the center, and the left of the *French* was charged by lord *Granby*, on *June* the 24th. The attack was ſo ſudden, that the *French* were inſtantly thrown into diſorder, and muſt have been totally routed, had not their retreat been favoured by Monſ. *de Stainville*, an excellent officer, who threw himſelf into a neighbouring wood at the head of his detachment, the far greateſt part of which was cut off or made priſoners; while the remainder ſheltered themſelves under the cannon of *Caſſel*, or fled acroſs the *Fulda*.

The *French* beaten at *Graebenſtein*.

In the battle of *Graebenſtein*, the *French* troops amounted to a hundred battalions, while thoſe of the allies did not exceed ſixty. Of the former, two thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty common men, and one hundred and ſixty-two officers were made priſoners; but their greateſt loſs, was that of their reputation, and their being driven from their ſtrong encampment. Lord *Granby*, and lord *Frederic Cavendiſh*, puſhed forward a body of *Engliſh*, who defeated Monſ. *de Rochambeau* at *Hombourg*; and the communication between the *French* army and *Franckfort* and *Gottingen* was for ſome time interrupted. In the middle of *Auguſt*, the garriſon of *Gottingen* abandoned the place, and about this time, a number of brave actions were performed by the allied generals. Prince *Xavier* of *Saxony* was forced to abandon his advantageous poſt upon the *Lahne*, and to join the main army on the eaſtward of the *Fulda*, near *Munden*. A detachment of the allies paſſed the *Fulda* in ſight of the *French* army, and defeated prince *Xavier*'s corps. *Stainville*, who lay in the neighbourhood, made a motion with ten thouſand men to ſupport the prince, and prince *Frederic* of *Brunſwick* took that opportunity of entering the encampment *Stainville* had poſſeſſed, where he levelled all the works and made eleven hundred priſoners. *Soubiſe* now found himſelf in a ſituation next to deſperate, and the prince of *Condé* was advancing by forced marches, from the *Lower Rhine*, to his relief, when *Soubiſe* decamped, and took an impregnable poſt upon the heights of *Mulſingen*, waiting till they could effect their junction with the prince of *Condé*. The latter was narrowly watched by the hereditary prince, who attacked

The here ditary prince beaten at *Johanniſberg*.

a detachment from the main army at *Johannisberg*, near the *Weser*. The hereditary prince, at first, carried all before him, but the detachment receiving supplies from the main body, he was defeated, and wounded on the hip-bone, with the loss of three thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. His defeat did not operate much to the disadvantage of the allies, whose main object now, was the siege of *Cassel*.

Desperate action at *Bucker Muhl*.

No sooner was it formed by prince *Ferdinand*, than the *French* repassed the *Lahne*, and advanced towards *Marpurg*; but on the 26th of *September*, they were again driven beyond the *Lahne*. It was now known in both camps, that a peace was as good as concluded between *France* and *England*; and this seemed to inspire the combatants with double fury. Every hour was marked by some bloody skirmish, that at *Bucker Muhl*, near *Amonebourg*, exceeding all belief. The dispute was about a bridge over the *Ohme*, which commanded a post advantageous for the *French* reducing *Amonebourg*. The *French* possessed a mill on the one end of the bridge, and the allies a small redoubt on the other. The artillery, from two pieces, by degrees arose to twenty-five heavy cannon on each side; and the men, from an hundred, were augmented to seventeen complete battalions. The firing continued without intermission for fifteen hours, till at last, the best rampart that each side had, was formed by the dead bodies of their companions. Night put an end to the dispute, and the allies kept possession of their redoubt, as the *French* did of their mill, but the latter took the castle of *Amonebourg*. Even that acquisition did not interrupt the siege of *Cassel*, which was surrendered on the 1st of *November*; and that of *Ziegenhayn* was formed when authentic intelligence arrived in both camps, that preliminaries of peace were signed between *France* and *Great Britain*.

Preliminaries signed.

Conquest of *Martinico* by the *English*.

The death of *George* II. and the accession of his grandson to the crown of *Great Britain*, occasioned an alteration in the ministry, but none in the measures that had been taken either for making peace or war. The *French* were still in possession of *Martinico*, which gave them a tone of importance in the negotiations that were going forward for peace. We are here just to mention, that the late ministry had at a vast expence reduced the little island of *Belleisle*, and its fortifications, to prove to all *Europe*, how unable *France* was even to defend her own coasts, when vigorously attacked. The progress made by the *English* in the war, and the evident imbecillity of *France* grew alarming to *Spain*, and the famous family compact was formed, by which the interests of the two branches of the house of *Bourbon* became the same. It was easy for *Great Britain* to foresee, that she must soon be at war with the *Spaniards*, and that they would derive great advantages from their allies being in possession of *Martinico*. A greater armament than ever had been seen in the *West Indies*, was equipped under rear admiral *Rodney*, who commanded the sea, as general

Monkton

Monkton did the land, forces; the latter amounting to about twelve thouſand men. On the 7th of *January*, 1762, the *Engliſh* fleet came before *Martinico*, and landed their troops at *Cas Navire*, though proper diſpoſitions had been made there to oppoſe them. The whole iſland, at this time, might be looked upon as one continued fortification; but its chief ſtrength lay in two ſtrong poſts, the one called *Mont Tortueſon*, and the other *Mont Garnier*, which at once commanded and protected the town and citadel of *Port Royal*, againſt which the *Engliſh* intended to begin their operations. *Martinico* had been long the dread of the *Engliſh* marine in the *Weſt Indies*, and ſuch was the ardour of the ſailors to reduce it, that they dragged the cannon by the ſtrength of their hands three miles over land, to the ſiege. The grenadiers and light troops were equally ardent and impetuous, ſo that the enemy in a ſhort time, notwithſtanding the amazing ſtrength of their ſituation, was driven firſt from *Mont Tortueſon*, and then from *Mont Garnier*, into *Port Royal*, which capitulated on the 4th of *February*. St. *Pierre*, the capital of the iſland, remained ſtill to be reduced, and it was thought that it would be well defended by *La Touche*, the governor of the iſland, who had retired to it. They were agreeably diſappointed. The iſlanders were unwilling to ſee their properties expoſed to the ravages of war, and juſt as general *Monkton* was about to embark for the reduction of St. *Pierre*, a deputation came from the inhabitants to propoſe a capitulation, which was readily granted and agreed to. It is hard to ſay, whether the conqueſt of *Martinico* or *Quebec*, was of the greateſt importance to *England*; but the juncture ſeemed to give it for *Martinico*, becauſe the attack of the *Havannah* had been reſolved upon in *Great Britain*. *Grenada*, St. *Lucia*, and St. *Vincent*, and the other *Caribbees* dependent on *Martinico*, followed its fate; and thus the *French* at once ſaw themſelves deprived of that vaſt trade which had ſo long furniſhed their country with the means of making war. The reduction of *Martinico* and the *French Caribbees*, facilitated the ſtill more important conqueſt of the *Havannah*. But we are now to attend the operations of peace, with which we ſhall cloſe the hiſtory of *France*.

A negotiation ſet on foot.

Nothing but repeated calamities, and the inability under which *France* found herſelf to maintain the war againſt *Great Britain*, could have diſpoſed her councils to peace; but the pacific ſentiments of the *Engliſh* were influenced by their having obtained during the war, its original object, that is, ſecurity for their *American* poſſeſſions, to which their war in *Germany* was no more than ſecondary. Early in the year 1761, the enemies of *Great Britain* and his *Pruſſian* majeſty agreed to renew certain negotiations, which had been abruptly broken off in the end of the year 1759; and *Auſbourg* in *Germany* was appointed for the place of conference; the count *de Choiſeul* being appointed the *French* plenipotentiary. It ſoon appeared that the negotiation, through the complication of

intereſts

intereſts concerned in it, muſt be inextricable, unleſs matters were previouſly adjuſted between the two principal powers at war, *Great Britain* and *France*. It was therefore agreed that the *Britiſh* and *French* miniſters ſhould enter upon a treaty by agency, and accordingly Monſ. *Buſſy* was ſent to *London*, as Mr. *Stanley* was to *Paris*, for that purpoſe. The *French* court could ſcarcely have employed a more diſagreeable agent than *Buſſy* was. He had been bred to mean office buſineſs; though low in his manners, he was full of ſelf importance; he miſtook cunning for wiſdom, and grimace for addreſs; he was hated by king *George*, and deſpiſed by his miniſter.

Its progreſs.

It was plain, that by appointing ſuch a man to confer with Mr. *Pitt*, who was then reckoned the ableſt, as well as the moſt ſucceſsful ſtateſman in *Europe*, the *French* ſtill retained the ideas of their ſuperiority in the cabinet, and they flattered themſelves that the family compact, which was then juſt concluded, would have wonderful effects in their favour. Upon the firſt opening the conferences, their affairs in *Germany* were in the moſt proſperous ſituation they had known during the war. The firſt point laid down between the negotiators, was "that the two crowns ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of what "they have conquered one from the other." The ſecond, that "the ſituation in which they ſhall ſtand at certain pe-"riods, ſhall be the poſition to ſerve as a baſis for the treaty "which may be negotiated between the two powers." Thoſe points were ſuppoſed to be ſettled only during the negotiation, the main queſtion being what each party was willing to relinquiſh to the other, of what it then poſſeſſed. It was neceſſary, however, on account of the fluctuations of war, to fix the two preliminary points to certain epochas. The *French* propoſed "that the ſituation in which they ſhould ſtand on the "1ſt of *September*, 1761, in the *Eaſt Indies*; on the 1ſt of "*July*, in the ſame year, in the *Weſt Indies*, and in *Africa*; "and on the 1ſt of *May* following, in *Europe*, ſhould be the "poſition, which ſhould ſerve as a baſis to the treaty, which "may be negotiated between the two powers." The *Engliſh* miniſter rejected thoſe epochas, and at firſt refuſed to admit of any, but what referred to the day of ſigning the peace. This difference had almoſt broken off the negotiation. During the debate, various were the events of war, and, according to them, the value of the *uti poſſidetis* roſe or ſunk; ſo that in effect, *Broglio*, who about that time had beaten the hereditary prince, and had forced the allies to raiſe the ſiege of *Caſſel*, was the real *French* negotiator; but thoſe events were in ſome part compenſated by the entire reduction of *Belleiſle*, which happened about the ſame time.

The *Engliſh* miniſter, to reduce the negotiation to preciſion, agreed to determinated epochas for the *uti poſſidetis*, "the 1ſt "of *July*, for *Europe*; the 1ſt of *September*, for *Africa* and "*America*; and the 1ſt of *November*, for the *Eaſt Indies*." But this was on two conditions, "Firſt, that every thing,

" which ſhould be happily adjuſted between the two crowns " in relation to their particular war, ſhall be made obligatory, " final, and concluſive, independant of the fate of the nego- " tiation at *Augſbourg*. Secondly, that the definitive treaty " of peace between *Great Britain* and *France*, or preliminary " articles to that end, ſhall be ſigned and ratified between the " date of that memorial and the 1ſt of the following *Auguſt*." The *French* objected to thoſe conditions as ſtinting them too much in time, and as departing from the former plan. The court of *Vienna* was to be ſatisfied in any peace made for *Germany*; and there was little more than a month for obtaining its conſent. The good correſpondence between the courts of *Vienna* and *Verſailles* was then ſuch, that the empreſs queen agreed to every thing that ſhould be done by *France*, if it was not to the prejudice of the houſe of *Auſtria*; and thus the knotty points of the epochas were at laſt got over.

Nothing now remained, but to ſuit the negotiation to the intereſts of *France* and *Great Britain*, independent of all other conſiderations. Six capital points occurred. The firſt related to the limits of the two crowns in *North America*. The ſecond, to the neutral iſlands, and the conqueſts *Great Britain* had made in the *Weſt Indies*. The third related to the conqueſts the *Engliſh* had made in *Africa* and the *Eaſt Indies*, objects of vaſt importance. The fourth turned upon the mutual intereſts of *France* and *Great Britain*. The fifth, upon the conduct they were to obſerve towards their reſpective allies there; and the ſixth, related to the reſtitution of the captures made by the *Engliſh* before the war was declared.

Conceſſions on both ſides.

With regard to the firſt, the *French* offered to cede *Canada* to *England*, on condition of the inhabitants enjoying their religion under the *Engliſh* government, and the *French* being permitted the privilege of fiſhing on the coaſt of *Newfoundland*, according to the treaty of *Utrecht*, with the reſtitution of the iſle of *Cape Breton*. As to the ſecond conſideration, the *French* offered to reſtore *Minorca* as an equivalent for the reſtitution of *Guadaloupe* and *Martinico*. The *French* offered on the third head, to evacuate *Gottingen*, (which was then in their hands) *Heſſe* and *Hanau*, and likewiſe to draw off their army to the *Mayne* and the *Rhine*, provided the *Engliſh* gave them back either their ſettlement at *Senegal*, or the iſle of *Goree* in *Africa*, and to adhere to the treaty ſettled in the *Eaſt Indies* between Meſſieurs *Godcheau* and *Saunders*; but the laſt mentioned offer was next to nothing. With regard to the fourth article; their giving up their conqueſts in *Hanover*, and other parts of *Germany*, were to compenſate for the reſtitutions which the *Engliſh* were to make in all other parts of the globe. The fifth article, created great difficulties. The *Engliſh* miniſter had declared with an air of firmneſs, that his maſter would not abandon the intereſt of the king of *Pruſſia*, which occaſioned a counter declaration from *France* of the ſame kind, in favour of the court of *Vienna*. After much debate, it was agreed

agreed that the *French* ſhould keep no troops in *Germany*, but in proportion to thoſe of *Great Britain* there, and that the *French* king, from the time his *Britannic* majeſty recalled the *Engliſh* forces from *Germany*, would cauſe double the number of *French* forces from the armies of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine* to return into *France*. The reſtitution of the captures taken before the war, which formed the ſixth and laſt article, was reſolutely demanded by the *French*, and refuſed by the *Engliſh*; but indeed the *French* never ſincerely believed that the *Engliſh* would give up that point.

A plauſible plan of a treaty, after many canvaſſings, came over to *England*; but here the duplicity of the *French*, and the ſhallow cunning of *Buſſy*, proved their greateſt foe, and blew up all that had been done. That miniſter, together with the plan of the treaty, preſented the *Engliſh* miniſter with a private memorial, importing, that the diſputes ſubſiſting between *Spain* and *England*, gave his moſt *Chriſtian* majeſty cauſe to apprehend a new war in *Europe* and *America*, unleſs they could be now adjuſted: that the *Spaniſh* monarch had communicated to him the three points of diſcuſſion, namely, the reſtitution of ſome ſhips taken in the courſe of the preſent war, under *Spaniſh* colours; the liberty claimed by the *Spaniſh* nation to fiſh on the banks of *Newfoundland*; and the deſtruction of the ſettlements made by the *Engliſh* on the *Spaniſh* territories in the bay of *Honduras*. Beſides theſe points, the court of *Madrid* had lately given the *French* king to underſtand, that he had pretenſions to the neutral iſlands, which he would not fail to explain upon a proper occaſion. His moſt *Chriſtian* majeſty, therefore, paſſionately deſired that theſe differences might be amicably terminated; and that the king of *Spain* ſhould be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; becauſe, ſhould they kindle up a new war, he ſhould be obliged to perform his engagements to his allies.

The negotiation broken off.

The *Britiſh* miniſter took fire at this inſolent memorial, which entirely altered the complexion of the negotiation, nor does it yet clearly appear how far the duke *de Choiſeul*, or the wiſer part of the *French* miniſtry, were concerned in its contents, or whether the whole had not been cooked up by *Buſſy* himſelf, who had perſuaded the court of *Madrid*, that it would give his catholic majeſty an air of importance in *Europe*. Mr. *Pitt* threw back the paper to *Buſſy* as being inadmiſſible, declaring that he would look upon it as an affront to his maſter, if any farther mention was made of a *Spaniſh* mediation, and he called upon the *Spaniſh* embaſſador to diſavow all knowledge of the tranſaction. In anſwer to the memorial from *France*, which was accompanied by that from *Spain*, Mr. *Pitt* agreed to the reſtitution of *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *Belleiſle*, on the terms propoſed by *France*. He conſented to receive *Canada*, but with all its appurtenances, and without any new limits or exceptions whatever. The propoſal made by *France*, for the partition of the neutral iſlands, was admitted

mitted of. The *French* demand of *Cape Breton*, or any other iſland in the gulph of St. *Laurence* was rejected, and the liberty of fiſhing on the banks of *Newfoundland* was ceded to *France* only in conſideration of her demoliſhing *Dunkirk*. The reſtitution of *Senegal* and *Goree* was rejected, as was the *German* neutrality, and his *Britannic* majeſty again declared his unalterable reſolution to ſupport the king of *Pruſſia*. A general evacuation of *Heſſe* and *Weſtphalia*, by the *French* was inſiſted upon, with the reſtitution of all the *French* conqueſts in *Weſtphalia*, as likewiſe thoſe of the king of *Pruſſia* upon the *Rhine*, though held by *France* for the empreſs queen, and in her name; the treaty between *Saunders* and *Godchau* was diſallowed of, and the two *Eaſt India* companies were left at liberty to compromiſe their differences; but the demand of the reſtitution of captures made before the war, was rejected, in a manner that left no room to hope for any compliance on the part of his *Britannic* majeſty on that head.

It was a new thing for *France* to hear terms of peace preſcribed to her in the ſame tone which her haughty court ſo often made uſe of to other nations; but far from reſenting this, ſhe renewed the negotiation, made freſh conceſſions, and even ſeemed to diſapprove the attempt made by *Buſſy* to admit his catholic majeſty as a party in the diſpute. An apology of the ſame kind was made by the *Spaniſh* embaſſador at *London*, but mixed with ſome *Spaniſh* unavailing haughtineſs, which no way correſponded to the other parts of the memorial. But neither this nor the new conceſſions which Mr. *Buſſy* was empowered to make could reſtore cordiality to the negotiations, though many papers, in the nature of expedients and ultimatums, were daily paſſing between the two courts. At laſt it was agreed, that *Canada*, in its proper limits, comprehending on one ſide all the iſlands and countries adjoining to the gulph of St. *Laurence*, and on the other, all the great lakes, and the whole courſe of the *Ohio*, till it loſes itſelf in the *Miſſiſippi*, ſhould be ceded to the *Engliſh*. Some diſputes happened concerning the boundaries of *Louiſiana*, and the ſtate of the intermediate *Indians*, who are diſperſed over the vaſt tract that lies on the back of the *Britiſh* colonies, from *Penſylvania* to *Georgia*; but had other points been fully adjuſted, the negotiation would not have ſtuck there. The *French* ofered to give up *Senegal* and *Goree*, upon their being guaranteed in their other conqueſts upon the coaſt of *Africa*. The ſettlement of the *Newfoundland* fiſhery was an object of greater conſideration, as the *French* roundly declared, that whatever might be the conſequences, they could not deſiſt from their claim of fiſhing there. They were however contented to accept of the little iſland of St. *Pierre*, for drying their nets and curing their fiſh; but they were to erect no fortification, nor to keep up any military eſtabliſhment on the ſame, and an *Engliſh* commiſſary was to reſide on the iſland; but the *French* were to have the ſame privileges on the coaſt of *Newfoundland*, checked

but renewed.

checked with the ſame reſtrictions, which before the war they had enjoyed under the 15th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*. They were, however, in conſideration of this privilege, to demoliſh *Dunkirk*. *Martinico* was not then known to be conquered; but it was originally agreed, in the negotiation, that *Guadeloupe*, *Marigalante*, and *Belleiſle* ſhould be reſtored to the *French*, and *Minorca* to the *Engliſh*. The affairs of the *Eaſt Indies* met with few difficulties on either ſide; but it was not ſo eaſy to ſettle the concerns of the allies of both powers.

The *Engliſh* continued firmly to reject all appearances of deſerting the king of *Pruſſia*, by accepting of a neutrality in *Germany*; and no method could be propoſed, for eſtimating and regulating the aſſiſtance which each treating power was to give to its allies. The *French* ſtill objected to the reſtitution of *Weſel* and *Gueldres* to his *Pruſſian* majeſty, becauſe they were held for the empreſs queen, and the *Engliſh* peremptorily claimed the captures made before the war, as part of the *uti poſſidetis* which had formed the baſis of the negotiation. The *French* oppoſed to this claim the law and practice of nations, together with the poſitive words of treaties, and upon thoſe two points, the *German* alliance and reſtitution of the captures made before the war, the whole negotiation ſtuck. The truth is, the *Engliſh* miniſter had been over perſuaded to ſome of the conceſſions he had made, and from being diſguſted with the growing connections between *France* and *Spain*, he had received certain intelligence that a family compact was concluded, by which the intereſts of thoſe two crowns were conſolidated to the prejudice of *Great Britain*. After many altercations, the court of *England* ſent orders for Mr. *Stanley* to return home, and intimated a deſire that the *French* court would likewiſe recall Mr. *Buſſy*. It is certain that the conduct of the courts of *Spain* and *France*, was, on this occaſion, both unaccountable and childiſh; and it ſoon appeared, from an authentic memorial publiſhed by the *Spaniſh* embaſſador, that his maſter was determined, at all events, to take part with *France* in the war. The *Britiſh* miniſter was ſo much convinced of this, that he inſiſted upon his court giving orders to intercept the *Spaniſh* plate fleet and galeons. His opinion was debated in full council, but his brother-in-law alone backed him, and then he reſigned the ſeals of ſecretary of ſtate.

An account of the family compact.

But though it is poſſible his *Britannic* majeſty had difficulties in his own mind, with regard to what Mr. *Pitt* propoſed, and was glad that the queſtion was carried againſt him by ſo great a majority, yet the council, to a man, declared that they would watch the motions of *Spain*, and carry on the war againſt *France*; and, if needful, againſt *Spain* with more vigour than ever. The court of *France* thought the work of peace now more than half completed by Mr. *Pitt*'s reſignation, for he was undoubtedly the moſt ſucceſsful enemy the *French* had ever known of a *Britiſh* ſubject. We are to reſerve to the hiſtory of *Spain*, the diſputes between the earl of *Briſtol*,

Briſtol, the *Engliſh* miniſter at *Madrid*, and Mr. *Wall*, who acted as firſt miniſter to his catholic majeſty. It is ſufficient here to ſay that they ended in a rupture between the two courts, and at laſt, the family compact was openly avowed. The king of *Pruſſia*, in the beginning of the year 1762, was in a moſt wretched ſituation, and his ruin, to all appearance, muſt have been attended, with that of all the *Engliſh* army in *Germany*; and excepting himſelf, *Great Britain* had not among all the ſovereign princes in *Europe*, an ally upon whom ſhe could depend; for even *Holland* looked upon her with an eye of jealouſy and averſion. By the 23d and 24th articles of the family compact, the ſubjects of the different branches of the houſe of *Bourbon*, were to be admitted to a mutual naturalization, and to enjoy all privileges and immunities, as if they were natives of the countries into which they were adopted. The direct trade to *America* is an exception to thoſe articles; and by the 25th article it is provided, that notice ſhall be given to the powers, with whom the three contracting monarchs have already concluded, or ſhall hereafter conclude treaties of commerce, that the treatment of the *French* in *Spain* and the *Two Sicilies*, and of the *Sicilians* in *France* and *Spain*, ſhall not be cited nor ſerve as a precedent; it being the intention of their moſt chriſtian, catholic, and *Sicilian* majeſties, that no nation ſhall participate in the advantage of their reſpective ſubjects. The other parts of this treaty are of an equally dangerous tendency to *Great Britain*; for by the 1ſt and 16th articles, the two monarchs of *France* and *Spain* agree to look upon every power as their enemy, which becomes an enemy of the other; that a war declared againſt either, ſhall be regarded as perſonal by the other; and that, when they happen to be both engaged in a war againſt the ſame enemy or enemies, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces; and that their military operations ſhall proceed by common conſent, and with a perfect agreement. By the 17th and 18th articles, they are not to make, or even to liſten to any propoſal of peace from their common enemies, but by mutual conſent; being reſolved, in time of peace as well as in time of war, *each mutually to conſider the intereſts of the allied crown as its own; to compenſate their ſeveral loſſes and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the ſame power*. By the 8th article, *Spain* is not obliged to aſſiſt *France* in any quarrel ſhe may have in conſequence of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, *unleſs ſome maritime power takes part in thoſe wars*, or *France* be attacked by land in her own country; a condition which ſufficiently indicates that the exception was to be void, if *England* took part againſt *France* with any power on the continent.

Portugal defended by *Great Britain.*

The firſt effect of this dangerous family compact broke out on the ſide of *Portugal*, the favourite ally of *England*, who had often defended her againſt the power of *Spain*. The ſecurity of this protection had thrown the *Portugueſe* into a kind

kind of lethargy; ſo that they were totally unprepared to reſiſt a hoſtile invaſion, were it ever ſo feeble. The *French* and *Spaniſh* miniſters had complained of Mr. *Boſcawen* having attacked part of a *French* ſquadron under Monſ. *de la Clue*, in a *Portugueſe* harbour, and preſented a joint memorial, which deprived the court of *Liſbon* of all free agency, by not leaving her at liberty to be neutral, and demanding that the principal ports of *Portugal* ſhould be garriſoned by *French* and *Spaniſh* troops, and that a categorical anſwer ſhould be returned in four days.

It has been ſuggeſted, with great colour of reaſon, that his *Portugueſe* majeſty was by no means averſe to a peace between *England* and the houſe of *Bourbon*, upon advantageous terms to the latter, which had no thoughts of putting its threats into actual execution. In his anſwer to the joint memorial, he ſaid, with a decent firmneſs, that he ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould break with the *Engliſh*, his antient and natural allies; but the two embaſſadors replied, with an air of inſolence, that the ſituation of his dominions did not permit him to be neutral. In ſhort, the king of *Portugal* behaved with a real or pretended dignity, ſtuck by his friendſhip with *Great Britain*; and, towards the beginning of *May*, the two crowns declared war againſt him, and ſent their armies to his frontiers. The ſlowneſs of their operations, though they met with no reſiſtance, gave room for unfavourable conjectures of a colluſion, eſpecially as it appeared that the court of *Liſbon* took no manner of concern about its own ſafety; ſo that it is next to certain, had the *French* and *Spaniards* been in earneſt, they might have been in poſſeſſion of *Liſbon* before count *de la Lippe* arrived with a body of *Britiſh* troops, who checked the progreſs of the *French* and *Spaniards*, and remained there after the *Havannah* was conquered, and till the preliminaries of peace were ſigned. The taking of the ſhip *Hermione* by the *Engliſh*, with the treaſure on board, which fell little ſhort of a million ſterling, the whole of it deſtined for the uſe of the family compact, was a dreadful blow to *France*, and forwarded the negotiations for peace, which were now reſumed.

The negotiation reſumed, and a treaty concluded.

The alteration of the *Britiſh* miniſtry occaſioned this reſumption, which was ſaid to have been introduced under the mediation of his *Sardinian* majeſty. It was now reſolved to deal not by agents, but by principals, and the duke of *Bedford*, who ſcarcely had a ſecond in *England* for high quality and fortune, was ſent to *France*; from whence the duke *de Nivernois*, a nobleman of ſignal accompliſhments, arrived with the ſame character in *England*. In the mean while, a *French* ſquadron ſurprized *Newfoundland*, where they deſtroyed ſome of the *Engliſh* fiſhing ſtages; but the *French* in *Europe*, had ſcarcely time to vent their joy for ſo promiſing an event, when undoubted intelligence came, that *Hauſonville*, the *French* commander of the land troops in *Newfoundland*, had, on the 18th of *September*, been obliged to ſurrender himſelf

ſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war; and that *Ternay*, their commodore, had narrowly eſcaped with his ſquadron, which ſailed to *Europe*. By this time, the ſincere diſpoſitions towards peace, which were entertained equally by the *Britiſh* and *French* miniſters, had made a great progreſs in that deſirable work. The death of the empreſs of *Ruſſia* had proved ſo favourable to his *Pruſſian* majeſty, that moſt of the princes of the empire obſerved a neutrality, and left him to oppoſe the houſe of *Auſtria* ſingly. He did not, it is true, meet with that warm encouragement he had received in the reign of *George* the IId; but the *Britiſh* miniſtry offered him another year of his ſubſidy, though they refuſed being tied down to aſk his conſent in making a peace. In conſequence of this maxim, both *France* and *England* conſented to withdraw their troops out of *Germany*. The *French* agreed to evacuate *Weſel*, *Cleves*, and *Gueldres*, and a like ſtipulation was made for the evacuation of *Portugal*; but the great difficulty now aroſe from the equivalent that *Great Britain* was to have for her vaſt acquiſitions ſince the treaty had been broken off.

Its terms.

The firſt object of attention in the negotiation, was the ſettlement of limits in *America*, a point upon which the *French* court never had been preciſe, nor, indeed, candid; but now, after a ſhort diſcuſſion, it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, from its ſource to the river *Iberville* (a ſmall, but navigable branch of the *Miſſiſſippi*) and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain* (which lakes communicate with both rivers) to the ſea, ſhould be the bounds of the two nations in *North America*. By this boundary, that part of *New France*, which the *French* call *Luiſiana*, was ceded to the *Engliſh* in the moſt clear and determinated manner, and the acquiſition became the more valuable, by the *Spaniards* ceding to the *Engliſh*, at the ſame time, all *Florida*; but the navigation of the *Miſſiſſippi* was to be in common to the *French* and *Engliſh*. The arrangements concerning the *Newfoundland* fiſhery, were matters of far greater difficulty, eſpecially as the *French* declared that they would renew the war, rather than be entirely ſecluded from a commerce, without which they could not ſubſiſt. To compromiſe matters, that article of the treaty of *Utrecht* was renewed, by which the *French* were admitted to fiſh and dry their fiſh, on the north-eaſt and north-weſt parts of *Newfoundland*, from *Cape Bonaviſta* to *Point Riche*, and excluded from the reſt of this iſland. They might fiſh within the gulph of St. *Laurence*, but they were not to approach within three leagues of any coaſt belonging to *England*: and the ſmall iſlands of St. *Pierre* and *Miquelon*, lying to the ſouth of *Newfoundland*, were granted them for drying their nets and carrying on their fiſhery; but they were to erect no fortifications upon thoſe iſlands, nor to keep upon them more than fifty ſoldiers, who were to be employed

merely in preſerving peace among the traders. Thus, though the *French* are not deprived of their *Newfoundland* fiſhery, yet it undoubtedly lies at the mercy of *Great Britain*, who, upon any contravention of the treaty, may farther abridge them, or totally exclude them from it.

The affairs of the *Weſt Indies* came next under diſcuſſion. It had been long a diſpute among the people of *England*, whether it would be moſt for the intereſt of this country to retain the *French* ſugar iſlands or *Canada*. The *Britiſh Weſt India* merchants were not themſelves very fond of the *French* ſugar iſlands coming into the poſſeſſion of *Great Britain*, as they muſt have diminiſhed the value of their own eſtates. On the other hand, the whole *Britiſh* intereſt in *North America* were for retaining *Canada*, as the only ſecurity they could have for their ſettlements. Their voice prevailed, and the iſlands of *Martinico*, *Guadaloupe*, *Marigalante*, *Deſiderade*, and St. *Lucia* (the property of which had been always claimed by *Great Britain*) were returned to *France*; but the iſlands of *Tobago*, *Dominica*, St. *Vincent*, and the *Grenades*, remained with *England*, who likewiſe gave up the *Havannah* to the *Spaniards*. Thoſe, undoubtedly, were moſt valuable acquiſitions to *France*. She thereby preſerved the great ſources of her commerce; and by parting with *Canada*, ſhe did no more than give ſecurity to the *Britiſh* ſettlements, and ſacrificed an immenſe country, by which *Old France* had always been a loſer. All thoſe, and many other arguments, were anſwered, by obſerving that the ſecurity of the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *North America*, was the primary object of the war; that therefore all other conſiderations ought to give way to it, and that the *Britiſh* planters, when ſafe in their poſſeſſions, would ſoon proſper, ſo as to indemnify the mother country for all ſhe had ſacrificed, in the other ſcale. It would be too bold a conjecture, were we to inſinuate that the *French* foreſaw, that by ceding *Canada* the *Engliſh Americans* had nothing to fear, and were rid of that object of terror which rendered them dependent upon their mother country. This is the only conſideration that takes, from the preference of the principles upon which the peace was concluded.

Goree, in *Africa*, was reſtored to *France*, and *Senegal* remained with the *Engliſh*. With regard to the *Eaſt Indies*, the *French* factories and ſettlements there were reſtored, but under very diſadvantageous terms. They were no better than open places, all their fortifications having been deſtroyed; and they were bound to erect no kind of fortification in *Bengal*, (which includes *Orixa* likewiſe) or to keep up any number of ſoldiers whatſoever in thoſe provinces. They likewiſe acknowleged the authority of the *Engliſh* ſubahs or nabobs (as they may be called) of *Bengal*, *Decan*, and the *Carnatic*. This was a great point gained, if not for *England*, yet for her *Eaſt India* company; the *French* trade in the *Eaſt Indies* being now

now almoſt annihilated, as the ſubjects of thoſe ſubahs trade with the *Engliſh* only, from whom alone they can find protection. In *Europe*, *Minorca* and *Belleiſle* were reſtored to their former poſſeſſors, and the *French* agreed to demoliſh *Dunkirk*, according to the faith of treaties.

During all the negotiation, the court and people of *France* expreſſed the moſt ardent and ſincere deſire for its ſucceſs, and yielded every point, but thoſe, which (as they alledged) immediately affected their exiſtence as a people. Nothing could exceed their joy, when the peace was actually concluded, on the 10th of *February* 1763, and ſigned at *Fontainebleau*, by the different parties. Annexed to the peace are certain ſeparate articles relating to *Portugal*, and a declaration of his moſt chriſtian majeſty's plenipotentiary, the duke *de Praſlin*, regarding the *Canada* bills, and letters of exchange, which were to be punctually paid, "agreeably to a liquidation made in a convenient time, according to the diſtance of the places, and to what ſhall be poſſible; taking care, however, that the bills, and letters of exchange, which the *French* ſubjects may have at the time of this declaration, be not confounded with the bills and letters of exchange, which are in poſſeſſion of the new ſubjects of the king of *Great Britain*." Another declaration was made by the duke of *Bedford*, his *Britannic* majeſty's embaſſador, with regard to the limits of *Bengal* in the *Eaſt Indies*. Thus ended a long and a devouring war, which, to all appearance, had reduced *France* to the brink of ruin.

1763. Signed at *Fontainebleau*.

His moſt chriſtian majeſty's miniſters, employed in the negotiation, adopted principles very different from thoſe of their predeceſſors. They appeared to breathe nothing but peace, but no ſooner was that obtained, than they applied themſelves, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to meaſures of œconomy; and above all, to the finding reſources for reſtoring their marine, in which they are ſaid to have been ſucceſsful almoſt beyond belief. But even the deſirable event of peace could not extinguiſh the differences which ſtill prevailed between the court and the parliament; tho' they were not attended with any remarkable conſequences. On the 31ſt of *May*, his moſt chriſtian majeſty held his bed of juſtice, in which he made ſeveral alterations with reſpect to the taxes; and, in order to lay taxes more equal for the future, his majeſty ordered an account to be taken immediately of all the freeholds of the kingdom, not excepting thoſe of the crown, or thoſe of the princes of the blood, eccleſiaſtics, nobles, or other privileged perſons, of what nature ſoever. And, by the ſecond edict, his majeſty ordered that all the crown debts, payable out of the revenue of the crown, ſhould be redeemable, ſome at twenty years purchaſe, without regard to the original capital, and others in proportion to what the preſent poſſeſſors paid for the ſame. The declaration, which was regiſtered the ſame day, laid a duty of one *per cent.* on all alienations of

Lewis reforms his kingdom.

immoveables. A few days after thoſe edicts were regiſtered, the office of the *Chatelet* prevailed with the parliament of *Paris* to regulate the practice of inoculation, and to reſtrict it to perſons living in houſes ſeparated from every other human inhabitation, and attended by perſons who ſhould have no communication with any other inhabitant of the place for ſix weeks from the time of the inſertion of the variolous matter.

His diſputes with his parliaments renewed.

The vigorous efforts made by his moſt chriſtian majeſty and his miniſters, for repairing the waſte of the late war, did not diſcontinue the diſputes between the court and the parliaments. The duke *de Harcourt*, by virtue of an arret of council, violently altered the regiſters of the parliament of *Rouen*, and entered arbitrary edicts upon this occaſion; upon which that parliament paſſed an arret annulling all thoſe tranſcriptions and eraſures, and forbidding any edicts or declarations that did not paſs through their own body to be obeyed, under pain of peculation, and that repeated remonſtrances be preſented to the king. His majeſty held a bed of juſtice, in which he ordered ſeveral edicts and declarations to be regiſtered. Theſe were oppoſed by all the parliaments of *France*; and the members of that of *Rouen*, rather than agree to regiſter them, offered to reſign their places; but the king refuſed to accept of their reſignations, and promiſed to fall into ſome method of putting his finances in better order. This was the more neceſſary, as the province of *Normandy* proved inconteſtibly, that of above ſixty millions of livres, which they pay annually in taxes, not above ſeventeen millions were received yearly by the king's treaſury. Thoſe, and many other abuſes, were undoubtedly owing to the poverty and venality of the court, who ſold places in the government to perſons who made the moſt of them they could.

Delinquents puniſhed.

The loſs of *Canada* rendered it neceſſary for the *French* court, on many accounts, to enquire into the conduct of the officers employed there, and their judges found them guilty. The ſieur *Bigot*, the intendant of that province, was condemned to perpetual, as others were to temporary, exiles. *Bigot* was ſentenced to reſtore 4,500,000 livres; the ſieur *Varin*, director of the marine at *Montreal*, 800,000 livres; M. *Bread*, comptroller of the marine, 300,000 livres; M. *Cadent*, purveyor general of the army, 6,000,000 livres; *Pennyfiant*, *Maurin*, and *Corpion*, commiſſaries under *Cadet*, 600,000 livres each; *Eſtabe* and *Martel*, keepers of magazines, the former 30,000 livres, and the latter 200,000 livres; the commandant, *Laudriere*, 5000 livres; *Dechainaux*, ſecretary to the intendant *Bigot*, 30,000 livres; in all 12,965,000 livres.

Firmneſs of the *French* parliaments.

Thoſe examples of juſtice did not ſatisfy the parliaments. Though they confeſſed themſelves to be void of any legiſlative authority, which they acknowledged to be in the king, yet they made ſuch a uſe of their executive powers, as in fact ſet aſide

aſide thoſe of the ſovereign. They ſtept forth as champions for the intereſts and liberties of the people, to whom they endeared themſelves ſo greatly, that the court, in difficult preſſing emergencies, found their account in winking at their high claims, till at laſt they thought themſelves above controul. The reſtoration of peace preſented the miniſtry with a fair opportunity of trying the ſtrength of the prerogative with that of the parliaments. The remonſtrances of the latter were bold beyond precedent; for in that of *Auguſt* the 7th, the parliament of *Rouen* told the king that, in fact, the return of peace had only added to their calamities, and they even laid before him the *Norman* charters, which they pretended to be in full force, and which provides that no tax can be laid upon the ſubjects of that province, unleſs it be agreed to in the aſſembly of the people of the three eſtates. This was a language to which the court of *France* had been long a ſtranger, and raiſed the authority of the *French*, equal to that of a *Britiſh*, parliament. This (ſays the remonſtrance to the king) makes part of your people's rights, which you ſwore to maintain before him by whom kings reign. The chamber of aids in the parliament of *Paris*, the moſt reſpectable of any in the kingdom, cloſed one of their remonſtrances with a requeſt that, if his majeſty doubted of the fidelity of their repreſentations, he would pleaſe to hear his people themſelves, by convoking the ſtates general of the kingdom. The parliaments of *Bourdeaux*, *Tholouſe*, *Genoble*, and *Beſanſon*, held the ſame language.

The court, on the other hand, reſolved to appear determined to carry their point, and in conſequence of that reſolution the duke of *Harcourt* acted in the manner we have ſeen at *Rouen*, and the duke of *Fitz James* was ſent with the like commiſſion to *Tholouſe*. That parliament ordered the magiſtrates of the city to pay the duke no honours as governor of the province, until they recognized his authority and commiſſion. Notwithſtanding this, in quality of a peer of *France*, he took his ſeat in their parliament, and by force regiſtered the edicts he brought down with him. The parliament paſſed an arret declaring the regiſter void, and *Fitz James* in his turn, eraſed that arret, and placed guards at the houſes of the moſt eminent members in the oppoſition. This ſerved but to exaſperate the latter the more, and the parliament of *Provence*, which had been hitherto remarkably temperate, preſented to the king remonſtrances in behalf of their brethren of *Tholouſe*, more flaming, if poſſible, than any that preceded them. No ſooner did the parliament of *Tholouſe* aſſemble in *December*, than the members ordered, "that the ſaid duke of *Fitz* "*James* ſhall be bodily taken and ſeized, whereſoever he "may be found in the kingdom, and brought to the priſons "of the court; and, in caſe he cannot be apprehended, his "eſtates and effects ſhall be ſeized, or put under the admi-

" niſtration of a legal commiſſary, according to the ordi-
" nances." We are not, at this time, authorized what the conſequences of the ferment, occaſioned by thoſe and many other remonſtrances, may be; but in all appearance the affair is now drawing near a deciſion, as his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſeems diſpoſed to talk to his parliaments by his ſtanding army.

Expulſion of the jeſuits out of *France.*

The hiſtory of *France* would be incomplete, without ſome account of the expulſion of the jeſuits out of that kingdom, an event which will for ever do honour to its annals. Their perpetual diſputes with the civil power, their dangerous doctrines, their dark practices, and their expulſion out of *Portugal*, on account of the concern they had in that prince's aſſaſſination, had rendered them extremely unpopular in *France*. They had carried on a very beneficial trade with *Martinico*; but meeting with ſome loſſes by the *Engliſh* privateers, they laid hold of that pretext to refuſe ſatisfying their juſt creditors, and deſired them to accept of prayers to God inſtead of payment of their money. The merchants refuſed the offer, and the affair was carried before the parliament of *Paris*, who were unanimouſly of opinion that the whole order of the jeſuits, by their conſtitutions, were liable to the debts of any part of them, and moſt immenſe ſums were given to the complainants by way of coſts. It is ſaid, with great appearance of truth, that ſome of the heads of the order had officiouſly intermeddled between the *French* king and a favourite lady, who thereupon withdrew from them her powerful protection, and gave them up to the juſtice of the parliament, which refuſed to be ſatisfied with any thing leſs than their utter extermination out of *France*. They took cognizance of their books, which they found to be filled with doctrines ſubverſive of government and civil ſociety, and therefore they condemned ſome of them to the flames. This ſentence was followed by another, which expelled them out of *France*, and confiſcated all their eſtates to the uſe of the public. They had, however, ſtill ſo much credit remaining, as to procure the interpoſition of the king in their favour, and he publiſhed an arret ſuſpending all farther proceedings againſt them for a twelvemonth. The parliament agreed to regiſter this arret, provided it was to continue in force no longer than the 1ſt of *April*. The ſentences of the parliament have been ſince carried into execution in the ſtricteſt manner. Their proceedings were diſagreeable to many of the clergy, eſpecially to the archbiſhop of *Paris*, who publiſhed a paſtoral letter, containing many expreſſions in favour of the jeſuits. The parliament complained to the king of this letter, as being a ſeditious writing, and his majeſty ordered the archbiſhop to call it in, which the prelate refuſed, and continuing inflexible, his majeſty baniſhed him to his abbey of *Conflans*. Upon an eſtimate made in the year 1710, there were then in that kingdom

dom 612 jeſuits colleges, 340 reſidaries, 59 noviciates, 200 miſſionaries, and 24 profeſſors houſes of that ſociety, amounting in the whole to 20,000 jeſuits; and it was thought, that within the fifty years ſince that time, their houſes were very much enlarged, and their number greatly encreaſed. We have nothing more to add to this hiſtory of *France*, than that in *January* 1766, the dauphin died, and that his eldeſt ſon, the duke of *Berry*, who was born *Auguſt* the 23d, 1754, was recognized in the ſame quality by his moſt chriſtian majeſty. 1766.

THE HISTORY OF SPAIN.

Vol. V. p. 385.

585. History of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, under *Leuvigild*.

WE have already brought the hiſtory of this country down to the year 585, when an end was put to the kingdom of the *Suevi* by the *Viſigoths*, about 174 years after the eſtabliſhment of the former in *Spain*. But in order to connect that part with what follows, we muſt go a few years back. *Hermenigild*, the eldeſt ſon of *Leuvigild*, who was then the moſt powerful prince in *Spain*, had married *Ingonda*, the king of *Auſtraſia*'s daughter, who was moſt cruelly perſecuted by her mother-in-law, the wife of *Leuvigild*, becauſe ſhe refuſed to turn *Arian*. *Hermenigild* was even prevailed upon by his wife to embrace the orthodox faith, as it was called, upon which his father drove him from his court, and he took refuge at that of *Miron*, king of the *Suevi*. This produced a war between the two princes, and *Leuvigild* would have been reconciled to his ſon, had he not been diſſuaded from it by the inſatiate malice of his queen. The war between him and *Miron* continued, or rather broke out afreſh, but the latter was killed in battle, and the imperial lieutenant in *Spain* (or perhaps an officer who called himſelf ſo) betrayed the cauſe of *Herminigild*, and put his wife and young ſon under confinement, while he was obliged to throw himſelf into a ſanctuary, from whence he was drawn, and beheaded by his father's order, becauſe he refuſed to embrace *Arianiſm*. The reader, in this detail, has little to guide him but the rude hiſtories of thoſe times, which are far more imperfect with regard to the affairs of *Spain* than thoſe of *France*. We are told that while the imperial general was conducting *Ingonda* a priſoner to his maſter's court at *Conſtantinople*, ſhe died of grief.

Recarede. But *Ingonda* and *Hermenigild* were related to the kings who then reigned in *France*, particularly to *Chilperic*, king of *Neuſtria*, and *Gontran*, king of *Burgundy*. To avert the reſentment of the former, *Leuvigild* propoſed a match between *Recarede*, his ſurviving ſon, and *Rigonte*, *Chilperic*'s daughter, which

which seems to have taken place, for we find that the *Neuſtrians* and *Auſtraſians*, after this, maintained ſo cruel a war againſt each other, that *Chilperic*'s wife employed aſſaſſins to murder her own ſiſter, the queen of *Auſtraſia*. In the mean while, the king of *Burgundy*, who was uncle to *Ingonda*, declared himſelf the inveterate enemy of *Leuvigild*, who wanting to tranſmit his crown in peace to his ſon *Recarede*, ſent him the moſt flattering propoſals of accommodation, but in vain; ſo that at the time of his death, which happened in 586, he 586.
left *Recarede* engaged in a war with *Gontran* *Recarede*, at the time of his acceſſion to the throne, found himſelf by far the moſt powerful prince in *Spain*; but we know little more of his hiſtory, than that upon the death of his firſt wife *Bada*, he married an *Auſtraſian* princeſs, and abjured *Arianiſm*, and that after a glorious reign of fifteen years, he died in the year of our Lord 601. His ſon *Leuva* II. was dethroned and murdered 601.
by one *Witteric*, who uſurped the crown, and obtained ſome advantages over the imperialiſts in *Spain*, but was himſelf murdered by the people in 610, for attempting to re-eſtabliſh 610.
Arianiſm. *Gundemar* then mounted the throne of *Spain* by *Gundemar*.
election, and he took two places from the *Gauls* or *Francs*, that had been ceded to them by *Recarede*; but he reigned no more than two years, and the people elected *Sigebut* for his ſucceſſor. He proved to be a brave and a politic prince. He defeated both the *Aſturians* and imperialiſts, and after clearing his dominions from the *Jews*, he died in 621. 621.

It appears to be more than probable, that though the *Viſigoths*, and the other northern nations did not make hereditary right a conſtant rule of ſucceſſion to their ſovereignty, yet they were not diſinclined to that mode, when the deſcendents of any of their former princes who were dear to them could be found; but then it muſt ſpring from the people alone. *Recarede* II. ſucceeded his father, *Sigebut*, but dying a few *Recarede*
months after his election, the people threw their eyes upon the 2d.
Suinthila, the ſon of *Recarede* I. a prince of great accompliſhments. He aboliſhed the imperial power in *Spain*, and ſubdued the ſeditious *Gaſcons* in *Navarre*. Thoſe great ſervices to the ſtate, encouraged him to hope to render the crown hereditary in his family; and to ſucceed the more eaſily, he aſſociated his ſon *Rechimiz* with him in the government. The people, who had not been conſulted, reſented this ſtrain of prerogative, and raiſed *Siſenand* to the throne in 630. Being 630.
backed by *Dagobert*, king of *France*, *Suinthila* was abandoned by his troops, and *Siſenand* was crowned king.

He appears to have been of a character entirely adapted to *Siſenand*.
be the object of a popular election. He courted the clergy, threw himſelf at their feet with tears in his eyes, to obtain their prayers that he might govern well, and he aſſembled a council at *Toledo*, for ſettling the conſtitution of the kingdom. In this council, it was agreed that no man ſhould preſume to take upon him the office of king, unleſs he was appointed to

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it by the free election of the nobility and clergy; that every man should preserve his oath of allegiance inviolate, that no king should abuse his power, which was conferred upon him only for the good of his people; and lastly, that *Suinthila* and his family should be anathematized for the abuses of their regal power. In all those wise resolutions, it is easy to discern the spirit of the northern nations, as described by *Tacitus* and other ancient authors. *Sisenand* died in 635, and *Chintila* was raised to the throne by the nobility and clergy. The proceedings of those two great bodies on this occasion, gives us some room to suspect that the decrees of the council of *Toledo*, were not entirely approved of by the body of the nation, for we perceive that their election of *Chintila* was confirmed in two general assemblies of the people, before it was deemed valid.

635. *Chintila.*

639. *Tulga.* *Chintila*'s death happened in 639, and he was succeeded by *Tulga*, an excellent prince, who was carried off in the third year of his reign. It seems as if the people had so far departed from their antient *Gothic* or northern constitutions, as to give the command of their troops to a general instead of their king. *Flavius Chindasuint* had been general under *Tulga*, and he made use of his power with the army to get possession of the throne. Notwithstanding this, he proved so excellent a prince, that he succeeded in the very measure which had ruined *Suinthila*, for he associated his son *Fabius Recesnint* with himself in the government. He was, however, obliged to act with so much caution, that, in fact, he resigned the reins of government into his son's hands, whose reign is supposed to have begun in the year 648.

Chindasuint. *Flavius* may in some degree be considered as the legislator of the *Visigoths* in *Spain*; he subdued the turbulence of the *Gascons*, who had renewed their disturbances in *Navarre*, and after being the author of many excellent institutions for the benefit of his people, he died without issue in 672. He was succeeded by *Wamba*, a nobleman of great virtue and experience, who with tears declined the honour of royalty, on account of his advanced age, but he was elected in a free and numerous assembly of the states convened at *Toledo*. Though excellently well disposed, the discontented thought that he had not the youth and vigour that was requisite for his high station; for under him, the provinces of *Navarre* and *Biscay* again broke out in rebellion. They were deceived, for he marched against the rebels in person, and subdued them. While he was employed in quelling that rebellion, another broke out under *Hilperic*, his governor of *Nismes*, then belonging to *Spain*. The rebels were more powerful than *Wamba* suspected. He employed his best general, one *Paul*, to suppress them; but he was in the interest of the rebels, and associated himself with *Ranosinde*, duke of *Terragona*, and one *Hildigise*, a person of vast weight and interest, and they prevailed with the cities of *Barcelona*, *Gironne*, and several others, to rebel against *Wamba*. The rebels declared *Hilperic* king, but

762. *Wamba.*

but *Wamba*, without being daunted, marched againſt the uſurper, and took him priſoner at *Niſmes*, before *Paul*, who had been diſpatched to raiſe troops in *France* and *Germany*, could march to his relief. *Wamba* made a very moderate uſe of his ſucceſs; for he ſent into their own countries all the foreigners that were found in the rebel army, but carried his own rebellious ſubjects in chains to *Toledo*, where he made a triumphal entry, *Paul* being diſtinguiſhed by a crown of black leather; after which, they were doomed to perpetual impriſonment.

We are now arrived at a very intereſting part of the *Spaniſh* hiſtory, in which we have the *Arab* hiſtorians to aſſiſt us, and they are in general much better guides than thoſe of *Spain*, at this time. We have already mentioned the vaſt conqueſts made by the califs of *Baghdad* in the eaſt, and that they extended their empire even to the very heart of *Africa*, where they penetrated as far as *Karwan*, near the antient *Carthage*. They began to caſt a wiſhing eye over to *Spain*, and being then a very conſiderable marine power, they were poſſeſſed of the greateſt part of the *Mediterranean* coaſts. *Wamba* had intelligence that they were meditating a deſign upon him, and that they were privately encouraged by *Ervige*, nephew to *Reſuint*, who was then at *Wamba*'s court, and in high favour. *Wamba* made preparations to reſiſt the invaſion, and according to the *European* hiſtorians (for we find nothing of it in the *Moſlem* authors) he deſtroyed a fleet of two hundred and ſeventy ſail belonging to the infidels. In the mean while, *Ervige* found means to adminiſter a poiſonous draught to *Wamba*, who imagining that he felt the approaches of death, profeſſed himſelf a monk, and appointed *Ervige* for his ſucceſſor. *Wamba* recovered, and would gladly have re-aſſumed his crown, but the clergy, who were then all powerful in *Spain*, interpoſed a decree of the ſixth council of *Toledo* in favour of *Ervige*, and importing that *Wamba* having profeſſed himſelf a monk, muſt continue ſo to the end of his life. *Ervige* being thus left in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, heaped his favours upon the clergy, by which he partly counterbalanced the vaſt odium into which he fell with the people, when they diſcovered his having poiſoned *Wamba*. It was the intereſt of the clergy that their benefactor ſhould reign with juſtice and moderation, which *Ervige* did, and towards the latter part of his reign, he gave in marriage his daughter *Cixilona* to *Egica*, one of *Wamba*'s neareſt relations.

Vol. VI. p. 250. ibid. p. 191. *Ervige.*

Upon the death of *Ervige*, *Egica* divorced *Cixilona*, and gave a looſe to all his reſentments againſt thoſe who had any hand in the depoſition of *Wamba*, who was ſtill alive, but incapable of remounting the throne. After performing thoſe acts of juſtice, he died with the character of having been one of the beſt of princes, and left for his ſucceſſor his eldeſt ſon *Witiza*, who had been for ſome time aſſociated with him in the government. His ſecond ſon, *Oppas*, was archbiſhop of *Egica.*

Seville,

Seville, and he had a daughter *Fandina*, mother to the famous *Florinda*, whoſe violation occaſioned the *Mooriſh* invaſion.

Witiza. When *Witiza* became ſole king, he degenerated ſo greatly from his father's virtues, that fearing to be dethroned, he cauſed the eyes of *Theodofred*, duke of *Cordova*, to be put out, and *Favila*, duke of *Cantabria*, to be aſſaſſinated, becauſe they were the ſons of *Chindaſuint*. *Roderic*, the ſon of *Theodofred*, and *Pelagius*, the ſon of *Favila*, ſaved their lives by flight. The tyrant's ſecurity, after that, lay in diſarming his ſubjects and diſmantling their towns, and he died after a deteſtable reign of ten years, leaving behind him two ſons, *Iba* and *Siſebut*, who were both ſet aſide from the ſucceſſion.

Roderic. The crown of the *Spaniſh Viſigoths* then devolved by election upon *Roderic*, the ſon of *Theodofred*, duke of *Cordova*, and grandſon to *Chindaſuint*. Though he inherited by nature all the abilities of a great prince, yet he became a more execrable tyrant than even *Witiza* himſelf had been. His vices ſoon raiſed a ſtrong party againſt him, at the head of which were *Iba* and *Siſebut*, and their uncle *Oppas*, archbiſhop of *Seville*. The two princes fled to *Africa*, part of which ſeems then to have been in poſſeſſion of the *Viſigoth Spaniards*, and was under the government of count *Julian*, who had married their father's ſiſter. Though this is perhaps one of the moſt important æras in the *Spaniſh* hiſtory, yet it is very dark; but we have already given the moſt authentic account that can be formed of the invaſion of *Spain* by the *Arabs*, or (as the *European* hiſtorians call them) the *Moors*. It ſeems to be certain that *Walid*, who was then calif, cautioned *Muſa*, his general in *Africa*, againſt making any attempts on *Spain*, even after he had been applied to by the two ſons of *Witiza*, and privately by count *Julian* himſelf, whoſe daughter had been raviſhed by *Roderic*. As *Walid*'s injunction did not abſolutely tie up *Muſa*'s hands, the latter ſent to the calif a favourable report of the applications made to him; but all he could obtain, was leave to make an experiment of *Julian*'s ſincerity, by ſending him over to *Spain* with four hundred foot and a hundred horſe, and thoſe commanded by *Tarik*, or *Tarif*, who was accompanied by *Julian*. The latter gave the *Arab* the moſt convincing proofs of his intereſt and ſincerity by the great numbers who joined him, and *Tarif* ſoon made himſelf maſter of great part of *Spain*, and an immenſe plunder, the chief of which was ſent to the calif, who ſeems to have allowed *Muſa* to proceed to more important conqueſts. He put twelve thouſand men on board a number of tranſports which had been prepared by count *Julian*, and ſailing over to *Spain*, he found *Tarif* encamped on the famous *Calpe*, which from his name, was called *Gibel Tarif*, and now *Gibralter*. The firſt conſiderable conqueſt they made, was that of *Seville*, which had been diſmantled in the late reign. *Roderic* remained all this time plunged in ſenſuality, but ſent his couſin-german, *Saucho* (by ſome called *Inico*) at the head of an army, to fight *Muſa*.

Hiſtory of the *Mooriſh* invaſion of *Spain*.

Muſa. As the *Spaniſh Viſigoths* were then entirely undiſciplined, *Sancho* was defeated, and *Roderic* awakening from his lethargy, and putting himſelf at the head of a freſh army, he attacked the *Arabs* at *Aſſidona*, with ſo much fury, that the battle continued for eight days without victory declaring on either ſide. He was diſtinguiſhed in the *Gothic* manner by his golden crown, his chariot of ivory, his magnificent equipages, and above all, by his valorous acts. The *Moſlem* hiſtorians, againſt probability, ſay that he was betrayed by *Iba* and *Siſebut*, to whom he had entruſted a chief command in his army; but it is more likely that the treachery, if there was any, was owing to their kinſmen, whom they and their uncle the archbiſhop had ſecretly influenced. Be that as it will, victory at laſt remained with the *Arabs*, and it is moſt probable that *Roderic* fell in the battle, for he never was afterwards heard of.

Battle of *Aſſidona* won by the *Moors*.

Roderic defeated and killed.

According to the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, no fewer than ſixteen thouſand *Arabs* were killed in the battle of *Aſſidona*, called by the *Spaniards*, that of *Xeres Oppars*. If that report is true, they muſt have had an immenſe army in *Spain*. It is probable, however, that the *Viſigoths* of their party, are included in that number. If we were to hazard a conjecture, we muſt be of opinion that neither the ſons of *Witiza*, nor count *Julian*, intended that the *Arabs* ſhould make ſo great a progreſs as they did in *Spain*, and that the firſt party under *Tarif*, was, in fact, no other than a body of mercenaries, hired by *Julian* and his friends; but finding the ſweets of conqueſt, *Spain* being then the richeſt country in *Europe*, they were ſupported by *Muſa*; and the *Arabs*, from being auxiliaries and mercenaries, became ſoon principals; upon which, *Julian* and the two ſons of *Witiza*, returned to their allegiance under *Roderic*, and were preſent at the battle of *Xeres*, where *Julian* was taken priſoner. This conjecture is fortified by the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, who relate that after the battle, the *Arabs* ſtoned *Julian*'s wife to death, threw his ſon from the top of the tower of *Ceuta*, and he himſelf expired in irons. The battle of *Xeres* proved deciſive of the fate of the *Viſigoths* in *Spain*, for having no fortified towns to fly to, they were every where put to the ſword by the *Arabs*, who in twelve months time reduced all *Spain*, excepting thoſe parts which were poſſeſſed by the *Aſturians* and *Cantabrians*. *Pelagius*, called by the *Spaniards Pelayo*, according to the *Moſlem* as well as chriſtian authors, bore a conſiderable command in *Roderic*'s army at the battle of *Xeres*, but eſcaped with the ſhattered remains of the wing he commanded, to the mountains of *Aſturia*, together with *Ximenes*, who was likewiſe deſcended from the *Viſigoth* kings of *Spain*. Happily for thoſe princes, *Muſa* and *Tarif* agreed in nothing but their thirſt of plunder, and in order to keep up their communication with *Africa*, they were cautious of extending their conqueſts too far north. They however made themſelves maſters of *Toledo* and *Saragoſſa*; but the inhabitants whom they did not

not put to the ſword fled towards *Aſturia*, of which *Pelayo* was declared king, being at the head of a conſiderable army, and having fortified all the paſſes into his country; but that prince, in fact, poſſeſſed no more of *Aſturia* than its mountains, for the principal parts of the province were governed by *Munuza*, a *Spaniard*, who was in the intereſt of the *Arabs*, and who found means to force *Pelayo*'s ſiſter to marry him. *Pelayo* made an unſucceſsful attempt to revenge this inſult, but was obliged to retire once more to the mountains, where the infidels ſent archbiſhop *Oppas* to ſummon him to ſurrender.

Settlement of the *Moors* in *Spain*.

Before we proceed, we ought to obſerve, that the *Spaniſh Chriſtians* ſeem to have entertained no very violent averſion either to the religion or the manners of the *Arabs*; and the latter, after their ſettlement in *Spain* was formed, behaved with wonderful moderation. They ſuffered the *Chriſtians* to exerciſe their religion, and to retain their properties; but ſubjected them to a ſlight tax to be paid the calif, as an acknowledgment of his ſovereignty. This moderation was entirely owing to the calif himſelf, who recalled his two rapacious generals, *Muſa* and *Tarif*, to give an account of their conduct, or rather to refund part of the immenſe ſpoils they had made. *Muſa*'s government of *Spain* was continued to him, and he left it to his ſon *Abdalaziz*, who married *Egilona*, *Roderic*'s widow, and kept his court at *Seville*. Perhaps ſome injuſtice is done by bigotted writers to the character of *Oppas*, archbiſhop of *Seville*, for it was certainly owing to him that the *Chriſtian* religion, at this time, ſubſiſted in *Spain*. *Abdalaziz* was a wiſe tractable prince, and by the advice of *Egilona* and the archbiſhop, he did all in his power to prevent the *Viſigoth Spaniards* from feeling that they were in a ſtate of ſubjection. He encouraged them to intermarry with the *Arabs*, who in a ſhort time became ſo well reconciled to the *Chriſtians*, that they formed, in a manner, but one people, and went under the name of *Mozarabes*. Their language was a compound of thoſe of the two nations, and *Iſadore* and *Leander*, who were afterwards canonized, drew up the *Mozarabic* miſſal, which was made uſe of in *Spain* for many years. Thoſe particulars ſerve, in part, to explain the conduct of archbiſhop *Oppas*, who ſtill remained a *Chriſtian*, but ſubmitted to the government of the *Arabs*. But, we are now to attend *Pelayo*.

Brave actions of *Pelayo*, who is declared king of *Aſturia*.

Tarif, before he returned to the calif's court, had appointed *Kaman*, an experienced *Arab* general, to the command of the troops that were to act againſt *Pelayo*. That prince had rejected all the ſollicitations of *Oppas*, who waited upon him in a fortified cave where he reſided in the mountains, to ſwear allegiance to the calif, and *Kaman* prepared to reduce him by force. The mountain where the cave ſtood, was called *Auſena*, and was fortified to ſuch advantage, that *Kaman* loſt a whole ſeaſon in waiting for reinforcements, before he would attack it. Having got together a very powerful army of *Spaniards*, *Arabs* and *Africans*, he attempted the paſſes of the mountain, but

but he was repulsed; upon which the *Christians* left their posts, and descending to the plain, gave them a total defeat with the loss of twenty thousand men, besides those killed in the pursuit, and thrown down the precipices by *Pelayo*'s men. *Kaman* was killed in the engagement, and *Oppas* being taken prisoner, was, as is thought, privately put to death. After the battle, *Pelayo* possessed himself of *Leon*, *Astorga*, and many other places. It must be confessed, that though *Pelayo* was a prince of great courage and abilities, yet he was highly favoured by the dissentions which prevailed among the *Moslem* generals, and the defeats which about this time they received from *Charles Martel* in *France*. As to *Abdalaziz*, he seems to have taken very little concern in the war against *Pelayo*, and he conformed himself so much to the *Visigothic* fashions, that the *Arabs* are said to have put him to death, for wearing his diadem in the *Gothic* manner. His successor *Ayub*, transferred the seat of his government from *Seville* to *Cordova*, but being related to *Musa*, whom the calif had punished for his peculation, he was recalled, and *Alahor*, a *Moslem* general, appointed in his room, with a set of instructions very different from the maxims by which *Abdalaziz* governed. *Omar* was then calif of *Baghdad*, and an enthusiast for the *Mohammedan* religion. *Alahor*, or as the *Spaniards* call him *Alabor*, found that most of the *Arabs* in *Spain*, were either *Christians*, or professed a religion very much resembling *Christianity*, and that the others were indifferent about all religion. He was therefore ordered by the calif to proceed with the utmost severity against all the *Moslems* who turned *Christians*, and accordingly he put to death all who fell into his hands and refused to recant, especially the inhabitants of *Cordova*. But the severity of the original *Mahometanism* had been long degenerating among the *Arabs*, and *Alahor*, under pretence of religion, gave a full scope to his avarice, by torturing many to oblige them to discover their riches. While *Christianity* was thus in a desperate condition in the southernmost parts of *Spain*, *Pelayo* in the northern was acquiring immortal honour by his wisdom and courage. He had given a fresh overthrow to the *Arabs*, and managed the affairs of his government with the utmost piety and prudence. He rebuilt the ruined places of his kingdom, repaired the churches, but according to the *Gothic* maxims, he built no forts, that he might teach his people that they were to oppose only their bodies to their enemies.

Severity of the *Moslem* government.

Vol. VI. p. 259.

Zamar, who succeeded *Alahor* as the *Moslem* governor of *Spain*, found himself so independent of the calif, that he relaxed in his severity to the *Christians*, whom he found to be very well affected to his government, while they were indulged in the exercise of their religion. He thought it in vain to provoke *Pelayo*, and he led his army into *France*, where it was defeated by the famous count *Eudes*. *Yezid*, the calif, hearing of his defeat, sent fresh reinforcements to *Spain*; but in fact, the calif's authority at this time was next to nothing

in

Vol. VI. p. 263. in that country, which received the *Moſlem* governors from *Africa*, till they became ſo independent, that they took the title of kings of *Cordova*, and many provinces erected themſelves into ſeparate governments. We do not, however, perceive that even thoſe kings formally diſclaimed the calif's authority; but their paſſion for independency was undoubtedly very favourable for the *Chriſtians*. Thoſe who did not chuſe to be under the *Moſlem* government, repaired to *Pelayo*; and they who did, were careſſed and preferred by the *Moors* (for ſo the *Arabs* were now generally called). As to *Pelayo*, he died in a good old age, after a long and glorious reign of nineteen years, and is deſervedly looked upon as the father and reſtorer of his country, and was buried in the church of *Santa Olalla de Velana*, in *Cangas*. He had by his queen *Gaudiaſo*, a prince *Favila*, and a princeſs *Ormiſinda*. *Favila* ſucceeded him in his kingdom, and *Ormiſinda* was married to don *Alonſo*, ſon to the duke of *Cantabria*.

Favila king of *Spain*.

Favila had been for ſome time aſſociated with his father in the government, and had performed ſome noble military exploits. He was however far inferior to his father in every worthy reſpect, and being killed at a bear hunting, he died without leaving iſſue. We have, in the hiſtory of the califs, given a full detail of the *Moſlem* government in *Spain* at this time, and we ſhall therefore attach ourſelves to the hiſtory of the *Chriſtians* there.

ibid. p. 267. 742.

Alonſo proved himſelf worthy to be the ſucceſſor of *Pelayo*. He recovered from the infidels the greateſt part of *Galicia* and *Portugal*, with many places in *Leon* and *Caſtile*. His maxim was to oblige all the *Chriſtians* who were ſettled in any part of his conqueſts to retire to his dominions, and to waſte all the plain country that he could not keep; ſo that at the time of his death in 757, he left his kingdom greatly improved in power, wealth and population. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Froila*, who ſubdued the rebellious *Gaſcons* in *Navarre*, part of his father's dominions, and married a beautiful captive, called *Monina*, who was the mother of his ſon *Alonſo*. *Abderrahman*, called corruptly by the *Spaniards*, *Miramamolin*, was then the *Moſlem* king of *Spain*, and being a powerful prince, he aſſembled a large army, with which he at once overawed all the *Chriſtians* of his own dominions, and invaded thoſe of *Froila*. A deciſive battle enſued at *Pontumo* in *Galicia*, in which the *Moſlem* prince was entirely defeated, and left fifty-four thouſand men dead upon the ſpot. The infidel general being taken priſoner, was put to death, and *Froila* employed the vaſt plunder he made, in building the city of *Oviedo*, and making a farther progreſs in peopling the flat country. *Abderrahman* having recovered his ſtrength again, invaded *Froila*'s dominions, and was again defeated. The *Galicians*, from ſome diſguſt they had conceived at *Froila*'s government, refuſed to attend him in the field; but he ſoon reduced them to obedience, and puniſhed them with ſo much ſeverity, that he loſt the hearts of his ſubjects. By his obliging all the officiating part of

Alonſo an excellent prince.

757. *Froila*.

of his clergy to profeſs celibacy; it ſufficiently appears that till his reign the *Spaniſh* eccleſiaſtics were generally married. Every innovation in religion is dangerous to a prince, and *Froila* at laſt became ſo much hated by his people, that he ſtabbed his brother *Bimarino* to the heart with his own hand, from an apprehenſion he had, that, by his amiable qualities, he would ſupplant him in the government, but he himſelf ſoon after experienced the ſame fate from his incenſed nobility.

Aurelio, who was nearly related to *Froila*, ſucceeded in the throne, and inclined to live in peace with *Abderrahman*. The policy of the late reigns had introduced vaſt numbers of *Mooriſh* ſlaves into the *Chriſtian* parts of *Spain*, and theſe all at once rebelled. They were with great difficulty ſubdued, and deprived of their privileges, for many ſuch they enjoyed through the lenity of the government. *Aurelio* before his death, aſſociated with himſelf in the government, *Silo*, a noble and powerful *Goth*, and gave him his kinſwoman *Adoſinda* in marriage. Upon *Aurelio*'s death in 774, *Silo* reigned alone, but was oppoſed by an inſurrection of the *Galicians*, whom he chaſtiſed and reduced to obedience. He died in 779, without iſſue. Young *Alonſo*, the ſon of *Froila*, was then at the court of *Spain*, and by the care of queen *Adoſinda*, he had received an education anſwerable to his high birth. The people, however, retained their hatred of his father, and were unwilling to receive his ſon as their king. *Froila*, by a *Mooriſh* woman, had a natural ſon *Mauregato*, who took advantage of the people's averſion to *Alonſo*, and *Alonſo*'s own magnanimity in declaring that he diſdained to reign over an unwilling people, and mounted the throne. He courted a friendſhip with the *Moſlem* kings of *Cordova*, and encouraged intermarriages between their ſubjects and his own; ſo that he died in peace, in 788, after a reign of ſix years. He was ſucceeded by *Bermudo*, *Aurelio*'s brother, who had been bred an eccleſiaſtic, and was married. He accepted the reins of government only that he might reſign them to young *Alonſo*, whom he made the general of his army, and who defeated the *Moſlem* king of *Cordova* in a moſt bloody battle, which was fought in the neighbourhood of *Burgos*. *Alonſo*'s noble behaviour on this occaſion conquered all oppoſition to his perſon and title, and upon *Bermudo* abdicating the throne in his favour, he was declared king; but he never would ſuffer *Bermudo*, with whom he lived in the moſt endeared affection, to leave his court.

Aurelio. 774. *Silo*. 779. *Mauregato*. 788.

Alonſo the IId, ſurnamed the *Chaſte*, mounted the throne in the year 791, and applied himſelf to correct the errors that had crept into his government, and render his people happy. In 794, the infidels invaded his dominions, but he defeated them, and killed ſixty thouſand of them in one battle. The ſucceſſion of the crown of *Cordova*, being then in diſpute, *Alonſo* took that opportunity to repeople *Braga*, and to retake *Liſbon* from the infidels by ſtorm. *Charles* the Great at that time

791. 794. *Alonſo* II. dethroned but reinſtated.

time had gained great victories over the *Moors*, and being poſſeſſed of many parts of *Spain*, *Alonſo* ſent him a ſplendid embaſſy, with noble preſents, by which he gained that great prince's friendſhip. *Lewis*, king of *Aquitain*, *Charles*'s ſon, being at war with the *Moors*, took *Barcelona*, and the *Moors* having in revenge invaded *Alonſo*'s dominions, were again completely defeated by him. But the vaſt intercourſe between the *Moors* and the *Chriſtians*, rendered *Alonſo*, notwithſtanding his glorious ſucceſſes, diſagreeable to both, and ſo powerful a faction was formed againſt him, that he was ſurprized, and ſhut up in a monaſtery at *Abalia*. He was ſoon freed from his confinement, by the loyalty of one *Theudis*, and the affections of his people. Though reſtored to his throne, he proceeded with the greateſt lenity againſt the rebels, and thereby extinguiſhed the faction againſt him. He was again attacked by the infidels, and though far inferior to them in numbers, he gave them another total defeat, upon which a peace enſued, which he wiſely improved, by cultivating and peopling his kingdom. This tranquillity was treacherouſly interrupted
816. by the *Moors* in the year 816, but being again checked, they
821. remained quiet till the year 821, when they invaded *Galicia* anew with two armies. *Alonſo* marched in perſon againſt the one, and he ſent his kinſman, *Ramiro*, to fight the other. Both of them proved victorious, and *Alonſo* gained two glorious victories in one day.

Betrayed by a *Moſlem* commander.

About this time, the *Moſlems* in *Spain* rebelled againſt their ſovereign, *Aberrahman* the IId, and *Alonſo* received into his ſervice *Mohammed*, the governor of *Merida*, one of the heads of the rebellion. He was an officer of ſo great courage and experience, that though he and his troops were *Moſlems*, *Alonſo* entruſted him with the command of his army on the frontiers of *Portugal*. He behaved well in this poſt for ſeven years, but he was then privately reconciled to *Abderrahman*, whom he undertook to put in poſſeſſion of the province of *Galicia*, which he had almoſt effected, when *Alonſo* and *Ramiro* gave them battle, defeated and killed fifty thouſand of them, among whom was *Mohammed* himſelf. Theſe exploits were ſo much to the glory of the *Viſigoth Spaniards*, that their hiſtorians have not been proof againſt embelliſhing them with fiction. We are told of *Alonſo*'s ſiſter, *Ximena*, who privately married *Sancho*, count of *Saldagnes*, and was mother to *Bernardo del Carpio*, a famous hero of romances, but the father was thrown into priſon, where his eyes were put out. As *Bernardo* grew up, he performed the greateſt ſervices to *Alonſo*, and in requital, he demanded the liberty of his father, which *Alonſo* obſtinately refuſed to grant, ſo that the count died miſerably in priſon, and *Bernardo* retired in diſguſt from the court. *Alonſo*, in
829. 829, found himſelf old and infirm, and recommended to the ſtates his couſin *Ramiro*, the ſon of his friend and benefactor *Bermudo*, for his ſucceſſor. His requeſt being complied with,

Alonſo

Alonſo reſigned the government to *Ramiro*, and retiring from the world, he ended his life and glorious reign in the year 842.

842. *Ramiro* king.

A nobleman of great diſtinction, who is called count *Nepotian*, oppoſed the acceſſion of *Ramiro*, and his party declared him king. *Ramiro* was then at a diſtance from *Oviedo*, his capital, and aſſembling a body of troops, he advanced againſt *Nepotian*, who readily met him at the head of a great army, which abandoned him and joined *Ramiro*. Two of the chief conſpirators, to make their peace with the king, carried *Nepotian* to him in chains, and his eyes being put out, he was condemned to ſpend the remainder of his days in a monaſtery. *Ramiro*, being now in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, applied himſelf to clear his kingdom of robbers and ſorcerers, with whom it was overrun. The latter were the fruits of the mixt religion that prevailed in *Spain*, and when convicted of exerciſing their pretended art, they were conſigned to the flames. About the year 844, the *Normans*, who were then powerful at ſea, and lived as freebooters on land, invaded *Ramiro*'s dominions near *Corunna*, but were ſo completely defeated, that they never repeated their viſit. Next year a dangerous conſpiracy againſt *Ramiro* was diſcovered, and the king left the puniſhment of the delinquents to the judgment of the ſtates, who ſentenced the chief conſpirator, and ſeven of his ſons, to death.

844. He defeats the *Moors*.

The *Spaniſh*, and other authors, mention an improbable tax of a hundred virgins, which had been paid by *Mauregato* to *Abderrahman*, and pretend that this demand was renewed by *Abderrahman* the IId. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Abderrahman* invaded *Ramiro*'s dominions with a powerful army, but was defeated by *Ramiro*, and his ſon *Ordogno*, who behaved ſo nobly, that the eſtates elected him coadjutor and ſucceſſor to his father. The year 849 is celebrated for a ſtill more glorious victory, after a battle which laſted two days, in which the infidels loſt ſixty thouſand men, and which, as uſual, is embelliſhed with ſome miraculous circumſtances. *Ramiro* died in 850, and left his dominions perfectly tranquil and proſperous; ſo that *Ordogno* mounted the throne without oppoſition. His tranquillity was interrupted by the *Gaſcons* of *Alava*, who called in to their aſſiſtance the *Moors*, but they were defeated, and reduced by *Ordogno*. That prince fomented the troubles among his *Mooriſh* neighbours of *Cordova*, and ſent auxiliaries to aſſiſt the *Toletans*, but they were defeated by the *Mooriſh* king, and twelve thouſand of them cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this loſs, *Ordogno* continued to foment the rebellion of the *Toletans*, by which he acquired leiſure for fortifying *Aſtorga* and *Leon*. About the year 858, he declared war againſt *Muſa*, who, though deſcended from the *Viſgoths*, was a *Moſlem*, and having ſeized *Saragoſſa*, had erected himſelf into an independent ſovereign. A pitched battle was fought, in which *Muſa* was defeated, and loſt ten

849. He is ſucceeded by *Ordogno*,

850.

858.

thouſand of his men, and eſcaping to *Saragoſſa*, he there died of his wounds.

By the vaſt numbers which fell in every battle, two circumſtances occur not very reconcilable to the experience of later times. The firſt is, that *Spain* muſt have then been the moſt populous country in the world, and their warlike weapons the moſt deſtructive. The ſecond is, that the *Moors* were as prolific as the *Viſgoths*, if not more ſo; for we find them perpetually repairing their defeats by bringing freſh armies into the field. This vaſt population is not to be accounted for by the ſupplies they received from *Africa*, for thoſe had been ſtopt up ever ſince the *Mooriſh* kingdoms were erected in *Spain*. But whatever may be in this, it muſt be acknowledged that *Ordogno* failed in his politics, by deſtroying *Muſa* and his party, for he thereby ſtrengthened his more formidable enemy, *Mohammed*, king of *Cordova*, who reduced *Toledo*. The affairs of *Ordogno* are repreſented as being at this time on the decline, and this encouraged the *Normans* again to invade his dominions, but they were defeated, and part of their fleet burnt. *Ordogno*'s war with *Mohammed* ſtill continued, but with ſuch ſucceſs on the part of the *Chriſtians*, that the *Toletans* again reſumed their arms, and revolting from *Mohammed*, they were ſupported by *Ordogno*. In 862, he made a glorious expedition againſt *Salamanca* and *Coria*, and upon his return to *Oviedo*, the nobility declared his ſon, *Alonzo*, a prince of great hopes, his ſucceſſor. *Mohammed* found means to equip a fleet, and once more to invade *Ordogno*'s dominions, but he was defeated both by ſea and land, ſo that *Ordogno* died in the arms of glory and proſperity in the year 866. His hiſtory, and that of his immediate predeceſſors, receive great authenticity from the chronicle written by his ſon, *Alonſo* the Great, which is finiſhed by *Ordogno*'s reign.

Exploits of *Ordogno*.

862.

866.

Alonſo was no more than eighteen years of age when he mounted the throne, but he met with a competitor in the perſon of *Froila*, count of *Galicia*, who obliged him for ſome time to retire to *Caſtile*. Upon his retreat, *Froila* gave a looſe to his natural inclinations for tyranny, and was aſſaſſinated in his palace. Upon his death, *Alonſo* recovered his throne without oppoſition, but had great trouble in reducing the province of *Alava* to obedience, in which he ſucceeded about the year 868. While he was intent upon the affairs of his government, and upon fortifying his frontiers, two *Mooriſh* armies raiſed by *Mohammed*, entered his dominions, one on the ſide of *Leon*, and the other through *Galicia*. *Alonſo* was then at the head of a ſmall but brave army, with which he completely defeated both the *Mooriſh* armies, and carried all the *Moſlems* who fell in his hands, into ſlavery.

Reign of *Alonſo*.

868.

Charles the Great had conquered the provinces of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, but his ſucceſſes not being able to protect them againſt the *Moors*, the people erected themſelves into the kingdom of *Navarre*, and choſe for their king *Inigo*, the Bold, count

count of *Bigorre*. From him deſcended the famous *Ximene*, whom *Alonſo* married about this time. The marriage produced a treaty of offence and defence againſt the *Moors*, who, by the vaſt ſucceſs of *Alonſo*'s arms, were obliged to ſue for a truce, which he granted to the embaſſadors of the king of *Cordova* in 871. The truce being expired, the war was renewed by both parties, but with more advantage than ever to *Alonſo*, whoſe life was ſpent in a continued ſeries of victories, till the year 882. He ſupported the revolt of *Abdallah*, the ſon of *Muſa*, a faithleſs prince, who had recovered *Saragoſſa*; but *Alonſo* granted *Mohammed* a new truce for ſix years. This reſpite from war was wiſely employed by *Alonſo*, in all the duties of a good king and a provident father of his people. It appears, however, as if he had met with great oppoſition from his noblemen, whoſe power he endeavoured to abridge, but they were all of them ſubdued and puniſhed. That under *Froila* and his brethren *Nugnez*, *Veremond*, and *Odoair*, was the moſt formidable, becauſe it was ſupported by *Abdallah*, the king of *Cordova*. The rebels received a total defeat from *Alonſo*, upon which *Veremond*, the head of the rebellion, who had eſcaped from juſtice with the loſs of his eyes, fled to the *Cordovan* court, and *Alonſo*, who was now grown old and infirm, conſented to a renewal of the truce with that prince. When *Alonſo* was preparing to ſpend the remainder of his days in civil and religious duties, in fortifying his frontiers, and repeopling his dominions, he gave umbrage to *Abdallah*, who, receiving reinforcements from *Africa*, marched againſt *Zamorra*, which *Alonſo* was fortifying, but was again defeated; and *Alonſo*, aged as he was, in his turn, invaded and ravaged the *Mooriſh* territories. He was, towards the cloſe of his reign, endangered by a freſh conſpiracy, headed by one *Alapin*, who was put to death. This was but a prelude to one of a more dangerous nature, headed by his ſon *Garcia*, who aſpired to the kingdom, but was defeated, and ſhut up in priſon by his father. It appears as if the young prince had been the darling both of the nobility and people, as well as of his mother *Ximene*. All joined their importunities, but in vain, to free him from his confinement, till *Alonſo* perceiving that a civil war was unavoidable, called an aſſembly of his ſtates. His army was faithful to him, and he convinced his noblemen, in a ſpeech he made, that what he was about to do was the effect of free will, and not of compulſion. He then ordered his two ſons to appear, and placed his own crown upon *Garcia*'s head, while he gave the province of *Galicia* to his ſecond ſon, *Ordogno*. The princes were amazed at this extraordinary ſtep, and fell upon their knees with tears of acknowledgment.

871.

882.

His glorious ſucceſſes.

He reſigns his crown.

Such was the political end of the life of *Alonſo*, deſervedly called the Great. There appears to have been a mixture of *Mooriſh*, *Gothic*, old *Iberian*, *French* and *Italian* blood among his ſubjects, which never permitted them to be at reſt when

His character.

they were free from *Mooriſh* and foreign wars. We are, however, to make great allowances for the ignorance we are under as to *Alonſo*'s true hiſtory. It ſeems as if the real cauſe of the rebellions againſt him, had ariſen from his own family, particularly from his queen, *Ximene*; and that his great nobility, (with whom ſome authors ſay, he was involved in a war for two years before his death) had taken the field againſt him, becauſe he had abridged them of their privileges, which he, poſſibly, thought too great for any ſubjects to enjoy. The conſtant practice of his predeceſſors of aſſociating, during their own lifetime, their ſons with them in the government, had been diſcontinued by *Alonſo*, and this probably exaſperated both *Garcia* and his mother; but whether the laſt act of *Alonſo*'s government was or was not the reſult of free will, it is certain that he behaved like a good man, in preventing the further effuſion of blood, and like a great king, in eſtabliſhing the crown in his family. About the time of this reſignation, *Abdallah*, king of *Cordova*, died likewiſe, which might be a further inducement for that ſtep in *Alonſo*. *Abdallah* is celebrated in *Moſlem* authors for his endeavours to raiſe a marine in his dominions, but they pretend that it was deſtroyed by winds and tempeſts, and not by the *Chriſtians*. Though *Abdallah* took upon himſelf the ſuperb title of calif of *Spain*, yet he is, by the *Moſlem* authors, ſtiled no other than the emir of *Andaluſia*. He was ſucceeded by *al Mondaz*, one of the thirty-three ſons he left behind him, but he died after a reign of two years, as he was marching to quell a rebellion of the *Cordovans*. His army elected *Abdallah* his brother, to ſucceed him, in prejudice of his eldeſt ſon, and, according to *Moſlem* authors, he reigned twenty-five years.

After the abdication of *Alonſo*, he laid before his ſon and ſucceſſor the plan of his government, and gave him ſuch directions for his conduct, as entirely won the affections of *Garcia*. This happened about the year 908. *Garcia* begun his reign with the moſt popular acts, ſuch as founding monaſteries, peopling or fortifying cities, and raiſing troops to act againſt the *Moors*, whoſe territories he invaded. The king of *Cordova* gave the command of his army to one *Ayola*, who was defeated and taken priſoner, but made his eſcape. Next year *Garcia* gave to his father, old as he was, the command of his army, which was numerous, and rich by the ſpoils acquired in the preceding campaign. *Alonſo* invaded and laid waſte the *Mooriſh* dominions beyond the *Duero*, took meaſures for peopling the *Spaniſh* cities on that river, but died at *Zamora*, when he was returning from his glorious campaign. We can add little to the character of this great prince, as a king, a warrior and a politician; but it muſt be remembered, to his praiſe, that he was the author of the chronicle which begins at the death of *Receſuint* and ends at that of *Ordogno*, *Alonſo*'s own father. He compoſed this chronicle at the requeſt of *Sebaſtian*, biſhop of *Arenſa*, from the beſt memorials then extant,

908. He is ſucceeded by his ſon *Garcia*,

tant, the hiſtory of *Spain*, from the death of king *Wamba*, being in a manner loſt, or buried in oblivion. Among the misfortunes of the great *Alonſo*'s reign, we may reckon that of his being obliged, through the vaſt deſigns he had of fortifying and repeopling his kingdom, to load his people with taxes.

After the death of *Alonſo* the Great, *Garcia* endeavoured to take from his brother *Ordogno*, the province of *Galicia*, but their differences were compromiſed, by the interpoſition of their mother and friends, and they made a ſucceſsful joint campaign againſt the *Moors*. About this time *Ximene* died, as, ſoon after, did *Garcia* himſelf, as he was endeavouring to regain the love of his ſubjects, whom he had diſguſted by the ſternneſs of his diſpoſition, and the attempts he made againſt his brother, who inherited the virtues and affability of the father. *Ordogno* was raiſed to his brother's throne by the clergy and nobility, and after defeating the *Moors* in a bloody battle at *Talavera*, he took that city, and put all its inhabitants to the ſword. His next campaign was ſtill more glorious, by his gaining the battle of *Albanges*, which obliged the *Mooriſh* king to apply to his countrymen in *Africa* once more for reinforcements. Theſe were ſent in ſuch numbers, that he brought eighty thouſand men into the field againſt *Ordogno*, but they were defeated, and their two chief generals killed. Thoſe vaſt ſucceſſes enriched *Ordogno* ſo greatly, that he was enabled to make the city of *Leon* a biſhop's ſee, and to erect it into the capital of his dominions, inſtead of *Oviedo*, which of late years had given the title of royalty to his family, and we are now to conſider him and his ſucceſſors as kings of *Leon* and *Oviedo*. The conſtant recruits ſent over from *Africa* to *Abdallah*, enabled him to continue the war, which he carried into the kingdom of *Navarre*, where *Sancho*, *Ximene*'s brother, and uncle to *Ordogno*, reigned. He demanded ſuccours from his nephew, and they were ſent him, but their joint army was defeated by the infidels, and it was with difficulty that *Ordogno* eſcaped back to *Leon*. Happily for him, the infidels, inſtead of purſuing their blow, made an irruption into *France*, while *Ordogno* did the ſame into their *Spaniſh* dominions, which he laid waſte. *Ordogno*'s reign, after this, was very diſagreeable, both to himſelf and his ſubjects. Upon the death of his firſt wife, he married a *Galician* lady, whom he repudiated without cauſe. The counts of *Caſtile* then formed a powerful body, and had for ſome time been contented to live as feodatories under *Ordogno* and his predeceſſors. *Ordogno* having ſome ſuſpicion of their fidelity, ſummoned them to appear at his court; but he no ſooner had them in his power, than he perfidiouſly ordered them to be ſtrangled. The juſtice of this action is variouſly repreſented. We know little more about this prince, than that he again aſſiſted the king of *Navarre* with troops, and married *Santiva*, daughter to *Garcia* prince of *Navarre*. He died in the eighteenth year of his reign, and

who quarrels with his brother.

Is ſucceeded by *Ordogno*, who conquers *Leon*.

though he left by his first wife, two sons, *Alonso* and *Ramiro*, yet his brother, *Froila*, was elected his successor.

He is succeeded by *Froila*, a tyrant,

It does not appear that the nobles of *Castile* had been originally feudatories to the kings of *Oviedo*. It is probable, though they lived under their protection, they were in fact an aristocracy, though it is possible that one of their own body, either by the kings nomination or their own election, might have presided over the rest in their public assemblies. *Froila* the IId. proved a tyrant, and reigned only thirteen months; and it is said, that during his short reign, the *Castilians* revolted, and chose two of their own number for their leaders, the one in civil, the other in military matters.

and he by *Alonso*.

The nobility and people of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, saw their punishment in their crime of rebelling against *Alonso* the Great, and they placed their crown on the head of his grandson *Alonso*, the son of *Ordogno* the IId. The bishop of *Leon*, who had been banished on his account, in the foregoing reign, was his faithful friend and counsellor. The name of his queen was *Uracca*, by whom he had a son, but upon her death, he resigned his crown, in favour of his brother *Ramiro*, who was accordingly raised to the throne. Scarcely was he seated there, and had raised an army against the *Moors*, than he repented of his abdication, and attempted to resume his dignity. He made himself master of *Leon*, but was obliged to throw himself upon *Ramiro*'s mercy, to whom he was reconciled, and *Ramiro* generously pardoned all who had been concerned in the revolt. In the mean while, *Alonso* and his two brothers, the sons of the late king, *Froila* the IId. were in arms, and *Alonso* had taken the title of king in *Asturia*. *Ramiro* having now nothing to apprehend from his elder brother, marched against the rebels with his victorious army, and forced them to deliver into his hands the three princes, who had lost their eyes, and were shut up in a monastery. By his wife, *Uracca*, *Ramiro* had a son, *Ordogno*, and she died in the year 931. *Ramiro* now reigned unrivaled, and carried his arms into the very heart of the *Mooriſh* dominions in *Spain*, where he took *Madrid* by storm, insulted their capital of *Toledo*, and brought back his troops laden with incredible plunder, and numbers of slaves to *Leon*. His visit was repaid by the *Moors*; but *Ramiro*, by the assistance of *Ferdinand Gonçales* (who is called, by way of eminence, count of *Castile*, and who was the founder of a most illustrious royal family) gave them a total defeat at *Osma*, upon which *Ramiro* confirmed all the privileges granted by his predecessors to the church of St. *James* at *Compostella*. Next year *Ramiro* reduced *Aben Ahaya*, the count of *Arragon*, and a tributary to the king of *Cordova*, and obliged him to give him the same tribute that he had paid to that prince. While he was upon this expedition he married *Teresa*, the daughter of *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, whose father had been some time before defeated and killed by the count of *Castile*.

931. *Ramiro* king.

Alen

Aben Ahaya ſoon reconciled himſelf to the king of *Cordova*, and their joint troops for ſome time laid waſte the territories of *Ramiro*, who had probably ſuffered a ſevere check, which diſabled him from reſiſting their incurſions. The *Moors*, encouraged by their ſucceſſes in the territory of *Leon*, aſſembled a hundred and fifty thouſand men to conquer that kingdom and *Oviedo*, and it was the beginning of *Auguſt* (by which time they had made a vaſt progreſs) before *Ramiro* could take the field. A general battle was fought on the ſixth of that month, in which the infidels were defeated, with the loſs, as is ſaid, of fourſcore thouſand men. The account of thoſe immenſe victories and bloody defeats, are to be read with caution, as the *Moſlem* hiſtorians of *Spain* are ſilent at this period. We do not perceive that the loſs of the king of *Cordova*, great as it was, interrupted his operations; for we perceive the king of *Cordova*, who now reigned by the name of *Al Manſur*, (an appellation of the higheſt diſtinction) was in the field before the end of the campaign, and ſuffered a defeat as bloody as the former, notwithſtanding which, the progreſs of *Ramiro* againſt the *Moors* was very ſlow, and he continued to act upon the defenſive. The ſucceſs of the *Moor* had, in fact, been ſo great, that he diſmantled the frontiers of *Caſtile*, which *Ramiro* ordered to be repaired, and the chief places to be put into his poſſeſſion. The *Caſtilian* lord objected to this, upon which *Ramiro* made uſe of his paramount right to employ againſt them the army he had raiſed againſt the *Moors*, and he brought their two chiefs, *Ferdinand Gonzales* and *Diego Nunes*, priſoners to *Leon*. *Ramiro* can be juſtified for this conduct only by ſuppoſing that he had a right to the obedience of the *Caſtilians*, and that the meaſures he enjoined, were calculated equally for their ſafety as his own. The *Caſtilians* thought that their privileges were more dear to them than their ſafety, and their firmneſs endangered *Ramiro*'s throne, becauſe no dependence was to be placed in a truce, which he had concluded with the *Moors*.

Ravages of the *Moors*.

It is reaſonable to think that *Ramiro* was alarmed at his ſituation, for he ſoon compromiſed matters with the two counts, and reſtored them to a higher degree of his favour than ever. They, on the other hand, knew the neceſſity of uniting againſt the common enemy, and *Ferdinand Gonçales*, who at this time governed the *Caſtilians* as if he had been their ſovereign, gave his daughter *Urracca*, by *Sancha*, infanta of *Navarre*, in marriage to *Ordogno*, *Ramiro*'s eldeſt ſon. This conſolidation of intereſts, produced a ſeven years truce with the *Moors*; but it no ſooner was expired, than he invaded their dominions, and, as uſual, defeated their armies with vaſt ſlaughter; but upon his return to *Leon*, he died, in 950, and the 20th year of his reign, with the character of having been a wiſe, brave and ſucceſsful prince. He left behind him, by his firſt wife, *Ordogno*, and the princeſs *Elviza*, who was a nun.

Affairs of *Caſtile*

950.

Ordogno

and *Leon.* *Ordogno* III. ſucceeded his father with univerſal applauſe. His great talents, joined to the flouriſhing eſtate in which his father left his dominions, gave umbrage to his neighbours, and even his father-in-law *Gonçales*, encouraged *Sanchez* to claim a partition of his dominions, which *Ordogno* refuſed to conſent to. *Sanchez* was likewiſe ſupported by the king of *Navarre*, and pleaded former family ſettlements, by which he was entitled to the province of *Galicia*. *Gonçales* would appear a much greater man to poſterity than he does, were not his hiſtory interlarded by the *Spaniards* with groſs fictions. He certainly, however, was one of the greateſt perſonages of that age and country; but, though he and the king of *Navarre* jointly took the field in favour of *Sanchez*, yet *Ordogno*'s prudent and reſolute conduct obliged them to retire. *Ordogno*, provoked at their attempt, repudiated and ſent back to *Gonçales* his daughter *Urracca*, and married *Elvira*, a *Galician* lady, by whom he had a ſon, *Bermudo*. This marriage, through the inſolence of the new queen's relations, occaſioned a rebellion; but it was quickly ſuppreſſed by the prudence and vigour of *Ordogno*, and the rebels joining his ſtandards, he led them againſt *Liſbon*, then in poſſeſſion of the infidels. The conduct of *Gonçales* on this occaſion, was that of a great politician. He not only grew cold in the cauſe of *Sanchez*, but diſſembled all reſentment of the affront that had been offered him in the perſon of his daughter, and during *Ordogno*'s abſence in *Portugal*, he made a ſeaſonable diverſion in his favour, by invading *Al Manſur*'s dominions, and taking and demoliſhing the important fortreſs of *Corazo*. Upon the return of *Ramiro* from *Portugal*, with his victorious army, though there had been no formal reconciliation between him and *Gonçales*, the latter boldly preſented himſelf before him, and ſo effectually pleaded his ſervices againſt the *Moors*, (but at the ſame time, apologizing for what had paſſed) that he not only diſarmed *Ordogno* of all reſentment, but he ſent him a body of troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance he gained one of the moſt glorious victories at St. *Stephen de Gomez* that had ever been obtained over the infidels.

A rebellion.

955. Death of *Ordogno.* *Ordogno* died in the year 955, and the 6th of his reign, which, like that of his father, was a ſeries of great and wiſe actions. The queen *Elvira*, upon her huſband's death, deſpaired of making any party in favour of her ſon's right to ſucceed his father, and retired to *Galicia*, upon which *Sanchez*, the late king's brother, was raiſed to the throne.

Revolutions of *Caſtile.* The incapacity of *Sanchez* for government, contributed to the ambitious views of *Gonçales*, who by fomenting the diſcontents of the nobility, forced *Sanchez* again to take refuge in *Navarre*. The reader may remember that *Alonſo*, the ſon of *Froila* II. who called himſelf *Alonſo* IV. had loſt his eyes, and was ſhut up in a monaſtery, where he died. He left behind him a ſon, *Ordogno*, and *Gonçales* gave his daughter *Urracca*, the divorced widow of *Ordogno* III. to this young prince in marriage. Others ſay, with more reaſon, that *Alonſo* IV. was brother

brother to *Ramiro* II. Be that as it will, *Ordogno* IV. who acquired the epithet of the wicked, by his father-in-law's intereſt mounted the throne of *Leon*, but his cruelties ſoon loſt him the affections of his ſubjects. In the mean while the exiled *Sanchez* had repaired to the court of *Cordova*, where he was cured by the *Arab* phyſicians, the beſt then in the world, of a dropſy, and moſt generouſly entertained by *Al Montaſen*, who offered him his aſſiſtance in reſtoring him to his throne, provided the king of *Navarre* would aſſiſt him likewiſe, which the latter readily undertook to do, and defeated *Gonçales*, whom he carried priſoner to *Navarre*. By this time, *Ordogno* the Wicked, unable to withſtand *Sanchez* at the head of his *Mooriſh* confederates, and execrated by his ſubjects, fled to *Aſturia*; where finding himſelf deteſted, and in danger of being delivered up, he threw himſelf into the hands of the *Arragonian Moors*, among whom he died, in a ſhort time, equally hated and contemptible. It muſt be confeſſed, that the moſt authentic hiſtories of *Spain* at this period, relate an event which ſeems to give ſome countenance to their fictions. *Gonçales*, though a priſoner, found means by the interceſſion of his wife, who was the king of *Navarre*'s ſiſter, not only to recover his liberty, but to obtain that independency upon the crown of *Leon*, which had been ſo long his favourite and ſole object. *Sanchez* being cured of his diſtemper which had formerly rendered him inactive, proved a brave and a ſtirring prince.

Upon recovering his throne, he married *Tereſa*, daughter to one of his chief noblemen. The *Normans* having made a deſcent upon his dominions, he permitted *Siſenand*, the biſhop of *Compoſtella*, to fortify that city; but the prelate made uſe of this permiſſion to oppreſs the people, and to heap up wealth, for which being reprimanded by the king, he prepared for a rebellion. *Sanchez* marched at the head of an army to reduce him, and the people confined their biſhop, whom the king depoſed, and raiſed one *Roſinindo* to the ſee of *Compoſtella*. The *Normans* ſoon after renewing their deſcent, *Roſinindo* put himſelf at the head of his people, defeated them, and forced them to retire with great loſs to their ſhips. It ſoon appeared that *Gonçales* was connected with *Siſenand* in his practices, for having been raiſed by the partiality of *Sanchez* to the government of *Portugal*, he renewed his rebellion, and almoſt at the ſame time his ſubmiſſions, being terrified at the approach of *Sanchez*, who again pardoned him; but he was ungratefully requited by *Gonçales* preſenting him with ſome poiſoned fruit, which in three days time put an end to his life. Other writers give a much more favourable character of *Gonçales*, (or as they call him *Gonſalvo*) whom they make the mirrour of all virtues, civil and military; and they impute his impriſonment to the treachery of *Tereſa* of *Navarre*, as they do his deliverance to his own magnanimity and the affection of her ſiſter *Blanch*, wife to *Gonçales*. In ſhort, this *Tereſa* is loaded with all the misfortunes that befell *Gonçales*, whom we cannot believe to be

Reign of *Sanchez*.

ſo

ſo wicked a man as ſome hiſtorians have repreſented. It is certain that he left *Caſtile*, which he defended nobly againſt the *Moors*, in a ſtate of independency upon the crown of *Leon*, without himſelf aſſuming the title of king, or invading the privileges either of the people or the nobility.

Succeeded by *Ramiro* III.

The late king *Sanchez* had endeared himſelf to his ſubjects ſo much, that upon his death they gave his crown to his infant ſon, *Ramiro* III. who was but five years old, and his mother with his aunt *Elvira*, were appointed his guardians. In the beginning of their regency, they ſent their general *Gonſalvo*, to act againſt the *Normans*, who had made a freſh deſcent near *Compoſtella*, but were entirely routed by *Gonſalvo*, who likewiſe burnt their fleet. The regents ſeem to have governed with great prudence and moderation till they reſigned their power into the hands of *Ramiro*, who was now ſeventeen years of age, and married a lady, whoſe relations alienated him from the wiſe councils of his mother and aunt, and exaſperated his nobility ſo much, that they declared *Bermudo*, ſon to *Ordogno* III. their king. This produced a moſt cruel civil war, which was attended by a waſte of blood greater than that of their diſputes with the *Moors*, and yet no deciſive

982. action happened. The ſudden death of *Ramiro* in 982, when he was no more than twenty years of age, finiſhed the diſpute by *Bermudo* II. being acknowledged his ſucceſſor. While he

Bermudo II. king, was intent upon reforming his people, the *Moors*, who thought themſelves abſolved from all their engagements with the *Chriſtians* by the death of *Ramiro*, invaded *Bermudo*'s territories, and the late civil war having greatly weakened *Bermudo*, they made themſelves maſters of *Simencas*, and carried great numbers of *Chriſtians* into captivity, with a prodigious booty. By this time, according to the *Moſlem* writers, *Heſham* ſucceeded his father *Al Montaſer*, as calif of *Spain*, but being no more than ten years of age, his affairs were managed by his chamberlain *Abu Amer*, who pretended that he was entitled to the name of *Al Manſur*. He acted with an arbitrary ſway, and to him were owing the late ſucceſſes obtained by the *Moors* over the *Chriſtians*. He was frequently offered the crown of *Cordova*; but he thought it ſafeſt to govern under the title of *Heſham*, who was no more than a cypher. The ambition of the *Moors* now pointed itſelf againſt the *Navarreſe* and the *Francs*, which gave *Bermudo* an opportunity of looking into the internal ſtate of his kingdom, which was in a deplorable condition. He depoſed *Pelayo*, the tyrannical ſucceſſor of *Siſenand*, biſhop of *Compoſtella*; and who, by revolting to the *Moors*, had enabled them to take the important city of *Zamora*, where they carried the inhabitants into captivity. The virtues and moderation of *Al Manſur*, ſeem to have been the worſt foes of the *Spaniards*, who living happy and quietly under his government, neglected to aſſiſt their king, who was thereby under inexpreſſible diſcouragements. He at laſt raiſed an army, and gave battle to *Al Manſur* on the banks of the *Ezla*. Victory

at

at first declared for *Bermudo*; but *Al Manſur* ſeeing his troops give way, with the ſpirit of a true *Arab*, firſt threw his turban, and then himſelf, upon the ground, where he declared he would wait for death, as he had been deſerted by his army. The *Moors*, ſtung with this reproach of their brave leader, returned to the charge, and recovered the victory; but it coſt them ſo dear, that *Al Manſur* was in no condition to improve it that year. who is defeated by the *Moors*.

Bermudo employed that ſhort reſpite in removing all that was valuable in *Leon* to *Aſturia*, to which he himſelf and his court retired, after leaving a numerous garriſon at *Leon*, which, in the ſpring, *Al Manſur* made himſelf maſter of, as he did of *Aſtorga*. Next year he conquered the greateſt part of (if not all) *Portugal*, and carried the *Chriſtians*, whom he made priſoners, into ſlavery. He took *Compoſtella* by means of the prelate *Pelayo*. He ravaged *Galicia*, and in all probability would have made an entire conqueſt of *Spain*, had not his army been attacked by a moſt dreadful flux, which *Chriſtian* writers conſtrue into a mark of Divine vengeance, and which obliged him to return to *Cordova*. This happened in the year 997, and *Bermudo* harraſſed him ſo dreadfully in his retreat, that he did not carry back a third of his army. While he was endeavouring to recruit it, *Bermudo* viſited *Galicia*, to revive the drooping ſpirits of his ſubjects there, and formed a confederacy with the *Caſtilians*, who, as we have ſeen, were now independent of the king of *Navarre*. According to the *Moſlem* hiſtorians, (the *Chriſtian* writers being confuſed on that head) *Al Manſur* died at this time, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abdalmaler*, who took his father's title, which has occaſioned ſome intricacy among *Chriſtian* authors. The confederates brought a numerous army to the field, and defeated the *Moors* under the new *Al Manſur*, in the neighbourhood of *Oſma*. The battle laſted the whole day, and at night *Al Manſur* found his loſs of men to be ſo great, that he ordered the remainder to diſperſe, while he himſelf retired to *Medina Celi*, where he obſtinately refuſed all ſuſtenance, and ſtarved himſelf to death. It is ſaid, but, perhaps, with ſome exaggeration, that a hundred thouſand infidels were killed in the late battle. The *Chriſtians* finding the infidels had fled, could ſcarcely believe their own good fortune, and the booty they made was incredible; but by this time, *Bermudo* was labouring under the gout ſo ſeverely, that he could not taſte the tranquillity which his arms had purchaſed, for he died in the year 999. 997. His death. 999.

He was ſucceeded, through the election of the nobility, by his ſon *Alonſo*, or *Alphonſo* V. whoſe mother *Elvira*, was appointed regent during his nonage, and *Melendo Gonzales* his governor. The *Moors* under the brother of the late *Al Manſur*, a diſſolute but ambitious miniſter, renewing their incurſions, the queen regent ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of *Garcia*, count of *Caſtile*, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in gaining the glorious battle of *Oſma*, and he gave them a freſh defeat, Succeeded by *Alonſo* V.

defeat, upon which the *Mooriſh* general was diſgracefully put to death upon his return to *Cordova*. The family of *La Vela*, a noble *Caſtilian* race, having been ſpoiled of their inheritance of *Alava*, had lived for ſome years under the protection of the *Moors*, and out of revenge, were highly inſtrumental in their ſucceſſes againſt the *Chriſtians*; but their eſtate being now reſtored to them, they returned to their duty. This was effected by the wiſdom of the *Leon* adminiſtration, under whom the people lived happily and ſecurely; and when *Alphonſo* V. came of age, out of gratitude for the excellent education he had received from his tutor, he raiſed his daughter *Elvira* to be the partner of his throne. He then applied himſelf to repair the ravages of the *Moors*, who were at war among themſelves. While he was in this proſperous ſtate of government, about the year 1027, he beſieged *Viſeo*, a *Mooriſh* fort, but was killed by an arrow from the walls, in the 34th year of his life, and the 28th of his reign. During his reign, the affairs of *Caſtile* had been very proſperouſly adminiſtered under its count *Garcia*, till he was killed in an engagement with the *Moors* in 1005. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sanchez Garcia*, a wiſe and a fortunate prince, who, by fomenting the civil diſſentions of the *Moors*, carried deſtruction through their territories, and placed one *Zuleiman* upon the throne of *Cordova*; but he was ſoon after dethroned, and don *Sanchez* continued his aſſiſtance to the next pretender, *Hiſſem*. Thus by ſupporting one uſurper againſt another, he enlarged and ſecured his own dominions, and introduced ſeveral excellent political inſtitutions among the inferior nobility; ſo that about the year 1016, *Caſtile* was in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate. He reduced *Sepulveda*, then one of the ſtrongeſt places in *Spain*, and he died in 1022. But we are now to purſue the hiſtory of *Leon*.

His wife and ſucceſsful government.

1027.

Succeeded by *Bermudo* III.

Bermudo III. by the ſuffrages of the nobility, ſucceeded his father *Alonſo* V. in that throne, under a regency, (he being a minor) compoſed of the queen dowager, and the chief nobility. *Garcia Sanchez*, ſon of the late count *Sanchez*, was now count of *Caſtile*, and being a minor likewiſe, his government was adminiſtered by his mother *Elvira*, and his brother-in-law *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*. Upon the death of *Elvira*, *Sanchez* obtained the ſole tuition of the young count, and when he grew up, he propoſed a match between him and *Sancha*, ſiſter to *Bermudo* III. king of *Leon*. The day for the marriage was accordingly fixed, but before it was conſummated, *Garcia* was aſſaſſinated at *Leon*, where he was to pay a viſit to his bride, by the ſons of the count *De la Vela*, who for ſome freſh diſſatisfaction, had once more revolted to the *Moors*. *Garcia* was the laſt count of *Caſtile*, and *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*, after ordering the three aſſaſſins, who fell into his hands, to be burnt alive, took poſſeſſion in his wife's right, of the then great and flouriſhing province of *Caſtile*. He was now deſervedly called the Great, and he gave to *Bermudo*, *Tereſa* the daughter

Sanchez the Great, king of *Navarre*.

daughter of *Sanchez* of *Caſtile*, in marriage. *Bermudo* proved a brave and active prince, and had the ſpirit to depoſe and impriſon a biſhop of *Compoſtella* without the pope's leave. Notwithſtanding the power of the king of *Navarre*, he reſented his encroachments upon his dominions ſo much, that a war broke out between them; but it was compromiſed by a match between *Sancha*, who had been deſtined for the late count of *Caſtile*, and *Ferdinand* the king of *Navarre*'s ſecond ſon, who was to inherit that province with the title of king. The ſecurity of the *Spaniſh Chriſtians* ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed by this alliance; but the king of *Navarre*, though a great and a wiſe prince, had a family failing in deſiring to leave his four ſons all kings, and accordingly at the time of his death, in 1035, he bequeathed to *Garcia*, his eldeſt ſon, *Navarre*, *Biſcay*, and the province of *Rioja*; *Ferdinand* was confirmed king of *Caſtile*; his third ſon, *Gonçales*, was made king of *Soprarba* and *Ripagorza*; and *Ramiro*, who was his fourth, but natural ſon, was made king of *Arragon*. 1035. He leaves four ſons kings.

As *Bermudo* had been forced by *Sanchez* the Great, to reſign a conſiderable part of his territory to *Ferdinand* king of *Caſtile*, as his ſiſter's marriage portion; he took the opportunity, now that the force of the family of *Navarre* was divided, to retake the ceded eſtates, which he did, before *Ferdinand* could oppoſe him. There is ſome reaſon for believing that *Bermudo* intended to have reannexed all *Caſtile* to his crown, and *Ferdinand* was joined by his brother the king of *Navarre*. A battle enſued, in which *Bermudo*, engaging too far, was killed, and the male line of *Recarede* I. being extinct in him, *Ferdinand*, without oppoſition, was acknowledged king of *Leon*, *Oviedo*, and *Galicia*, and crowned as ſuch in the cathedral of *Leon*. Some of the *Galicians*, out of the hatred they bore the *Caſtilians*, choſe to put themſelves under the *Mooriſh* prince of *Seville*. In the perſon of *Bermudo* ended the kingdom, which had been ſo nobly founded by *Pelayo* two hundred and twenty years before, and was poſſeſſed by a ſeries (a very few excepted) of as brave and as worthy princes as ever ſate on any throne. They oppoſed and conquered the *Moors*, then the richeſt and the moſt warlike people in the world, and poſſeſſed of by far the fineſt provinces in *Spain*, and would have exterminated them out of the country, had it not been for the vaſt ſupplies they received from *Africa*. Their form of government, which conſtitutionally was elective, carried with it great advantages. The kings themſelves had no other method of recommending their ſons to be their ſucceſſors, than by maintaining their people in their liberties, by providing for their ſecurity againſt the *Moors*, and by their conqueſts over thoſe infidels. We may, perhaps, add another ineſtimable bleſſing which thoſe princes and people enjoyed, which was, that though their clergy had a great ſway in public affairs, yet the power of the pope was then very little known in *Chriſtian Spain*, and the prelates being poſſeſſed of great temporal fiefs in

Death of *Bermudo* and end of his line.

Recapitulation.

in the ſame manner as under the *Anglo-Saxon* and *Gothic* governments, they were conſidered as part of the community, and under equal obligations as the nobility themſelves, to maintain the conſtitution and the liberties of the public.

SECTION II.

The Hiſtory of Leon *and* Caſtile.

Ferdinand king of *Caſtile*, *Leon*, *Oviedo*, and *Galicia*.

THE eaſy acceſſion of *Ferdinand* to the crown of *Leon* in right of his queen, gave a mortal blow to the elective conſtitution of that crown; but his ſucceſs ſeems to have been owing to the veneration which the people had for the family of their late kings, and to the moderation of the nobility, who were apprehenſive of a civil war. Add to thoſe conſiderations, that it was neceſſary to have a prince of *Ferdinand*'s power to oppoſe the *Moors*, who though then divided, might ſoon reunite; nor have we any reaſon to doubt that *Ferdinand* upon his election to the crown, ſubmitted to, at leaſt, the form of an election. *Galicia* was, at this time, the richeſt province of the *Chriſtian Spain*, and the revolted part of it, which had put itſelf under the protection of the *Moors*, was headed by one count *Siſenand*. As the extent of their ſea coaſt gave them vaſt advantages in point of commerce, and of admitting foreign aſſiſtance; *Ferdinand* wiſely applied the firſt cares of his government to reclaim *Siſenand* to his duty, and to confirm the unrevolted part of his countrymen in theirs, both which he effected by his prudence and addreſs. The firſt ſeven years of his reign were ſpent in the internal regulations of his kingdom, and he was contented with oppoſing to the *Moors* ſtrong garriſons in his frontier towns. About the

1044. year 1044, he undertook the conqueſt of the *Mooriſh* part of *Portugal*, which he happily completed by carrying his army acroſs the river *Malna*, and thereby ſtrengthening and enlarging his frontier. This campaign he reduced the important city and territory of *Coimbra*, of which he made count *Siſenand* governor, and by the end of the year 1046, he cleared

1046. His ſucceſſes againſt the *Moors*. all his kingdom of *Caſtile* of the *Moors*. He then undertook a war againſt the king of *Toledo*, the moſt powerful of the *Mooriſh* princes in *Spain*; and made ſuch a progreſs againſt him, that *Al Mamon*, the king of *Toledo*, repaired to his camp, ſpread his treaſures before *Ferdinand*, and offered to buy his peace, by becoming his tributary. *Ferdinand*, againſt the advice of his officers, generouſly raiſing him from the ground, accepted of his terms, which induced the *Mooriſh* king of *Saragoſſa* to follow the example of the *Toletan*. In the year

1050. 1050, while *Ferdinand*'s dominions were in perfect tranquillity, he

he paid a visit to his brother *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, who was reported to be dangerously ill. While he was at that court he received, or pretended he received information that his brother intended by treachery to deprive him of his liberty; upon which he retired hastily to his own dominions, and his visit being returned by *Garcia* soon after upon the like occasion, *Ferdinand* ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned. *Garcia*, by the assistance of his faithful subjects, notwithstanding all the precautions taken by *Ferdinand*, escaped from his confinement. *Ferdinand* began to reflect on his own conduct, and employed his clergy to make the most humble submissions to his brother for what had passed, in order to prevent a war between them. *Garcia* remained inflexible, pursued his revenge by invading *Castile*; but was killed in a battle with his brother, who, upon gaining the victory, ordered the slaughter of the *Navarrese* to cease, but cut in pieces a body of their *Moslem* auxiliaries. It is uncertain by what means the differences between the two brothers become irreconcileable. It is most probable that *Garcia* thought his brother little better than an usurper of his birthright, and wanted to wrest from him his kingdom of *Castile*. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that *Ferdinand* discovered great moderation amidst his successes, and that he manifested a sincere grief for his brother's death; but there is reason to believe, that he took advantage of his victory to secure to himself certain places belonging to *Navarre*, that lay convenient for his situation.

He defeats and kills his brother *Garcia*.

Councils were then occasionally held in *Spain* by the royal authority alone, without any intervention of the papal, tho' it was very high all over the rest of *Christendom*. One of the competitors for the popedom, *Alexander* II. sent a legate into *Spain*, but the people refused to acknowledge his authority, and the legate upon his return to *Italy*, reported that the *Spaniards* made use of the *Gothic* liturgy and usages entirely unknown to the church of *Rome*, and that she never could have any authority in *Spain* till they were abolished. Notwithstanding this, *Ferdinand* was far from being free of religious enthusiasm, and he invaded the dominions of *Mohammed* king of *Seville*, that he might obtain the relics of two virgins, said to have been buried there, in order to translate them to a church built by his queen *Sancha*. *Mohammed* offered to submit himself and his kingdom to *Ferdinand*, that he might prevent a war to which he was not equal; but neither he nor his *Christian* subjects knew where the bodies of the virgins were, and *Ferdinand* was forced to accept in their stead the body of St. *Isidore*, who appeared to the bishop of *Leon* in a dream.

Intrusion of the popes.

Ferdinand's brother took advantage of this war with *Seville*, to attack the *Moorish* prince of *Saragossa*, who being tributary to *Ferdinand*, applied to him for defence. *Ferdinand* had committed the government of his kingdoms in his absence, to his son *Sancho*, who promised to march to the assistance of the *Moor*, which he accordingly did, and *Ramiro* was killed in the

The *Cid* defeats the *Moors*.

1063.

engagement which followed. The victory obtained by *Sancho*, was chiefly owing to his lieutenant *Roderigo*, who is ſo much celebrated in the *Spaniſh* hiſtory under the name of the *Cid*, and it was remarked that *Ramiro* was the ſecond of *Ferdinand*'s brothers who fell by his arms.

Ferdinand's laſt will.

Ferdinand made uſe of the tranquillity which his conqueſts procured him, in calling together an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Leon*, where in compliance with the pernicious practice of his family and times, he declared that he intended to give his eldeſt ſon *Sancho*, the kingdom of *Caſtile*; and the *Mooriſh* king of *Saragoſſa*, as his tributary; to his ſecond ſon, *Alonſo*, the crowns of *Leon* and *Oviedo*; and to the youngeſt, *Garcia*, the kingdom of *Galicia*, with that part of *Portugal* he had conquered. *Sancho* and *Garcia* were immediately put in poſ-

1065. ſeſſion of their kingdoms, and ſoon after, in the year 1065, old *Ferdinand* himſelf died in a glorious expedition, which he made againſt the kings of *Toledo* and *Saragoſſa*, who had rebelled upon his dividing his kingdoms. *Ferdinand*, excepting in that laſt act of his government, yielded to none of his predeceſſors in civil and military virtues. Beſides the three ſons we have already mentioned, he left two daughters, to whom he gave large appenages independent of their brethren.

Sancho king of *Caſtile*, quarrels with his brother *Alonſo*,

As queen *Sancha*, the heireſs of *Leon*, *Oviedo* and *Galicia*, was ſtill alive, and conſenting to the partition of her dominions, her ſon *Sancho* could not with any decency object to his father's deſtination, and having finiſhed ſome diſputes he had with the young king of *Arragon*, and *Sancho* the king of *Navarre*, he lived quietly at *Burgos* till her death, when he began to manifeſt his uneaſineſs at the injuſtice he thought had been done him by his father. *Alonſo*, the king of *Leon*, was a wiſe and a moderate prince, and was contracted to a daughter of the *Engliſh* monarch, *William* the Conqueror, who died in

1067. her paſſage to *Spain* by ſea. In 1067, his dominions were invaded by the king of *Caſtile*, who defeated him, and obliged him to fly to *Leon*; but an accommodation was effected by the interpoſition of their ſiſters, who were princeſſes of great wiſdom and merit. *Garcia*, who was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Galicia*, governed by a favourite, whom his nobles

1070. cut in pieces before his face, and in the year 1070, *Garcia* ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his brother *Alonſo*, who was again attacked by the king of *Caſtile*. *Alonſo* was at firſt victorious, but the *Cid*, who ſtill continued to be *Sancho*'s general, gave him a total defeat in the middle of his ſucceſſes,

whom he dethrones.

and *Alonſo* was ſent priſoner to *Burgos*, where at the requeſt of his ſiſters, *Sancho* ſpared his life, but obliged him to reſign his dominions, and to take the monkiſh habit.

Sancho was acknowledged king by the ſtates of *Leon*, who probably had a regard to his primogeniture, and he led his army into *Galicia*, then torn with civil diſſentions. He made an eaſy conqueſt of that kingdom, and *Garcia* put himſelf under the protection of the king of *Seville*, then the moſt powerful

of

of the *Mooriſh* princes in *Spain*. In the mean while, *Alonſo*, by the aſſiſtance of his ſiſters, eſcaped out of his monaſtery, and put himſelf under the protection of *Al Mamon*, the *Mooriſh* king of *Toledo*, by whom he was generouſly received and entertained. *Sancho*, who was naturally impatient, reſented his eſcape, by attempting to deprive them of their appenages, which conſiſted of the cities of *Toro* and *Zamora*, and their territories. *Sancho* reduced *Toro*, which belonged to *Elvira*; but *Zamora*, which was the appenage of the princeſs *Urracca*, made ſo noble a defence under her general *Gonzales*, that *Sancho*, after ſuffering ſeveral repulſes, was forced to turn the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing the place by famine. This had ſuch an effect, that the citizens were thinking of giving it up, when one of their number pretending to deſert to *Sancho*, engaged his confidence ſo much, that he found means to kill him with a javelin, upon which the *Caſtilians* abandoned the blockade. The hiſtory of this campaign, and the death of *Sancho*, are embelliſhed with many circumſtances of duels, warlike encounters, and feats of arms, ſeveral of which probably are fictitious; but we dare not reject the whole, on account of the great credit due to the authors who record them, and who were moſt of them contemporaries; not to mention that the romantic caſt of the nation, at this time, gives them at leaſt an air of probability; but we think they are not material to general hiſtory, the only objects of which, ought to be great events, and their ſprings.

Alonſo eſcapes,

Upon the death of *Sancho*, *Alonſo* took leave of his generous protector, the king of *Toledo*, and repaired to *Zamora*, upon his ſiſter *Urracca*'s invitation. He was immediately recognized by the nobility of *Leon* and *Galicia*; but thoſe of *Caſtile*, who were called the *Cortes*, and were more free than either, demanded previous to their acknowledging him as their king, that he ſhould purge himſelf, by oath, from all fore-knowlege of his brother's death, and the *Cid* inſiſted upon his taking the uſual oaths; all which he readily did. According to the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, *Alonſo*'s diſpoſition was by this time greatly altered. Upon his acceſſion to *Sancho*'s throne, his brother *Garcia* left the *Mooriſh* court, where he had taken refuge, and reſumed the government of *Galicia*; but being decoyed into a confederacy by *Alonſo*, he was, by *Urracca*'s advice, ſhut up in priſon, and *Alonſo* became maſter of his throne. It was about this time, that *Gregory* VII. claimed all the conqueſts that had been made upon the *Moors* by the crown of *Spain*, which he pretended to be a fief of the holy ſee. The vaſt encreaſe of the papal power at that period, and the panics of *Chriſtian* princes, prevented *Alonſo* from reſenting this inſolent claim in a proper manner. All he did, was, to maintain his independency upon his holineſs, and to leave his clergy at liberty to uſe the *Gothic* or the *Roman* rituals as they thought proper. About the year 1074, *Alonſo* was married to the counteſs of *Guienne*, and generouſly aſſiſted his protector, the

and ſucceeds *Sancho*.

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1074

king of *Toledo*, againſt the *Mooriſh* princes who attacked him. Next year *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, being murdered by one of his brothers, *Alonſo* by means of *Ramiro*, another of thoſe brothers, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Biſcay*, as did *Sancho*, king of *Arragon*, of the remainder. It is preſumable, that this acquiſition was owing to his compliance with the court of *Rome*, who now perſuaded him to aboliſh the *Gothic*, and to force the papal, ritual upon his ſubjects, and which readily granted him a divorce from his new wife on account of conſanguinity, which he could not obtain from his *Gothic* clergy.

He conquers *Toledo*.

1085. The people of *Toledo*, having loſt their old king, *Alonſo*'s friend, applied to him for protection againſt *Hyaya* their new king, whom *Alonſo* drove into *Valentia*, and took poſſeſſion of *Toledo*, about the year 1085. This was one of the greateſt conqueſts that ever had been made by the *Chriſtian* kings of *Spain* over the infidels. *Alonſo* made *Toledo* the capital of his government, and indulged his new ſubjects, whether *Moſlems*, *Moſarabians* or *Chriſtians*, in the exerciſe of their reſpective religions. The loſs of *Toledo* ſtruck the other *Moſlems* in *Spain* and *Africa*, with aſtoniſhment; and they raiſed troops to prevent, as they alledged, their being extirpated. The *Mooriſh* kings of *Seville* and *Badajoz*, were at the head of this confederacy, and they gained a battle againſt

1086. *Alonſo*, in 1086. *Alonſo*, afraid of the progreſs of the *Moors*, called in to his aſſiſtance *Philip* I. of *France*, and the count of *Burgundy*, which obliged the *Mooriſh* princes to agree to a compromiſe, by which, according to ſome hiſtorians, they became his tributaries. It is ſaid, that *Alonſo* ſoon after diſapproved of the conduct of his metropolitan of *Toledo*, who during his abſence in the field, had deprived the *Moors* of that cathedral, which by the capitulation of the city, was to remain a moſque. The metropolitan, however, through the

1091. moderation of the *Moors*, carried his point. In the year 1091,

Death of *Garcia*, king of *Galicia*.

died *Garcia*, late king of *Galicia*, under his confinement, where, as a proof of the barbarous manners of that age, he was loaded with irons, which at his own requeſt were laid in the ſame grave with himſelf. *Alonſo*, about the ſame time, turned his arms againſt *Portugal*, as it is now called, and covered the injuſtice of his invaſion by the pretext of its being advantageous to the *Chriſtian* intereſt. After his making a conſiderable progreſs in that expedition, the *Mooriſh* king of *Hueſca*, who was his tributary, claimed his aſſiſtance againſt the king of *Arragon*, who had beſieged his capital. *Sancho*, king of *Navarre*, was killed at the ſiege of *Hueſca*, and the year following, *Alonſo* gave to *Henry de Beſançon*, who married his natural daughter, all his *Portugueſe* conqueſts, with the reſervation of fealty; but that reſervation is denied by the *Portugueſe* writers.

1096. In the year 1096, the king of *Arragon* took the field, and *Alonſo* ſided with his tributary, the king of *Hueſca*; but his troops were defeated by *Pedro* king of *Arragon*, by which victory

victory the kingdom, or rather principality of *Hueſca* was ſecured to *Pedro*.

The confuſion and altercations on account of conſanguinity and other matters introduced about this time by the court of *Rome*, were ſuch as rendered all marriages precarious; and *Alonſo* having been ſeveral times married, but without male iſſue, eſpouſed the beautiful princeſs *Zaide*, the *Mooriſh* king of *Seville*'s daughter, who, with her father's conſent, turned *Chriſtian*. The prodigious ravages, that, by this time, had been made among the *Mooriſh* princes of *Spain*, through their civil diſſentions, had aboliſhed all conſiderations of religion, cuſtoms and manners, and *Alonſo* readily agreed to a propoſal made by his father-in-law, to call in *Joſeph* the king of *Fez* and *Morocco*, to aſſiſt them in conquering all the petty *Moſlem* kingdoms of *Spain*, and to make a partition of their territories. *Joſeph* accordingly landed with a very conſiderable army at *Malaga*, where he received deputations from the *Moſlem* ſtates, repreſenting that *Mohammed Aben Habet*, the king of *Seville*, was a *Chriſtian* in his heart, and offering to put themſelves under *Joſeph*'s protection. *Joſeph*, who had more than probably taken his meaſures before hand, accepted their offer, and made himſelf maſter of *Seville*, and of *Mohammed*'s perſon, without reſiſtance. He then took poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Andaluſia*. His ſubjects are by the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians called *Almoravides*, but were, in fact, no other than a ſect of thoſe *Moſlem* puritans whom we have often mentioned under the denomination of *Morabites*. *Alonſo* ſent two of his generals with an army to oppoſe them, but they were defeated; and *Alonſo*, whoſe name was very terrible to the infidels, put himſelf in perſon at the head of another army.

The king of *Fez* invited to *Spain*.

See Vol. VI. and VII.

Joſeph, by the renegades who deſerted to him, ſome of whom were principal officers, was appriſed of *Alonſo*'s ſtrength and method of making war, and by their advice he remained for the firſt campaign upon the defenſive. Being obliged to return to *Morocco*, to which country he tranſported all the *Moſarabics* who fell into his hands; he left behind him a general, *Hyaya*, who beſieged *Toledo*; but *Alonſo*, at the head of his army, compelled him to deſiſt. In the mean while died the famous *Cid*, who had wreſted *Valentia* from the infidels, and had erected for himſelf a principality in the territory of *Tervel*. Upon his death, the *Moors* endeavoured to retake *Valentia*, and defeated *Alonſo*'s troops there, but received a very ſeaſonable check from the gallant *Ximena*, the *Cid*'s widow. *Alonſo*, however, was ſoon after obliged to withdraw his troops, and to leave the province of *Valentia* in poſſeſſion of the infidels.

Progreſs of the war, and death of the *Cid*.

Alonſo, at this time, had a daughter *Donna Urracca*, whom he gave in marriage to count *Raymond* of *Galicia*; but in the year 1103, we perceive that by a ſubſequent wife he had a ſon, and his fifth wife *Iſabella* dying that year, he married a princeſs

1103.

The *Chriſtians* defeated at *Ucles*.

of the houſe of *Eſte*. The ſpirit of cruſading, which was then depopulating *Europe*, had now reached *Spain*, and many of *Alonſo*'s ſubjects were inclined to have joined in the expeditions to the *Holy Land*, had they not been reſtrained by the pope, who told them that they ought to employ their arms againſt their infidel enemies at home. In 1106, the *Moors* obtained freſh victories over *Alonſo*, and *Donna Urracca* bore a ſon, *Alonſo*, to *Raymond*. *Alonſo* was now far advanced in years, and his ſon-in-law, count *Raymond*, died juſt after he had nominated him to command an army that was to oppoſe *Joſeph*, who was now returned to *Spain* with armaments which he thought more than ſufficient for conquering all that kingdom from the *Chriſtians*. *Joſeph* was advancing to *Toledo*, when *Alonſo* ſent his ſon, the infant *Sancho*, though no more than eleven years of age, to oppoſe him, under the tutelage of the brave *Garcia de Cabra*. A deſperate battle was fought at *Ucles*, where the *Chriſtians* were entirely defeated, and the prince with his governor loſt their lives on the 29th
1108. of *May*, 1108; but the *Moors* were diſabled from making any conſiderable progreſs after their victory, and the *Chriſtians*, headed by the infanta *Urracca*, forced them to retire into their own territories.

Death of *Alonſo*.

Alonſo, tho' now old and infirm, made incredible efforts to prevent the farther progreſs of the infidels, and obliged his nobility to acknowledge for his ſucceſſor, *Alonſo* ſon to his daughter *Urracca*, whom he gave a ſecond time in marriage to *Alphonſo*, king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*. After a long illneſs, *Alonſo* died very aged, in the 44th year of his reign, *June* the
1109. 30th, 1109.

Diſputes about his ſucceſſion between his daughter and her huſband.

Upon the death of *Alonſo*, *Alphonſo* king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, claimed the kingdom of *Caſtile*, in right of his wife, the daughter of the late king; but *Urracca*, whoſe right was acknowledged by the ſtates of *Caſtile*, ſoon gave *Alphonſo* to underſtand, that in *Caſtile* he was no more than her firſt ſubject. It was in vain for *Alphonſo* to endeavour to ſoften her, by every method of perſuaſion that could be applyed; for ſhe continued ſo obſtinate, that he was obliged to ſhut her up priſoner in the fortreſs of *Caſtellar*, from whence, being delivered by her *Caſtilian* ſubjects, ſhe ſued for a divorce, on pretence of conſanguinity. The kingdom of *Galicia*, which had quietly ſubmitted to the title of young *Alonſo*, was at this time diſtracted by civil diſſentions amongſt the great men, who quarrelled about the cuſtody of the young prince's perſon. *Joſeph*, king of *Morocco*, was now dead, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Ali*, who beſieged *Toledo*, but was defeated by the brave *Alvaro Fanez*, its governor. *Ali* made ſeveral other attempts againſt the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, but was ſucceſsful in none, excepting that of ravaging the open country, and carrying off vaſt numbers into captivity to *Morocco*. His miſcarriages were not properly improved by the *Chriſtians*, on account of the diſſentions amongſt themſelves. *Alphonſo* again quarrelled with

with his queen *Urracca*, and defeated her troops in the battle of *Campo de Eſpina*. The defeat, in its conſequences, ſeemed to promiſe the utter ruin of the queen's affairs; but the cruel uſe which *Alphonſo* made of his victories, and the incomparable loyalty of her ſubjects, together with the aſſiſtance afforded her by the biſhop of *Compoſtella*, who had lately crowned her ſon king of *Galicia*, turned the ſcale in her favour. Her partiality for one *Pedro de Lara*, cooled the affections of her people, but ſhe ſucceeded in having her marriage declared void, in a council held by the pope's legate at *Pallentia*. In 1115, *Roderigo Munez*, the governor of *Toledo*, defeated the *Moors*, and killed their general in the neighbourhood of that city; but the queen's capricious, unſteady, and jealous diſpoſition, embroiled her with her ſon, and her beſt friend the biſhop of *Compoſtella*, and left the *Moors* at liberty to renew their ravages, in which however they were generally defeated. She was afterwards reconciled to her ſon and the biſhop, but the reconciliation was of no long continuance, and the inhabitants of *Toledo* gave the poſſeſſion of their city to the king of *Galicia*. The queen was obliged to diſſemble her reſentment at this event; but her nobility laying hands on her favourite, *Pedro de Lara*, ſhe retired to *Leon*, while her ſon, by virtue of their late reconciliation, reduced all thoſe parts of her dominions that were yet in the hands of her late huſband. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe went to war with her ſiſter *Tereſa*, queen of *Portugal*, and would have deſtroyed the archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*, had not her ſon interpoſed and delivered him. Towards the latter end of her life, ſhe pretended that *Galicia* was no other than a fief of her crown of *Caſtile*, and ſome writers ſay that her ſon was obliged to confine her, but it is certain that ſhe died in 1126.

Their marriage declared void.

1115.

Her death.

1126.

By the death of queen *Urracca*, her ſon *Alonſo* added the kingdoms of *Caſtile*, *Leon* and *Aſturia*, to thoſe of *Galicia* and *Toledo*, which he held before. At firſt, he met with ſome oppoſition from his turbulent nobility, and from his once father-in-law, the king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*; but in 1127, a reconciliation took place. This was a great diſappointment to *Tereſa*, queen of *Portugal*, who had fomented the rebellion of *Alonſo*'s ſubjects, and had invaded *Alonſo*'s territories, but the archbiſhop of *Compoſtella* perſuaded *Alonſo* to a peace with her. Her irregular conduct, ſoon after induced her ſubjects to transfer their allegiance to her ſon *Henriquez*, who is ſaid to have put her under confinement, and moſt unnaturally ordered her legs to be fettered.

She is ſucceeded by her ſon, *Alonſo* the VIIIth.

1127.

The *Chriſtian* princes of *Spain* being now in a ſtate of tranquillity, *Alonſo*, king of *Leon*, who is, by way of diſtinction, called *Alonſo Remond*, married the daughter of the count of *Barcelona*, an independent *Spaniſh* prince. Soon after, he was embroiled with the king of *Arragon*, and ſome of his own factious ſubjects, particularly *Roderie Gonzales*, whom he ſubdued, but generouſly pardoned. He had no reaſon to repent

His exploits.

of his clemency, for *Gonzales*, immediately, by his own interest, raised an army and defeated the king of *Morocco*, who was on the point of subduing *Toledo*. This happened in the year
1131. 1131; and the following year *Alonso* was attacked by his rebellious subjects, the *Portuguese* and *Moors* at the same time; but proved victorious over them all, and after carrying his ravages to the gates of *Seville*, he returned triumphantly to his own dominions. This was not the case with *Alphonso*, king of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, whom the infidels defeated and killed. As he died without issue, the *Arragonese* chose for his successor his brother *Ramiro*, who was a monk, but the *Navarrese* gave their crown to *Ramirez*, a descendent of their antient kings. *Arragon*, being at this time threatened by the infidels, *Alonso* generously marched to *Ramiro*'s assistance, and put a garrison into *Saragossa*. *Alonso* was then at the height of his glory, and the king of *Navarre* both implored his protection and did him homage, as did all the princes of his family. Upon his return to *Leon*, he was most solemnly crowned emperor. Soon after he was engaged in a war with his new vassal the king of *Navarre*, and *Alonso Henriquez*, king of *Portugal*. The war was carried on with various fortune
1137. till the year 1137, when *Alonso* was reconciled to the emperor, whose brother-in-law, *Raymond*, became king of *Arragon*, by his marrying the daughter of *Ramiro*, who retired to a convent. It was probably at this time that the emperor restored to *Arragon Saragossa*, and all he held in that kingdom. The remaining part of the year was spent, by the emperor, in fighting against the *Moors*, which he did not very successfully, and this induced him to make a peace with all his *Christian* neighbours, that he might be at leisure to bend the whole of
1138. his force against those infidels. Next year he besieged *Oreja*, one of the most important places the *Moors* had in *Spain*, and defended by their best general, who, after making a long and brave defence, was obliged to surrender it.

He is crowned emperor.

His wars with the *Moors*.

Alonso's great successes gave umbrage to *Garcia*, king of *Navarre*, who united himself with the king of *Portugal*, against the emperor and *Raymond*, who was then called prince of *Arragon*; but after all parties had taken the field for several campaigns, without any thing decisive happening, a general peace follow-
1140. ed. In 1140, the *Mooriſh* princes of *Cordova* and *Seville* surprized the fortress of *Mora*, a post of the greatest consequence to the emperor. Next year they received such reinforcements, as enabled them to obtain several advantages, but those did not prevent the emperor from becoming master of *Coria*, while his general, *Muna*, defeated the *Mooriſh* princes of *Cordova* and *Seville* in the field. *Muna*, however, was soon after killed in an engagement with the infidels, but the emperor retook *Mora*, and gave his natural daughter *Urracca*, in mar-
1144. riage to the king of *Navarre*. This happened in 1144, when *Ali*, king of *Morocco*, was unable to give any farther assistance to the *Spaniſh Moors*, who then resolved to throw off their dependence

dependence upon him. The emperor gladly encouraged their diſſentions, and they received from his hand, *Zafadola*, one of his *Mooriſh* vaſſals, for their king; but he ſoon quarrelled with his ſuperior, and was killed in a ſcuffle, after he was made priſoner by the imperialiſts, who rendered themſelves maſters of *Calatrava*.

The *Moors* of *Almeria*, then the ſtrongeſt place in *Spain*, and a ſea-port of vaſt trade, proved troubleſome to the *Chriſtian* navigation, upon which the emperor invited the maritime powers in the ſouth of *Europe* to aſſiſt him in reducing it, which they did on the 17th of *October* 1147, and he conſidered it as the moſt important conqueſt he had ever made over the infidels. *Aben Gama*, who was now the chief *Mooriſh* prince in *Spain*, conceived a deſign worthy of an infidel, which was that of putting the emperor to death by ſurprize; but he himſelf was the victim of his own treachery, and the emperor eſcaped. In 1148, the emperor, in an aſſembly of his ſtates at *Leon*, declared his ſon, *Sancho*, king of *Caſtile*, and his younger ſon, *Ferdinand*, of *Leon*, *Aſturia* and *Galicia*. Next year the emperor collected all his forces to have attacked *Cordova*, when he underſtood that the *Moors* were in full march to beſiege *Toledo*. The emperor fought and defeated the *Moors*, but being diſappointed by the *French*, who promiſed to ſend a fleet to his aſſiſtance, he failed in his attempt upon *Cordova*. Matters remained quiet in *Spain* till the year 1152, when the war with the *Moors* broke out, but without any remarkable ſucceſs on either ſide. *Tortoſa*, *Lerida*, and *Braga*, were reduced by *Raymond*; *Liſbon* was taken from the *Moors* by the king of *Portugal*; and the emperor married *Richilda*, a *Poliſh* princeſs; while *Sancho* of *Navarre*, married *Sancha*, daughter to the emperor. *Alonſo*'s ſecond daughter was married in 1153, to *Lewis* the VIIth, king of *France*, who had repudiated his queen, who was afterwards the wife of *Henry* the IId, king of *England*. Thoſe feſtivities being over, *Alonſo* renewed his war with the *Moors*, and took *Andujar*. *Blancha*, mother to his ſon *Sancho*, king of *Caſtile*, died, after bearing him a ſon, *Alonſo*; and in the 1156, the *Moors* invaded *Caſtile*, juſt as the emperor, for ſome freſh provocations, was preparing to attack *Navarre*. The *Moors* were defeated, with great ſlaughter, but the emperor contracted an illneſs, of which he died in *Auguſt* 1157. His having received the homages of two crowned heads, beſides many other powerful princes, ſeems to have ſuggeſted the idea of crowning him emperor, and he muſt be acknowledged to have been a wiſe, brave and fortunate prince. Before his death, the *Mooriſh* king of *Murcia* rendered himſelf his tributary.

1147.

1148.

1152.

1153.

1156.

1157.

His death.

The partition of territory made by the late emperor took place, after his death, without any difficulty, for *Sancho* mounted the throne of *Caſtile*, and *Ferdinand* became ſovereign of *Leon*, *Aſturia* and *Galicia*. The diviſion of the empire inſpired the *Moors* with freſh hopes, and the king of *Morocco* ſent them

His empire divided between his ſons, *Sancho* and *Ferdinand*.

them over such succours as enabled them to wrest *Calatrava* from the knights templars. As to *Ferdinand*, he banished his father's favourites, but he was persuaded by his brother *Sancho*, to take them again into his service. *Sancho*, who was a wise and a worthy young prince, finding that a war was inevitable with the *Moors*, compromised all differences between himself and the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, reserving the homage of the former for *Saragossa*, and a few other places. It is to this period that we are to refer the rise of the military order of the knights of *Calatrava*. It was owing to two *Monks*, *Raymond* and *Velasquez*, to whom *Sancho* gave that town, upon its being abandoned by the knights templars, and whose zeal soon put them at the head of twenty thousand fighting men. In the year 1158, the *Moors* were completely defeated by *Sancho*'s forces, but he himself died on the last of *August* that year, after a reign of no more than one year and ten days. Though *Sancho*, on his death-bed, had appointed *Guitterez de Castro* to be governor to his son, yet his destination was strongly disputed by the powerful house of *Lara*, when *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*, uncle to the young prince, entered *Castile* with an army, and declared himself his guardian. The *Lara* family, however, carried off the person of the young king, so that *Ferdinand* was disappointed in his views; and no sooner was he returned to *Leon*, than the *Castilians* openly attacked his dominions. He defeated them in a pitched battle, and the king of *Navarre* recovered the country of *Riaja*, which had been taken from his predecessors. It was about this time that *Pedro Fernandes* instituted the order of St. *James* of *Compostella*, for the protection of pilgrims who resorted to that shrine, which still subsists and holds, in the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*, an annual revenue of two hundred and seventy thousand ducats. The dissentions among the *Moors* kept them at this time from a foreign war, but those among the *Christians* encreased.

Original of the order of *Calatrava*.

1158.

Greatness of the *Lara* family.

The family of *Lara* had been so successful against the king of *Leon*, that the latter was obliged to give them their own terms; and soon after he married *Urraca*, daughter to *Alonso*, king of *Portugal*. Perceiving that his nephew, young as he was, discovered symptoms of courage, he made alliance with the king of *Navarre*, and took from the *Moors Alcantara*, *Albuquerque* and *Elvas*. In the year 1165, a civil war broke out in *Castile*, between the families of *Lara* and *Castro*, in which the former was defeated, and its head was killed. The person of the young king being, however, in the hands of the *Laras*, *Toledo* opened her gates to its sovereign, and the head of the *Castro* family was obliged to put himself under the protection of the *Moors*, and *Munez de Laro* remained absolute master of the king's person and government. This happened in the year 1167, when a war broke out between the kings of *Leon* and *Portugal*, in which the latter, who was near eighty years of age, was taken prisoner by *Ferdinand*, who was his son-in-law,

1165.

1167.

law, after having his leg ſhattered to pieces, which ſome interpreted as a divine judgment upon him, for his having fettered the legs of his mother. *Ferdinand* uſed his victory with the greateſt moderation; and having regained what had been unjuſtly taken from him by the *Portugueſe*, he ſent his father-in-law home in peace, and returning to *Leon*, he then applied himſelf to all the duties of a good king. Misfortune of the king of *Portugal*.

The diviſions among the *Moors* ſtill continued; thoſe of *Spain* refuſing to ſubmit to the king of *Morocco* as their head, eſpecially the king of *Valentia*, who was tributary to the king of *Caſtile*, who ſupported him in the diſpute. *Alonſo* was at this time no more than fourteen years of age, but by the perſuaſion of the houſe of *Lara*, he married *Eleanora*, daughter to *Henry* the IId, king of *England*. In the year 1170, *Omar*, the king of *Morocco*'s general, was defeated by the king of *Valentia*, and the *Portugueſe* forced him to raiſe the ſiege of *Santaren*. This did not diſcourage *Joſeph*, the *Morocco* monarch, from renewing his invaſions, and upon the death of the king of *Valentia*, he made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of *Murcia*, being favoured by the kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* making war, but without ſucceſs, upon the king of *Navarre*. *Joſeph*, on his return to *Africa*, ordered his lieutenant, *Aben Jacob*, to invade *Portugal*, where he took *Torres Novas*; after which, he attacked the king of *Leon*'s dominions, being aſſiſted by the *Caſtro* family, but the *Moors* were defeated, and the *Caſtros* returned to their duty. A quarrel, after this, broke out between the kings of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, while they continued the war againſt the king of *Navarre*. The *Arragoneſe* refuſed to marry the *Caſtilian*'s aunt, the late emperor's daughter, and the king of *Leon*'s ſiſter, and demanded the *Greek* emperor's daughter for his wife. His ſubjects of *Arragon* reſented his breach of honour, eſpecially as they ſaw the other two potentates preparing to invade their country, upon which the *Arragoneſe* made a virtue of neceſſity, by ſolemnly demanding, and marrying, the princeſs of *Caſtile*. The *Engliſh* hiſtories and records, at this time, are full of a reference which the kings of *Caſtile*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*, made of all their differences to *Henry* the IId of *England*, the moſt powerful prince in *Europe*. *Henry* ſummoned his great council in *Lent* 1177, the embaſſadors of the three princes being preſent, and after hearing all that could be ſaid on both ſides, he awarded a mutual reſtitution between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Navarre*, but that the former ſhould pay the expences of the war. Though this award was founded on the ſtricteſt rules of equity, and generally applauded, yet the parties were diſſatisfied; but while they were preparing to renew the war, they found it their mutual intereſt to agree to the terms that had been preſcribed by *Henry*.

Alonſo marries an *Engliſh* princeſs. 1170.

The differences between *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, and *Navarre* referred to *Edward* the Iſt of *England*. 1177.

The vaſt powers enjoyed by the great *Spaniſh* families, proved often fatal to their inferiors, and perhaps their kings were not very unwilling to ſee them deſtroy one another. Civil diſſentions in *Spain*.

The

The two houſes of *Caſtro* and *Lara* carried on war with each other as if they had been independent princes, and at length their differences were terminated by a pitched battle, in which the *Caſtro* family, under *Ferdinand*, was victorious, and the chiefs of the *Laras* were either killed or taken priſoners. Some writers, however, repreſent this war as a quarrel between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and that the heads of the two houſes only acted as their generals. Thoſe civil diſſentions were not the only plagues which now afflicted *Spain*, for the papal power was arrived there to ſo enormous a height, that his holineſs obliged king *Ferdinand* of *Leon*, to divorce his wife, with whom he had long lived in harmony, on account of conſanguinity. Some of the *Italian* hiſtorians relate this repudiation as happening to the king of *Caſtile*, but the miſtake, probably, is owing to the king of *Leon* being commonly called *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*. The *Spaniſh Chriſtians* being at peace among themſelves, the king of *Caſtile* turned his arms againſt the *Moors*, whom he defeated, and reduced *Cuenca*. In this war he was ſo well aſſiſted by the king of *Arragon*, that he releaſed that prince from the homage that was due to the crown of *Caſtile*, for *Saragoſſa* and other places on the *Ebro*. Hiſtorians ſpeak of the campaign in which *Cuenca* was reduced, as being full of danger and bloodſhed, not only from the power of the *Moors*, but from an invaſion of *Caſtile* by the king of *Leon*. *Alonſo* was ſo hard preſſed for money, that he called an aſſembly of his ſtates at *Burgos*, and his firſt miniſter propoſed that his *Caſtilian* nobility ſhould for once wave their privileges, by granting him a ſmall ſupply. This was oppoſed by *Pedro de Lara*, as being prejudicial to the rights of the nobility, and he left the aſſembly, attended by the greateſt part of its members.

Vol. X. p. 71.

1178. Continuance of the *Moorish* wars.

About the year 1178, all differences were once more compromiſed among the deſcendents of the emperor *Alonſo*, but the war between the king of *Caſtile* and the *Moors* ſtill continued, greatly to the advantage of the former. In fact, the *Chriſtian Spaniards* of thoſe days, courted peace chiefly that they might carry on the war with thoſe infidels. In 1184, the king of *Leon*, after taking *Carceres* from them, joined the king of *Portugal* in a great expedition againſt the king of *Morocco*, who happened to be killed by a fall from his horſe, juſt before a deciſive battle was to have been fought. His ſubjects were ſo intimidated by his death, that they fled without fighting, and the *Chriſtians* obtained a victory, that on their part was bloodleſs, the greateſt part of the *Moors* being cut off without reſiſtance. The king of *Caſtile*, however, next year had the misfortune to be beaten by the *Moors*, but being joined by the king of *Arragon*, he beat them in his turn, and in 1187, *Ferdinand* king of *Leon* died.

1184.

1187. Diſtreſſes of the kingdom of *Leon*.

The circumſtances of that prince's family were truly deplorable. Having been compelled by the pope to part with his firſt queen, *Alonſo*, the ſon whom he had by her, was conſidered

dered as illegitimate, or rather his legitimacy depended upon the will of his holineſs. *Urracca*, his father's ſecond wife, had brought him two ſons, *Sancho* and *Garcia*, whom ſhe endeavoured to advance to the ſucceſſion, to *Alonſo*'s prejudice, whom his father had left his heir. That prince behaved, however, with ſo much wiſdom and moderation, that he won the affection of his ſubjects, and his mother-in-law was obliged to lay aſide, at leaſt for the preſent, her ambitious deſigns. The ſame good correſpondence ſubſiſted between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon* as in the late *Ferdinand*'s time. The king of *Leon* being knighted by the *Caſtilian*, from an exceſs of reſpect, kiſſed his hand, in a public aſſembly, an act which the *Caſtilians* interpreted as homage. Their joint forces, for ſome time, were very ſucceſsful againſt the *Moors*, but at laſt they quarreled about the diviſion of their conqueſts, and the king of *Leon* joined with the king of *Portugal*, and inconſiderately married his own couſin german.

A ſon born to the king of *Caſtile*.

The king of *Caſtile* had at this time no ſon, and his daughter, *Berengara*, was looked upon as the heireſs of his dominions. The emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, conſidered her as a fit match for his ſon, prince *Conrade*; and the alliance being agreeable to the *Caſtilian*, the young prince was ſent to be married at *Toledo*. In the mean while, the queen of *Caſtile* was brought to bed of a ſon, *Ferdinand*, which diſconcerted the *German* prince ſo much, that the match never took place. The ambition of the king of *Caſtile* at this time embroiled him with the courts of *Leon* and *Arragon*, and *Gregory*, the pope's legate in *Spain*, ſummoned a council at *Salamanca*, to diſſolve the marriage between the king of *Leon* and his wife, on account of conſanguinity. Some of the *Spaniſh* prelates oppoſed this proceeding, but were excommunicated, and the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Portugal* were put under an interdict, as neither of the monarchs were willing to comply with the legate's will. At laſt, the king and queen of *Leon* were actually excommunicated, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the biſhop of *Zamora* prevailed with the pope to take the interdict off the kingdom, and to continue it upon the king and queen alone.

The *Chriſtians* defeated by the *Moors*.

A new irruption of the *Moors* into *Caſtile*, under *Jacob* king of *Morocco*, obliged *Alonſo* to apply for aſſiſtance to his kinſmen, the kings of *Leon* and *Navarre*. The *Spaniſh* hiſtorians ſeem to acknowledge that *Jacob* was provoked to this invaſion, by the inhumanities which the *Caſtilians* practiſed upon his ſubjects. The infidels conſidered this as a war of religion, and *Jacob*'s army was the greateſt that they had ever brought to the field in *Spain*. The *Caſtilian* came to the deſperate reſolution of fighting them before he was joined by his auxiliaries, which he did near the town of *Alarcos*, on the 18th of *July* 1194, but he was completely defeated, with the loſs of twenty thouſand men, and the flower of his nobility, beſides 1194.

beſides all his baggage, ſo that it was with difficulty he ſheltered the remains of his army in *Toledo*. The *Caſtilian*, upon the arrival of his confederates at that city, upbraided them as the cauſe of his defeat, and treated them with a rudeneſs which terminated in a war, while *Jacob* took *Calatrava* and *Alarcos*, and filled all *Portugal* with his ravages. He afterwards fell into *Caſtile*, and beſieged *Toledo*, but he could not take it, and he retired, laden with plunder, to his own dominions.

Civil diſſentions in *Spain*.

Though *Spain* was now threatened with total conqueſt by the *Moors*, yet the diſſentions among her kindred *Chriſtian* princes, raged as fiercely as ever. The perſecutions of the pope had obliged the king of *Leon* to ſend back his wife to *Portugal*, after ſhe had borne him two daughters; and the king of *Caſtile* again invaded his dominions, though his own were in the utmoſt danger of being conquered by the *Moors*, whoſe preparations were ſo formidable, that at laſt they brought about a peace between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, and a marriage followed, between *Berengara* and the laſt mentioned king. The king of *Caſtile*, however, was in a manner forced by his ſubjects into this accommodation, and was favoured by a rebellion that broke out againſt *Jacob* in *Africa*. *Innocent* the IIId was then pope, and he ordered his nuntio to put the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Caſtile* under an interdict, unleſs the late marriage between the king of *Leon* and the princeſs of *Caſtile* was annulled, on account of conſanguinity. The parties in vain endeavoured to appeaſe his holineſs, but the *Caſtilian* received ſome conſolation from the great ſucceſſes of his arms in *Navarre*. Soon after, the infanta *Blanca*, *Alonſo*'s daughter, and niece to *John* king of *England*, married prince *Lewis* of *France*, and the marriage was accordingly celebrated in the year 1200. Many differences about this time broke out, between *Alonſo* king of *Leon*, and his mother-in-law, who was diſpoſſeſſed of ſome important places left her by her huſband. Her brother, *Diego Lopez de Haro*, took her part, and began a rebellion; but, in the mean while, the kingdom of *Leon* was put under an interdict, and the haughty king of *Caſtile* was obliged to bend before the more haughty pope, by declaring that he was ready to receive back his daughter, the queen of *Leon*, if her huſband would part with her. This the king of *Leon* was obliged to comply with, but all the favour he could obtain of the pope was, that he declared the children of the marriage legitimate, and theſe were the infants *Ferdinand* and *Alonſo*, with the infantas *Eleonora*, *Conſtantia* and *Berengara*. Upon the divorce taking place, the infant *Ferdinand* was recognized by the ſtates of *Leon* as his father's ſucceſſor. A truce then ſubſiſted between the kings of *Caſtile*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*, and *Diego Lopez* was reſtored to their favour. About the year 1208, the king of *Caſtile* married his daughter *Urraca* to the prince of *Portugal*, and

1200. Vol. X. p. 471.

1208.

and took all imaginable meaſures to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt the *Moors*, with whom the truce was now on the point of expiring.

The war was accordingly renewed in the year 1210, and 1210.
Mahommed, king of *Morocco*, fell upon the poſſeſſions of the knights of *Calatrava*, from whom he took *Salvatierra*, but in the mean time *Ferdinand*, infant of *Caſtile*, died in 1211. 1211.
The king of *Morocco* having ſuppreſſed his rebels in *Africa*, collected all his forces to make a total conqueſt of *Spain*. The diſſentions among her *Chriſtian* princes ſtill continued. The king of *Caſtile* applied to the pope for aſſiſtance, and his holineſs ordered a cruſade to be preached up in the ſame terms as thoſe for the *Holy Land*. This was of infinite ſervice to *Alonſo*, who being joined by the king of *Arragon*, raiſed a great army, the van of which, conſiſting of foreigners, was put under the command of *Diego Lopez*. Their ſucceſſes were very great, but their foreign auxiliaries, being little better than banditti, deſerted from them in great numbers, becauſe they were not permitted to plunder *Calatrava*, after it had been ſurrendered by the *Moors* upon a capitulation. The kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, who were in the field at the head of their reſpective armies, received ſuch reinforcements as enabled them to puſh the war, and at laſt were joined by a gallant army under *Sanchez*, king of *Navarre*. The *Mooriſh* army was compoſed of an infantry ſo vaſt, that its numbers were not known, and eighty thouſand excellent horſe, and lay upon the defenſive, behind the famous mountains called the *Sierra Morena*, the avenues of which they had carefully fortified. All thoſe preparations made by *Mohammed*, who was an able general, preſented a diſcouraging proſpect to the confederates, and though they obtained ſome conſiderable advantages under *Diego Lopez*, they were preparing to return home. At this juncture, a ſhepherd, entirely unknown to any of the army, demanded audience of the kings, to which he was admitted with ſome difficulty, and offered to conduct them and their army, unobſerved by the *Moors*, by a ſecret way other the mountains, to a ſpacious plain. *Diego Lopez* and another general put themſelves under his guidance, and he performed his promiſe, ſo that next day the infidels were aſtoniſhed to ſee the *Chriſtians* drawn up in order of battle on the plain. No engagement happened till the 16th of *July* 1212. The right wing of the *Spaniards* was commanded by 1212.
the king of *Navarre*, the left by the king of *Arragon*, and the center by the king of *Caſtile*; and the diſpoſitions of the *Moors* were equally martial. The firſt onſet, which was given by *Diego Lopez*, was very furious, but the vaſt ſuperiority the *Moors* had in numbers, inclined the victory to their ſide, and the *Caſtilian* was ready to plunge himſelf into the midſt of his enemies, to meet his death, when his men recovering their ſpirits, drove the infidels to an iron barricade, which defended them from the purſuit of the *Chriſtian* infantry. The king of

The king of *Caſtile* favoured by the pope,

gains a ſtupendous battle over the *Moors* near *Toloſo*.

Navarre,

Navarre, at the head of his cavalry, overleaped this terrible chain, and rendered it acceſſible to the foot; nor do we find, that after this, the *Moors* made the leaſt attempt to defend themſelves from the ſwords of the *Chriſtians*. What follows would be utterly incredible, did it not come from unqueſtionable authority; for the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who was preſent on the ſpot, ſays that no more than twenty-five *Chriſtians* fell in the battle, and a hundred and fifty during the whole campaign. Be this as it will, the diſparity certainly was ſo great, (for the *Moors* are ſaid to have loſt two hundred thouſand men) that the infidels muſt have been very little ſuperior in their knowledge of military affairs, to the *Americans*, whom the deſcendents of the *Spaniards*, a few ages after, ſo infamouſly butchered and ſubdued.

Conjecture. If we might venture a conjecture, there is ſome reaſon, on the face of hiſtory, for believing that the *Chriſtians* were ſecretly favoured by the *Spaniſh Moors*, who diſliked *Mohammed*'s government, and wanted, as they actually afterwards did, to erect their dominions into independent principalities. In the late battle, which is called that of *Toloſo*, no fewer than thirty-five thouſand horſes were taken, and the *Chriſtian* army dreſt their victuals for two days with the wood of *Mooriſh* ſpears, arrows and javelins. The *Chriſtians* purſued their victory with ſo little moderation, that driving the infidels to deſpair, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Ubeda*, and after loſing great numbers by ſickneſs, they returned to *Calatrava*, and thus ended this glorious campaign. The Gratitude of the king of *Caſtile*. king of *Caſtile* made very generous returns to the king of *Navarre*, for the ſervices he had done him, and magnanimouſly gave up many places to the kings of *Portugal* and *Leon*, who were at war with one another, that he might unite them in a common confederacy againſt the infidels. Next year, the *Caſtilian* renewed his operations againſt the *Moors* with ſucceſs; but his perpetual wars had diſabled his people from cultivating their lands, ſo that *Caſtile* was now afflicted with a famine, nor was *Alonſo* able to reduce *Baeza*. 1214. In 1214, while he was repairing to an interview with the king of *Leon*, he fell ill of a malignant fever, which put an end to his life on the 6th of *Auguſt*, and a few weeks after he was followed by his queen, and his two greateſt ſubjects, *Diego Lopez* and *Pedro Fernandez*.

His death, iſſue, and character. *Alonſo* of *Caſtile*, who died in the 59th year of his age, and 56th of his reign, left behind him a minor ſon, *Henry*, who was no more than eleven years of age, and upon the death of his own mother, was put under the tuition of his ſiſter, queen *Berengara*. Finding ſome of the great men diſſatisfied with her adminiſtration, ſhe was perſuaded to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, who took the young king out of her hands, and put him into thoſe of *Alvaro de Lara*, who proved a tyrant, but was diſappointed in a match which he had projected between his pupil and a princeſs of *Portugal*. At laſt, the conduct

duct of *Alvaro*, especially towards the clergy, rendered him universally detested by the *Castilians*; so that queen *Berengara* was in a manner obliged to put herself at the head of a party against him. He secured himself, by carrying the person of the young king, who was inclined to have joined his sister, to *Toledo*. Matters were ripe for a civil war, when, in the year 1217, the young king was killed by the fall of a tile, as he was at play with some of his companions in the episcopal palace of *Palentia*.

and of his son *Henry*, 1217.

The reader may remember that *Berengara* had a son, *Ferdinand*, by her husband, the king of *Leon*, when she was forced from him. Without acquainting her husband of the young king's fate, she sent for her son, and he no sooner arrived, than she carried him to *Palentia*, where she was recognized by the nobility. She from thence went to *Valladolid*, but she met with such opposition from *Alvaro* (who aspired to the crown) and his family, that she could proceed no farther. Returning with her son to *Valladolid*, she there held an assembly of the states, which was very numerous, and acknowledged her right to the crown of *Castile*. In a few days, she solemnly resigned her authority to her son, and paid him homage as his subject; so that *Ferdinand* was inaugurated in the cathedral church of *Valladolid*, on the 31st of *August* 1217. The young king's father, instigated by *Alvaro*, was the first who declared himself his enemy, on pretence that he ought to have been consulted before his son mounted the throne. His resentment went so far, that he attempted to seize *Ferdinand*'s person at *Burgos*, but he was prevented by *Lopez de Hara*; upon which he retired to *Leon*, greatly out of humour with *Alvaro*, for having persuaded him to so unmanly a proceeding. Notwithstanding this, some of the nobility who disliked having any superior, stuck by *Alvaro*, and refused to deliver up their castles to the king, who put himself at the head of a body of troops to force them. *Alvaro* was then in the field with a small army, but being over secure, was surprized, and taken prisoner. During his confinement, he was obliged to give up all his places to the king; but no sooner did he recover his liberty, than he employed it in again persuading the king of *Leon* to renew his attempts upon *Castile*. The prince unwillingly took the field against his father, but the latter, being by his clergy convinced of the injustice of his invasion, once more returned to *Leon*, and *Alvaro* broke his heart through spite.

who is succeeded by *Berengara*, who resigns in favour of her son *Ferdinand*.

This was an age renowned for warlike bishops, among whom we are to reckon the archbishops of *Toledo*. The name of him who now filled that see, was *Roderic*, the same who has left us an excellent history of the times; and by permission of the pope, he raised an army of crusaders, with whom he besieged *Reguena*, belonging to the *Moors*; but he was obliged to raise the siege, after losing ten thousand men in the attempt.

Warlike bishops.

1219. In 1219, *Ferdinand*, king of *Caſtile*, married *Beatrix* of *Suabia*, daughter to *Philip*, the late emperor of *Germany*, and his reign, for ſome years, continued tranquil, through the civil diſſentions of the *Moors*. He received ſome diſturbance from the family of the late *Alvaro*, but their differences were quickly compromiſed. 1222. In 1222, *Ferdinand* ſent a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his father, to quell a rebellion that had broken out againſt him in *Galicia*, and next year *John de Brienne*, the titular king of *Jeruſalem*, married *Berengara*, ſiſter to *Ferdinand* king of *Caſtile*, a match which afterwards produced many incidents in the hiſtory of *Europe*.

The *Moors* defeated. We have reaſon to believe that many of the greateſt advantages which the *Moors* obtained over the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, were owing to the abilities and courage of the *Caſtilian*, *Aragoneſe* and other noblemen, who, thinking themſelves neglected or ill rewarded at their own courts, and ſome perhaps from motives of prejudice and revenge, were received and employed by the *Moors*, without being obliged to change their religion, or to make any ſervile compliances. Such was *Alvaro Perez*, whom *Ferdinand*, from a conſideration of his great military abilities, reclaimed to his duty, and employed 1224. in an expedition he undertook againſt the infidels in 1224, with ſo much ſucceſs, that the *Mooriſh* king of *Valentia*, and ſeveral of their other princes, became his tributaries. About the ſame time, *Alonſo*, king of *Leon*, was victorious againſt the infidels, headed by the king of *Seville*, in another quarter of 1226. *Spain*. In the year 1226, the king of *Caſtile* obliged the *Moors* to put ſome of their moſt important fortreſſes into his hands. *Mohammed*, king of *Baeza*, was the chief author of thoſe ceſſions, for which his ſubjects ſuſpected him to be a *Chriſtian* in his heart, and putting him to death, they threw themſelves under the protection of the king of *Seville*. Upon his death, the *Moors* attempted to take *Baeza*, which had been ſurrendered to the *Chriſtians*, and was defended by the grand maſter of *Calatrava*; but they were defeated, and *Ferdinand* took 1228. *Capilla*. In the year 1228, *Ferdinand* failed in a deſign of taking *Jaen*, and the pope's legate declared the marriage between the king of *Arragon* and his queen to be void, on account of conſanguinity. Next year, the king of *Leon* gave a great defeat to the *Moors*, and reduced *Merida*, but *Ferdinand* was again diſappointed in his deſigns upon *Jaen*. In the year 1230. 1230, died *Alonſo* of *Leon*, the king of *Caſtile*'s father, a prince of great political virtues, and ſome failings, leaving his two daughters, *Sancha* and *Dulcia*, by his firſt marriage with *Tereſa* of *Portugal*. The deſtination of his crown was diſputed by the party in favour of *Ferdinand*, and the two queens dowager, *Tereſa* and *Berengara*, eſpouſed the cauſes of their reſpective children. Matters were coming to extremities, when the two queens had an interview, in which they were the happy inſtruments of reſtoring the public tranquillity. The infantas

Death of *Alonſo*, king of *Leon*.

fantas were perſuaded to accept of large penſions from *Ferdinand*, who was acknowledged king of *Leon* as well as *Caſtile*, and the reconciliation was ſo cordial on all ſides, that the two queens and their families held a ſolemn meeting, and gave the public the moſt convincing proofs of their mutual affection and friendſhip.

SECTION III.

THE union of the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, in the perſon of *Ferdinand*, produces an intereſting period in the *Spaniſh* hiſtory. *Ferdinand* punctually fulfilled the terms of the compromiſe he had made with his ſiſters; the royal family lived together in the moſt unreſtrained confidence; one of the infantas was left at the *Caſtilian* court, and *Ferdinand*, in perſon, accompanied queen, *Tereſa*, to *Portugal*, where he made an alliance with that king againſt the *Moors*. He then quelled the practices of the reſtleſs *Galicians*, who aimed at independency, and gave to the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, ſeveral places taken from the *Moors* by that prelate. *Alonſo* the king's brother, was now grown to man's eſtate, and commanded an army againſt *Aben Hut*, the moſt powerful of the *Mooriſh* princes in *Spain*. *Alvaro Perez* ſerved under *Alonſo*, and having penetrated far into the *Moors* dominions in the year 1233, they were ſurrounded by a prodigious army under *Aben Hut*. The *Chriſtians*, equally unable and unwilling to retreat, joined battle and defeated the infidels with a moſt amazing ſlaughter, in which they loſt but one man. Next year *Ferdinand* took *Ubeda*, one of the moſt important places the *Moors* held in *Spain*, but during the ſiege he loſt his wife *Beatrix*, who left him ſix ſons. Either *Ferdinand*'s grief for her death, or the preparations he was making, prevented him from taking the field next campaign; but in the year 1236, *Ferdinand* planned his operations ſo well, that he became maſter of *Cordova*. His ſucceſs, even by the *Spaniſh* accounts, ſeems to be greatly owing to the ſecret intereſt he had in the *Mooriſh* court and army. The loſs of *Cordova* coſt *Aben Hut* his life; being put to death by his governor of *Almeria*, for not attempting to relieve it. At the ſame time that that capital was reduced by *Ferdinand*, the king of *Arragon* became maſter of *Valentia*. The ſettling his new acquiſition employed *Ferdinand* ſo long, that the *Moors* obtained a breathing time. Thoſe of *Seville*, choſe one *Taſa* for their head, but their ableſt general was *Mohammed Al Hamar*. The truth is, other cauſes at this time operated in their favour.

Leon and *Caſtile* united in *Ferdinand*.

1233.

1234.

1236.

The inhuman ſpirit of perſecution and burning *Chriſtians* on account of religion, had got footing in *Spain*; and *Ferdinand*'s re-

Ferdi-

ligious persecution.

nand, though otherwise a great prince, gave so much encouragement to it, that he repaired to the northern part of his dominions, where he acquired the title of the Saint, for having with his own hand lighted up the faggots that were to consume some of those human victims. It happened fortunately for him, that the ambition, luxury and degeneracy of the *Moors*, had then involved them in so many domestic quarrels, that they could not avail themselves of the vast power which still remained to them by their being masters of

1237. the finest provinces of *Spain*. In 1237, *Ferdinand* by his mother's advice, married *Jane*, daughter of the count of *Ponthieu*, and renewed his league with the king of *Navarre*. Next year, died *Lopez de Hara*, and his son rebelled, because he was disappointed in his expectations of his father's government of *Baeza*; but he was soon reduced to his duty by the infant *Alonso*, *Ferdinand*'s eldest son. The affairs of *Ferdi-*

1239. *nand* in the year 1239, were in so prosperous a situation, and her dominions so extensive, that he applied himself to the study of securing what he had acquired, rather than to that of extending his conquests. The *Mooriſh* king of *Granada* attempted to form a confederacy of all the infidels against *Ferdinand*, but the king of *Murcia*, through the apprehension he had of the *Castilian* power, declined that engagement, threw himself under *Ferdinand*'s protection, and delivered up his capital to the infant *Alonso*. In the year 1244, the king of *Granada*, who was now the bulwark of the *Spaniſh Moors*, after receiving great reinforcements from *Africa*, obtained some advantages over *Ferdinand*'s troops, but that did not hinder him from besieging once more the strong city of *Jaen*,

The king of *Granada* becomes his vassal.

which had often baffled his arms. The king of *Granada* endeavoured in vain to relieve it, and at last, after a siege of eight months, he not only put it into *Ferdinand*'s hands, but became his vassal and tributary, upon the *Castilian* promising to secure him in his possessions. The infidel even served, during the rest of the campaign, in *Ferdinand*'s army.

Ferdinand had long observed that the power of the *Moors* in *Spain*, was owing to their ready communication by sea with *Africa*, and, being favoured by the court of *Rome*, he obtained a bull for levying the third of the tenths of his clergy, with which he built a fleet of thirteen large ships, and, under his admiral *Raymond Boniface*, an excellent officer, it beat the *Mooriſh* fleet at the mouth of the river *Guadalquivir*. *Ferdinand* then proceeded to his grand enterprize, the siege of *Seville*, for which he had made amazing preparations, and on the 23d of

1248. *November*, 1248, that city capitulated. This vast acquisition of power, suggested to *Ferdinand* ideas of still more glorious attempts, and that of carrying his arms into *Africa* presented itself. The bodily infirmities *Ferdinand* had contracted through his vast fatigues, retarded for some time the execution of this noble project. In the mean while, *Alonso*, his eldest son, took upon himself the cross for the *Holy Land*, where

St.

St. *Lewis* of *France* had been lately defeated, and we meet with no oppoſition this pious propoſal met with from his father, though his expedition to *Africa*, at this time, certainly demanded the utmoſt exertion of his power. His admiral *Raymond*, had juſt beaten the *Mooriſh* fleet on the coaſt of *Africa*, when a dropſy carried him out of this life on the 30th of *May*, 1252. His inhuman ſpirit of perſecution was his greateſt virtue with bigots, and procured him the honour of canonization, while his great civil and military virtues, and the noble plans he formed for the good of his ſubjects, are paſſed over almoſt in oblivion. 1252.

Ferdinand was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Alonſo* X. ſurnamed the *Wiſe*, to whom the principal *Mooriſh* princes in *Spain* performed homage. On his acceſſion to the throne, he quarrelled with *Henry* III. of *England*, about the poſſeſſion of *Guienne*, but the difference was made up by *Henry*'s ſon and heir, afterwards the famous *Edward Longſhank*'s marrying *Eleonora*, *Alonſo*'s ſiſter. *Alonſo* being freed from this war, applied himſelf to carry into execution his father's deſigns upon *Africa*; but the immenſe ſums required in his preparations, proved very oppreſſive to his ſubjects, though he continued ſtill to be favoured by the pope. It ſoon appeared that *Alonſo*, notwithſtanding his learning, was far inferior to his father in the duties of government. After a pompous celebration of the marriage between the prince of *England* and his ſiſter, he gave his natural daughter with the country of *Algrave* in dower to the king of *Portugal*; but every day involved him in freſh difficulties. Inſtead of applying himſelf vigorouſly to the execution of his *African* ſcheme, he claimed the duchy of *Suabia*, in right of his mother, and intrigued for the empire of *Germany* itſelf, to which (as the reader may ſee in another part of this work) he actually was raiſed, but without ever leaving *Spain*. His claims in *Germany* naturally turned his eyes towards *Italy*, where he waſted vaſt ſums in purſuit of his chimerical pretenſions. Before the reign of *Alphonſo*, the kings of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, had but ſeldom extended their connections beyond *Spain*, and *Alonſo* reduced himſelf ſo low, by want of money to ſupport his ambitious ſchemes, that his brother *Henry* tampered with the little *Mooriſh* king of *Niebla*, and they raiſed a rebellion againſt *Alonſo*. It was quickly cruſhed, and *Henry* took refuge in *Tunis*, from whence we can trace him making a very conſiderable figure at *Rome*. It was with difficulty that the king of *Niebla* purchaſed his peace by the ſurrender of the greateſt part of his dominions to *Alonſo*.

Alonſo king of *Caſtile*.

Vol. VIII. p. 491, 492.

A rebellion cruſhed.

ibid. p. 493.

The miſcarriages of *Alonſo* were evidently owing to his departing from that ſteady conduct which had diſtinguiſhed his father, and the princes of his family. He completed, it is true, the noble deſign which the late king had formed of digeſting the laws of his kingdoms into a code, and his munificence to the profeſſors of the arts and ſciences, eſpecially that of aſtronomy, was worthy of a great king. Thoſe

Alonſo's failing.

princely qualities, however, were far from recommending him to the *Moors*, whoſe princes joined in the deſign of a univerſal revolt, and invited the king of *Morocco* to join them. *Alonſo*, by a vigorous exertion of his power, might have prevented his danger; but he continued to be ſo infatuated with the thoughts of becoming emperor of *Germany*, that he negotiated with the kings of *Granada* and *Murcia*, inſtead of fighting them. Being rouſed, at laſt, out of his dream, he engaged his father-in-law, the king of *Arragon*, in his intereſt, and gave full ſcope to the great qualities he really poſſeſſed, for he entirely defeated the united forces of *Murcia* and
1263. *Granada*, in 1263. During the winter, the king of *Morocco* ſent over ten thouſand horſe to their aſſiſtance, and promiſed to follow them with a conſiderable army in perſon. Notwithſtanding this, *Alonſo* reduced *Xeres*, and a number of *Mooriſh* towns and forts, and the differences between the *Spaniſh* and *African Moors* aroſe to ſuch a height, that the king of *Granada* returned to his allegiance, and his example was followed by the king of *Murcia*, who after being defeated by the king of *Arragon*, obtained life and liberty from *Alonſo*, but with the loſs of his dominions.

His ambition to be emperor of *Germany*,

Alonſo might have now equalled the greateſt of his predeceſſors in power and reputation, had he not obſtinately purſued his chimerical ſcheme upon the empire. That queſtion between him and his competitors was then depending before the court of *Rome*, which he bribed with immenſe ſums, and thereby not only oppreſſed his ſubjects, but fruſtrated the moſt public ſpirited meaſures that he had undertaken for their welfare. It was the intereſt of the pope to keep the diſpute in dependence, and thereby the hopes of *Alonſo* were continually
1268. fed. In 1268, the infant *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile* eſpouſed, in a moſt pompous manner, the princeſs *Blanche*, daughter to the king of *France*, and after the feſtivities, on that and many other occaſions, were over, the king of *Arragon*, then in his old age, prepared to undertake an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and *Alonſo*, one to *Italy* in ſupport of his imperial claims. Both thoſe romantic pernicious projects were diſappointed. The *Arragoneſe* was forced back by ſtreſs of weather to his dominions, and the *Caſtilian* was diſſuaded by his nobility from his
1269. *Italian* journey. In 1269, *Alonſo*, to the diſcontent of his ſubjects, remitted the whole or part of the tribute due from the crown of *Portugal* to that of *Leon*, on account of his being grandfather to the infant *Denis*, the heir apparent to that crown. *Alonſo*'s paſſion for becoming emperor of *Germany*, though he kept it ſecret, was ſtill as ſtrong as ever. This was ſoon perceived by the oppreſſions his ſubjects underwent in the money he raiſed. His nobility, at laſt, aſſembled at the caſtle of *Lara*, where they concerted meaſures for a general revolt. *Alonſo* hearing of their diſcontents, ſent them money to appeaſe them, but they employed it in raiſing troops againſt him, and bringing the *Mooriſh* kings over to their party. *Alonſo*,

ſtill

ſtill poſſeſſed of his favourite paſſion, offered to refer their complaints to an aſſembly, which he actually called at *Burgos*; but the malecontents, notwithſtanding all the means *Alonſo* and the royal family could employ to retain them in their duty, marched to *Granada*, and proclaimed themſelves the allies of that king. *Alonſo* being aſſured of aſſiſtance from his faithful ally the king of *Arragon*, called an aſſembly of his ſtates at *Almagro*, and prepared for war. The death of the king of *Granada* at this critical juncture, and the diſputes which aroſe about his ſucceſſion, diſpoſed the malecontents, among whom was the infant *Philip*, to liſten to the terms propoſed to them by the queen and the infant *Ferdinand*, which being confirmed by the king, don *Philip* and the lords of his party, were received again into favour at court, and *Alonſo* continued his protection to the new king of *Granada* on the ſame terms as he had given it to his father.

All this lenity on the part of *Alonſo*, was only to diſguiſe his favourite purpoſe. *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*, his competitor for the empire, was now dead, and *Rodolph*, count of *Hapſpurg*, had been raiſed to that dignity, and his election confirmed by the pope, whom *Alonſo* perſuaded to give him a meeting, which he accordingly did, but to no effect. The abſence of a king of *Spain* out of his dominions, had ſcarcely ever happened before, and the king of *Granada* took advantage of it to perſuade *Aben Joſeph*, king of *Morocco*, to aſſiſt him in perſon with a new army. *Joſeph* accordingly landed with ſeventeen thouſand excellent troops, and ſeveral ſtrong places were put into his hands by the king of *Granada*'s orders, ſo that his progreſs at firſt was rapid, and he defeated *Nunez de Lara*, one of *Alonſo*'s generals. About this time, the king of *Granada* defeated and killed the infant *Sancho*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had attacked the *Moors* unadviſedly, before he was joined by *Lopez de Hara*. Thoſe repeated misfortunes were followed by the death of the infant *Ferdinand*, *Alonſo*'s eldeſt ſon, who left behind him by his wife, the princeſs *Blanche*, *Alonſo*, and *Ferdinand*, *de la Cerda*; both of them very young. Upon his death, the infant *Sancho*, *Alonſo*'s ſecond ſon, flew to *Ciudad Real*, where he was joined by *Lopez de Hara*, and made ſuch diſpoſitions as for ſome time checked the progreſs of the *Moors*. In 1275, *Alonſo*, after miſcarrying in his negotiation with the pope, but ſtill exerciſing the imperial authority, returned to *Spain*, where he found his ſon *Sancho* had made a truce with the *Moors*. The father and the ſon met at *Toledo*, and *Sancho* demanded to be nominated his father's ſucceſſor to the crown. This demand, upon examination, appeared not to be ſo abſurd as it ſeemed at firſt ſight. As the crown of *Leon* had not been originally hereditary, it had been cuſtomary for its kings to obtain, during their own life-time, from the nobility, a recognizance of their eldeſt ſon's right to the ſucceſſion; but this was ſuppoſed to be confined to the prince's own perſon. No ſuch recognizance had been

leads him into many troubles.

Death of his eldeſt ſon.

1275.

made in favour of the late infant *Ferdinand*'s two ſons, and *Alonſo* was prevailed on to lay the matter before an aſſembly of the ſtates, that was to meet at *Segovia*.

Settlement of the crown.

Upon the meeting of the aſſembly, after the claims of all parties had been examined and debated upon, *Emanuel*, the king's brother, in the name of the aſſembly, pronounced ſentence in favour of *Sancho*, becauſe his elder brother *Ferdinand* died in his father's life-time. *Alonſo* acquieſced in this very extraordinary deciſion; pope *John* the 21ſt favoured it; *Edward* I. of *England*, was indifferent in the matter; and all the threats of *Philip*, king of *France*, to revenge the injury done to *Blanche* and her children, came to nothing. The affair became more ſerious in *Spain*. *Alonſo*'s queen *Violante*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, reſenting the injury done to the children of her eldeſt ſon, was received with all her family into her father's protection. Their retreat proved fatal to two of their partizans, *Fredcric* and *Simon Ruez de los Cameros*; the firſt, though uncle to *Sancho*, being beheaded, and the

1277. latter burnt in his own houſe. In the year 1277, war was declared between *France* and *Caſtile*, and pope *Nicholas* III. compelled *Alonſo* to compromiſe the differences in his family, and to proſecute the war againſt the *Moors*, in conſideration of

A treaty. the taxes which he was allowed by the holy ſee. It was accordingly agreed, that queen *Violante* ſhould return to her huſband, the princeſs *Blanche* to *France*, and the two infants remain in *Arragon*. Next year the king of *Caſtile*'s two ſons, *Pedro* and *Alonſo*, who commanded againſt the *Moors*, were beaten by

1278. the king of *Morocco*, and the *French* made themſelves maſters of *Pampeluna* in *Navarre*, though *Alonſo* ſent thither an army to oppoſe them. By the unwearied interpoſition of the pope, and the king of *England*, conferences were opened at *Bourdeaux*, to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crowns of *Leon* and *Caſtile*,

1279. but they terminated in nothing. In the year 1279, the war between the *Moors* and *Alonſo* was continued, but without any ſignal event happening, and many dark negotiations were ſet on foot concerning the ſucceſſion of the *de la Cerda* family, as the ſons of the late infant *Ferdinand* were called, whoſe intereſts ſeem to have been betrayed by their neareſt relations, they themſelves being ſtill minors. By this time, *Alonſo* had concluded a truce with the king of *Morocco*, ſo that the king of *Granada* was left to bear the brunt of the *Chriſtian* arms. *Alonſo*'s troops continued to be headed by his ſon *Sancho*, who oppoſed an accommodation that had been made for giving the kingdom of *Murcia* to the eldeſt of the *de la Cerda* princes.

Alonſo forced to apply to the king of *Morocco* for aſſiſtance.

An aſſembly was held at *Seville*, in which *Alonſo* mentioned this accommodation among other matters of government, upon which *Sancho* declared, that his father was in a ſtate of dotage, and that he was reſolved to take the adminiſtration into his own hands. He was joined by the two brothers, and the greateſt part of the nobility; but when the ſtates reaſſembled at *Valladolid*, to create him king, he refuſed that title, and

contented

contented himſelf with that of regent. This defection from old *Alonſo*, was ſo general, that in 1282, finding himſelf likewiſe forſaken by the kings of *France*, *Arragon*, and *Portugal*, he applied himſelf to the king of *Morocco*, who joined him with an army. Thus were the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon* involved in a war partly foreign, and partly domeſtic. *Badajoz* was the only place of conſequence in *Spain*, that continued firm in its allegiance to old *Alonſo*, who, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, publiſhed an act, ſolemnly diſinheriting his ſon *Sancho*, and leaving him his curſe. The king of *Morocco* returned to *Africa* for freſh troops. The pope remained firm in the intereſt of *Alonſo*, and threatened to excommunicate *Sancho*, and to make void his marriage with *Maria*, daughter to his great uncle *Alonſo de Molina*. Upon the whole, *Alonſo* had, at this time, the ſuperiority in the diſpute, eſpecially after his younger ſons had returned to their duty, by abandoning their brother. The *Chriſtian Spaniards* now found the misfortune of diſſipating their ſtrength. *Alonſo* ſided with the *French*, who were maſters of *Navarre*, as *Sancho* did with the *Arragoneſe*, who oppoſed them. The king of *Portugal* was excommunicated, and *Aben Joſeph* quarrelled with *Alonſo*, who would not aſſiſt him in reducing the king of *Granada*, becauſe it would have made the infidels too powerful in *Spain*. *Sancho* finding his intereſt decreaſing, aſſembled the nobility at *Palentia*, and prevailed with them to intercede with his father, for preventing the bolts which the *Roman* pontif was preparing to launch againſt him and his party. In the mean while he fell ill, or pretended to be ſo, and affected ſo bitter a contrition for his behaviour towards his father, that the latter forgave him, and revoked his curſes; but died himſelf on the 4th of *April*, 1284, aged about ſixty-four. *Alonſo*, to a very uncommon ſhare of learning, eſpecially in mathematics and aſtronomy, added great courage and ſkill in the military art; he being the beſt general in *Spain*. His great failing, as we have more than once obſerved, was his unbounded paſſion to be emperor of *Germany*, the functions of which he diſcharged to his dying day, to the ridicule of his perſon all over *Europe*. His nobility, who were then as free as any in *Europe*, thought that to be a foreign conſideration, to which their internal intereſt was ſacrificed, and their oppoſition proved an inexpreſſible ſource of calamity to *Alonſo*. He endeavoured to govern, as he ſtudied, on ſcientifical and demonſtrative principles; but they failed him, for though at one time he undoubtedly had the beſt right to the empire, and tho' his claim was even favoured by the pope, whoſe power was then unbounded, yet he had no intereſt either in *Germany* or *Rome*, but what he purchaſed with his money, and this proved a perpetual drain to the purſes of his ſubjects. He is accuſed of impiety in having ſaid that, "If God Almighty had conſulted "him in the creation of the world, he could have contrived "it better." But if he threw out ſuch an expreſſion, it muſt be

1282.

His death and character.

1284.

be understood of the *Ptolemaic* and other erroneous systems which prevailed in his time. With all his faults, we cannot agree with those writers, who think they preponderated his virtues, for he was undoubtedly the author of many excellent and permanent institutions for the good of his people.

He is succeeded by his son *Sancho*,

Though the late *Alonso* had pardoned his son *Sancho*, and revoked his curses, yet he had made no other alteration in his will, and he had bequeathed the kingdom of *Seville* to the infant *Juan*. Those partitions were disagreeable to the nobility, and *Juan* thought proper to submit to do homage to his brother. *Aben Joseph*, king of *Morocco*, would gladly have gained the friendship of *Sancho*; but the latter was too distrustful of his own situation, to do any thing that might seem to favour the infidels, and by the assistance of a *Genoese* fleet, he totally defeated their maritime power. *Sancho*, after this, called together his states at *Seville*, and entirely won the hearts of his nobility, by his magnanimous patriotic declarations, and by the delicacy with which he treated the profusion of his father. He observed a neutral part in the disputes between the kings of *France* and *Arragon*, concerning *Navarre*, and again defeated the *African Moors* by sea and land. Notwithstanding his resolute determined behaviour in the field, which gained him the title of the Brave, or the Fierce, he was advisеable in the cabinet, and was greatly swayed by the councils of his brother *Juan* and *Lopez de Hara*. Upon his return to *Seville*, from his double victory over the *Moors*, he granted peace to *Aben Joseph*, who paid him three millions of marvedies in ready money, and in the year 1285, his happiness was augmented by the birth of a son, *Ferdinand*, whom he immediately obliged the states of *Castile* to acknowledge for his heir apparent. This step was the more necessary, on account of what had befallen the children of his eldest brother, *Ferdinand*, as well as the papal fulmination against *Sancho*'s marriage. When he sent embassadors to establish a good correspondence between him and the crown of *France*; the ministers of the latter insinuated, that the best cement of their union, would be for *Sancho* to repudiate his wife, and to marry a *French* princess; upon which, he ordered his embassadors to leave the court of *France*. *Edward*, king of *England*, and the pope, then undertook the mediation between *France* and *Castile*, but with very little success, nor could *Sancho* prevail with the king of *Arragon*, who had lately succeeded his father *Pedro*, to put into his hands the infants *de la Cerda*.

who is called the Brave.

1285.

The nobility rebel.

The unbounded power of the pope in dissolving marriages, began now to have very serious consequences with regard to *Sancho*. He found that his first minister, the bishop of *Siguenca*, privately sided with the pope and the court of *France*, in the affair of his marriage; upon which, he put the direction of his affairs into the hands of *Lopez de Haro*, father-in-law to the infant *Juan*. The pride, ambition and tyranny of that nobleman, became intolerable to the great lords, especially to

to the houſe of *Lara*, who retired to *Portugal*, and *Sancho*, who ſeems to have acted with admirable moderation, perceiving how very unpopular his miniſter was, diſmiſſed him, and ſubſtituted don *Juan de Lara*, though in exile, in his room. *Sancho* then ventured to call an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Toro*, where he found his meaſures oppoſed by his brother *Juan*, and his late miniſter, who both of them withdrew from court in diſguſt. *Sancho* endeavoured to reclaim them by his mildneſs, and granting them perſonal interviews; but they continued their intrigues with the king of *Arragon*, and ſeemed to be above the reach of public juſtice. At laſt, they were unguarded enough to give the king a meeting at *Alfaro*, before a council of the clergy and nobility. The king again demanded that they ſhould give up the places with which they had been entruſted, when in his ſervice. He was anſwered by *Lopez* drawing his ſword and pointing towards his majeſty's perſon, upon which, ſome of the nobility cut off his right arm, and put an end to his life. His ſon-in-law, who was wounded in defending him, would have ſhared the ſame fate, had he not fled for refuge to the apartments of the queen, who threw herſelf at *Sancho*'s feet, and ſaved him; but he was committed to priſon.

The death of *Lopez de Hara* kindled the flames of war in *Caſtile*, for his family, which was very powerful, joined the eldeſt infant *de la Cerda*, whom they perſuaded the king of *Arragon* to proclaim king of *Caſtile*. *Sancho* was now ſurrounded with difficulties. He was afraid of an invaſion from *Philip* the Handſome, of *France*, and of another on the ſide of *Portugal*; but he bore up with great intrepidity under all his preſſures, though his dominions were invaded by the king of *Arragon*, and the infant *Alonſo de la Cerda*, with an army of almoſt a hundred thouſand men. *Sancho* took his meaſures ſo well, that the king of *Arragon* was obliged to retire to his own kingdom, though *de la Cerda* found means, by his perſonal intereſt, to continue the war. In the year 1289, the inhabitants of *Badajoz* were maſſacred by the royal troops, for declaring in his favour; but the king of *France*, in an interview he had at *Bayonne* with *Sancho*, privately gave up his intereſt, upon *Sancho* conſenting to continue the war againſt the king of *Arragon*. Notwithſtanding that, *de la Cerda*'s right of blood ſtill procured him a vaſt party in *Caſtile*. *Juan de Lara* grew ſo uneaſy in his poſt of firſt miniſter, that though the king and queen did every thing they could to remove his apprehenſions, he retired to *France*. His loſs was the leſs felt, as *Sancho*, about the ſame time, having made up matters with the king of *Arragon*, gave a new defeat to the *Morocco* fleet, through the aſſiſtance of his *Genoeſe* allies, who were commanded by the famous *Benedict Zachary*.

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The party of *de la Cerda* ſtrong.

The infant *Juan* had, before this time, been delivered out of his confinement, by his brother, who thought his intereſt neceſſary for balancing the parties of the malecontents; but

Horrid action of the infant *Juan*.

he soon broke into open rebellion, and being joined by young *Juan de Lara*, they took possession of *Valentia* and *Castro Torafa*. They were so hardly pressed by the king, who cut off all their supplies, that *de Lara* threw himself at the feet of *Sancho*, upon which old *de Lara* returned to his allegiance, and was trusted with the command of the royal army, while the infant *Juan* took refuge in *Portugal*. About this time, the infant *Henry*, son of St. *Ferdinand*, whom as we have already observed, had lived long in exile at *Tunis* and in *Rome*, returned to *Spain*, where he was kindly received by *Sancho*. The infant *Juan*, having been guilty of the most atrocious acts of perfidy, lost the protection of the king of *Portugal*, fled to *Morocco*, and returned from thence with an army of infidels, with which he besieged *Tarifa*. It was defended so bravely by *Perez de Guzman*, that *Juan* in despair having got into his possession *Guzman*'s infant son, threatened to butcher him before his eyes, if he did not surrender the place. *Guzman*, by way of bravado, threw his sword over the walls, as daring him to commit such an inhumanity; and the royal monster instantly pierced the child to the heart, in sight of the parent, the garrison and the army. This horrid story is told with other circumstances, but seems to be true in the main; and from this same heroic *Guzman*, the dukes of *Medina*, *Sidonia*, the first grandees of *Spain*, are descended. *Sancho* did not fail to acknowledge the almost unexampled loyalty of *Guzman*, by a letter under his own hand, which is said to be still preserved in the archives of that family. He afterwards raised the siege of *Tarifa*, and his brother *Juan* deserting his command, took shelter with the king of *Granada*. On the 25th of *April*, in the year 1295, died *Sancho*, king of *Castile*, and his eldest son *Alonso* having died before him, his second son *Ferdinand*, though only ten years old, was recognized for his successor by the nobility, and the infant *Henry*; the queen, his mother, being by the late king declared regent of the kingdom, and guardian of his person. *Sancho* seems to have deserved the epithet of the Fierce, only in the field, being in other respects, a mild, prudent and magnanimous prince. Besides *Ferdinand*, he left issue *Peter*, afterwards governor to *Alonso* XI. his grandson; *Elizabeth*, first married to *James* II. of *Arragon*, and afterwards (being divorced from *James* on the account of proximity of blood) to *John* duke of *Bretagne*; and *Beatrix*, wife to *Alphonso* IV. of *Portugal*. His natural daughter *Violante*, married to *Fernando Ruis de Castro*; and was grandmother to *Jane de Castro*, queen of *Castile*; and *Agnes de Castro*, queen of *Portugal*.

1295. Death of *Sancho*.

Rebellions against his successor *Ferdinand*.

The recognizance of *Ferdinand*'s sovereignty, did not prevent great disputes concerning the succession to the crown, from taking place. The infant *Juan* pretending the late king's marriage to be illegal, claimed the crown, as the eldest son alive of *Alonso* the Astronomer, and his claim was founded upon the decision of the states, by which *Sancho* was admitted to

to the ſucceſſion. His claim was ſupported by the *Moors* and the king of *Portugal*; but the prudence of the queen regent, preſerved, for that time, the public tranquillity, and *Juan* did homage to his nephew. His example, after great difficulties were ſurmounted, was followed by the heads of the great families of *de Hara* and *de Lara*; but the infant *Henry* obliged the queen dowager to reſign the regency to him, and to be contented with the tutelage of her ſon. The king of *Granada* took advantage of thoſe public commotions to invade young *Ferdinand*'s dominions, but he was beaten by *Roderigo Ponce*, who being mortally wounded, was ſucceeded by the brave *Guzman* as grand maſter of *Calatrava*. The dark machinations of the great men againſt the public tranquillity, during the late reign, began then to be diſcloſed. The kings of *France*, *Arragon*, *Portugal* and *Granada* declared themſelves the protectors of *Alonſo de la Cerda*, who now renewed his claim upon the crown of *Caſtile*, and had promiſed the king of *Arragon* the kingdom of *Murcia*. Beſides thoſe potentates, he was joined by the infant *Juan*, to whom he promiſed the kingdoms of *Leon* and *Galacia*, and by the head of the *Lara* family. *Juan* was proclaimed king of *Leon*, and *de la Cerda* was for leading his army directly to *Burgos*, but was diſſuaded by *Juan*, while *Henry*, the regent, was beaten by the king of *Granada*. It is probable, the confederates would have made a more dangerous progreſs, had not an epidemical diſtemper obliged the *Arragoneſe* to return to their own country, and the infant *Juan* to retire to *Portugal*, with *Juan de Lara*. The different and incompatible claims of the allies, contributed to the ſafety of the government. The king of *Arragon* applied himſelf entirely to the conqueſt of *Murcia*; *Juan de Lara* refuſed to act offenſively againſt the perſons of the young king and his mother, and the regent *Henry* rendered himſelf deteſtable, by his ambition, avarice, and a ſhameful peace he had made with the king of *Granada*, which the queen and the ſtates refuſed to ratify. But an appearance of great ſervice to be done to *Ferdinand* and his mother, at this time, aroſe from *Juan Fernandez de Lerma* detaching *Denis*, king of *Portugal*, from his engagements with the infant *Juan*, the pretended king of *Leon*. A double marriage was concluded between the two royal families. The young *Caſtilian* monarch was to marry the infanta *Conſtantia* of *Portugal*, and *Alonſo* the prince of *Portugal* was to marry the infanta *Beatrix* of *Caſtile*, who was by way of dowry to carry with her a large portion of territory, and his *Portugueſe* majeſty was to aſſiſt *Ferdinand* with all his forces. Thoſe promiſing appearances were attended with little effect.

Prudent management of his mother.

The king of *Portugal* afforded *Ferdinand* but ſmall aſſiſtance, and propoſed that the kingdom of *Galicia* ſhould be given to the infant *Juan*. This propoſition was ſtrongly enforced by the infant *Henry*; and out of hatred to him, the ſtates rejected it; upon which, *Denis* ſent a body of troops to *Juan*'s aſſiſtance, and the king of *Granada* again took the field, and renewed

renewed his ravages. The queen dowager *Mary*, and her ſon, muſt have ſunk under ſo many difficulties, had it not been for her own incomparable addreſs, wiſdom and intrepidity. She prevailed with the pope, through the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to confirm her marriage. She conciliated by her winning behaviour the affection of all who approached her perſon. Without breaking with *Henry*, ſhe rendered the public ſenſible of his infamous conduct, and entirely gained the confidence of the ſtates, by laying before them candid accounts of the expenditure of the money they granted her. Inſtead of diſtruſting the towns which ſhe had reaſon to ſuſpect, ſhe ventured her own perſon and her children within their walls; ſo that the common people would have ſacrificed their lives in her ſervice and that of her family. She could not, however, diſarm the great men of their treachery and diſcontents, but ſhe took her meaſures ſo well, that her faithful ſervants rendered their ſchemes, particularly thoſe of the infant *Henry*, ineffectual. Her general, *Alonſo de Hara*, made *Juan de Lara* priſoner, but he was pardoned through the mildneſs of the queen, and became a good ſubject; the infant *Henry*, now an old man, falling in love with and marrying his beautiful young daughter.

Her great credit with the ſtates.

The queen dowager ſtill kept up her credit with the ſtates, who were aſſembled at *Valladolid*, and granted her more money than ſhe demanded. This ſupported her cauſe againſt all the machinations of the great men ſo firmly, that *Juan* reſigned his uſurped titles of *Leon* and *Caſtile*, (ſome part of which he poſſeſſed) and renewed his homage and oath of fidelity to *Ferdinand*. His ſubmiſſion furniſhed him only with a more favourable opportunity of renewing his treaſons. In concert with the infant *Henry*, they prevailed with the king of *Arragon*

1301. again to invade *Caſtile*, and when the *Caſtilian* army took the field, the queen found ſuch a coldneſs and backwardneſs among her general officers, that ſhe was forced to put herſelf at its head; but the important town of *Lorca*, after a long ſiege, fell by treachery, into the hands of the king of *Arragon*. Notwithſtanding this, the queen would have ruined the army of that prince, had not ſhe been forſaken by the infants *Juan* and *Henry*, who ſuffered it to eſcape. She found means, however, to foment the diſcontents in *Arragon* ſo effectually, that that king offered to evacuate *Murcia*, if ſhe would put him in poſſeſſion of *Alicant*, but ſhe rejected the propoſal with great firmneſs. Her conduct, at laſt, drove *Alonſo de la Cerda* to ſeek aſſiſtance in *France*, where he found none; but in the mean while, the two perfidious infants perſuaded young *Ferdinand*

1302? to make an elopement from his mother. Their conduct was highly reſented by the ſtates at *Valladolid* and *Burgos*, where the queen ſtill maintained a ſuperior intereſt. The lords in the party of the infant *Juan* (for *Henry* had before this left them, and declared loudly for the queen mother) were ſtiled the favourites, and ſtill kept their hold upon the king's perſon. The queen dowager was reſorted to by all the reſt of the nobility,

nobility, and the favourites became ſo deſpicable, that they perſuaded *Ferdinand* to make his own and their terms with his mother, who, though firm and ſteady, was far from being obſtinate or inexorable. She endeavoured to make him ſenſible of the miſtaken meaſures he had been purſuing, and for ſome time, notwithſtanding the mutual jealouſies of the infants *Juan* and *Henry*, the court continued in a tolerable degree of tranquillity, the queen mother having detached *Diego de Hara* from the confederacy of the favourites.

Continuance of the civil diſſentions in *Caſtile*.

All this while, the new king of *Granada* was gaining ground, and nothing effectual was doing to check the growing progreſs of the *Moors*. A treaty for that purpoſe, was ſet on foot between the kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and the king of *Portugal* was choſen to be umpire of their differences. The queen mother foreſaw, that this negotiation would terminate to the prejudice of *Ferdinand*, as, in fact, it did; for the town and fortreſs of *Alicant*, with a large tract of country, were given up to the crown of *Arragon*, and large appenages were aſſigned to the infants *de la Cerda*, upon their performing homage to *Ferdinand*. A diſpute, at this time, ſubſiſted between the infant *Juan* and *Diego de Hara*, about the poſſeſſion of *Biſcay*, which the former claimed in right of his wife, who was daughter to *Diego*'s elder brother; and though an aſſembly of the ſtates had been called to decide the difference, it remained ſtill undetermined. It ended, at laſt, in a civil war, for the king took part with *Juan*, and *de Hara* was ſupported by the queen mother, the houſe of *Lara*, and many of the great nobility. *Juan* was ſo much diſliked, that an univerſal coldneſs prevailed in the king's troops, and he was obliged once more to have recourſe to negotiations, by which *Diego* was to hold *Biſcay* during his own life, and it was then to deſcend to *Juan* and his poſterity. This accommodation threw the nation again into a civil war, but *Ferdinand*, at laſt, was ſo much convinced of *Juan* being the cauſe of all the public diſturbances, that finding him too powerful to be reduced by force, he had recourſe to the methods of aſſaſſination, which having failed, *Juan* became more inſolent than ever.

This period is diſtinguiſhed by the ſurrender which the knights templars made of their lands, by way of depoſit to *Philip Ferdinand*'s brother, till their cauſe could be decided. We have already taken notice of the cruel perſecution and extirpation of this order by the pope, the king of *France*, and the other princes of *Europe*. In *Spain*, they met with more juſtice, for they were cleared upon their cauſe being heard; and though the name of the order was aboliſhed, and great part of their eſtates remained with the crown and the princes of the blood, or were given to the order of *Calatrava*; yet the knights were honourably provided for, and employed in the royal armies. The league between the king of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* to make war upon the *Moors*, was renewed at this time; but though both armies took the field, the operations of the

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the war were but lamely concluded on the part of the *Chriſtians*. Both the king and the public aſcribed the misfortunes they met with, to the overgrown power of *Juan* and his party, and the queen mother again and again attempted to reconcile them to the king, but without effect. In the year 1311, *Ferdinand* aſſembled the ſtates at *Valladolid*, and a new war with the *Moors* was agreed on; but he had no ſooner taken the field, than he died of a fit of the apoplexy, occaſioned probably by his intemperance. The moſt credible of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians ſay, that he died on the 30th day after being appealed to appear on that day before the tribunal of God by two brothers, whom he had unjuſtly put to death, and whoſe defence he refuſed to hear.

Death of *Ferdinand.*

The guardianſhip of *Alonſo*, *Ferdinand*'s eldeſt ſon, was diſputed by his uncle *Pedro*, and his grand uncle *Juan*; and all *Caſtile* was involved in the quarrel. At laſt it was agreed that the royal infants ſhould each act as regent in the places poſſeſſed by their reſpective parties, but that the elder queen dowager, *Maria* of *Portugal* (the younger queen dowager having died ſuddenly) ſhould undertake the cuſtody, and ſuperintend the education, of the young king. This agreement, though confirmed by the ſtates, did not reſtore the public tranquillity. The animoſities between the two royal infants ſtill continued, till a papal bull was publiſhed for raiſing a large ſum upon the clergy, towards a cruſade againſt the *Moors*. The proſpect of ſo gainful a trade of war, united the two infants, and in 1318 they jointly took the field. They were oppoſed by a regular army of the *Moors*, under one *Oſmyn*, who defeated the *Chriſtians* in a general engagement, and both the infants were left dead in the field, while the infidels retook all the places they had lately loſt, with ſeveral others.

Succeeded by *Alonſo*, whoſe guardianſhip is diſputed.

1318. The *Moors* defeat the *Chriſtians*, and the two regents are killed.

Their deaths renewed the diſputes concerning the regency, to which no fewer than five candidates aſpired, among whom was the infant *Philip*, uncle to the young king. The ſon of the late infant *Juan*, who had great poſſeſſions, was another candidate. The queen dowager took part with the infant *Philip*, and about the year 1321, the pope ſent a legate to moderate among the parties. All his interpoſition, however, was in vain, and before an aſſembly of the ſtates could be called at *Palentia*, the queen mother, *Maria*, to whoſe wiſe councils *Caſtile* owed ſo much, died. She was ſo much revered by both parties, that they for ſome time, out of reſpect to her, ſuſpended their warlike operations; but they ſoon renewed them, with more fury than ever. The diſpute lay chiefly between *Juan Emanuel*, who was ſon of the infant *Emanuel* by *Conſtantia* of *Arragon*, a fierce cruel prince, and the infant *Philip*; but while the war was raging with inexpreſſible fury, the young king, *Alonſo*, though no more than fourteen years old, declared himſelf of age, and obliged the two candidates for the regency to acknowledge his authority

1321.

New diſputes about the regency.

rity in an aſſembly of the ſtates, which he called at *Vallodolid*. Their intrigues however ſtill continued, and *Alonſo*, young as he was, diſcovered a moſt terrible genius for government. In affairs of ſtate he was his own miniſter, but he was not without perſonal favourites. His guards were of his own picking, and he employed them chiefly in exterminating the banditti, to whom he gave no quarter, and whoſe remains put themſelves under the protection of *Juan*, called the Deformed, ſon to the late infant *Juan*. The latter was not only very powerful in *Caſtile*, but was ſupported by the courts of *Arragon* and *Portugal*. *Alonſo*, in ſeveral conferences he had with him, endeavoured to make him his friend, but *Juan* behaving in a haughty inſolent manner, the king, with the greateſt appearance of kindneſs, invited him to an entertainment; but on his entering the hall, he was, by his order, aſſaſſinated, and all his great eſtates, *Biſcay* particularly, were confiſcated to the crown. *Alonſo* openly acknowledged that what had been done was by his own order, and *Juan Emanuel*, though he performed very great ſervices againſt the *Moors*, thought proper to retire to his own eſtates. This happened towards the year 1325, about which time the king undertook a progreſs through his dominions, during which he exhibited many bloody ſpecimens of his juſtice, which he thought neceſſary for the reformation of his people, who, during the late conteſts, had loſt all regard for the crown or the laws. It was not long before don *Juan Emanuel* threw off the maſk, and not only renounced his allegiance to *Alonſo*, but made a peace with the *Moors*, to whom the king had of late given a great overthrow by ſea. Don *Juan* was ſupported by the king of *Arragon*, who ſent a large body of troops to his aſſiſtance. A more cruel civil war now broke out in *Caſtile*, than had ever been known before.

Juan the Deformed aſſaſſinated.

1325.

Don *Alvaro Nunez Oſorio*, the king's favourite, had been created count of *Tranſtamara*, and his other favourite, *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, was made chancellor of *Caſtile*. Don *Juan* and the other malecontents pretended that they had taken arms only to reſcue the king from thoſe wicked counſellors. *Toro*, *Zamora* and *Valladolid* declared againſt the king. His chancellor, with his ſon and twenty-four of his friends, were killed in a church. Every corner was filled with blood, either ſhed by the king or the rebels, and *Alonſo*, at laſt, was obliged to diſmiſs the count of *Tranſtamara* from his ſervice, and hearing that that nobleman was preparing to reſent his diſmiſſion, he conſented to his being ſtabbed by don *Juan Ramirez*, who pretended to deſert to the court. His death, and the king's own vigour, at laſt reclaimed the *Caſtilians* to their duty; a peace was made with the king of *Arragon*, who married *Alonſo*'s ſiſter *Eleonora*, while *Alonſo* himſelf eſpouſed the infanta of *Portugal*. All thoſe monarchs, in the year 1328, entered into a confederacy for making war upon the *Moors*; but *Alonſo* could not reconcile don *Juan Emanuel* to his ſervice,

The civil war renewed.

1328.

vice, though he offered to pay him a ſum of money, and ſet his daughter, donna *Conſtantia*, whom he had put under arreſt, at liberty. That lady's hiſtory is a little ſingular, for ſhe had been affianced to the king when he was young, had for ſome time borne the title of queen, and *Alonſo* ſecretly profeſſed a paſſion for her perſon.

1329. In the year 1329, *Alonſo* made a glorious campaign againſt the *Moors*, and upon his return to *Seville*, he fell in love with the famous donna *Leonora de Guzman*, the fineſt woman, and the richeſt widow in *Spain*. The events of the king's life from that time, both public and private, were very romantic.

Alonſo falls in love with *Leonora de Guzman.* He diſliked his lawful wife, donna *Maria* of *Portugal*; he flattered donna *Conſtantia* with the hopes of her becoming his queen, by means of a divorce, but he lived publicly with donna *Leonora*, who bore him children, and was attended with all the pomp of a ſovereign princeſs. The queen, *Maria*, who was a woman of ſenſe and addreſs, held a ſecret correſpondence with don *Juan Emanuel*, and other diſcontented great lords, and even inſtigated her father to revenge the treatment ſhe received from her huſband. Donna *Conſtantia*, a woman of the moſt exalted virtue and prudence, made her father the confident of her correſpondence with the king, and donna *Leonora* triumphed over them all, by having the entire management of his majeſty. *Alonſo*, while he was paſſing his time with *Leonora*, made a great acquiſition, by the king of *Granada* conſenting to become his tributary, and by don *Alonſo de la Cerda* throwing himſelf upon his mercy, and returning to his duty. Don *Juan Emanuel* was, at this time, meditating how to make himſelf more conſiderable than ever, though he affected great indifference as to affairs of government. He propoſed to return to court, and to put himſelf under the protection of *Leonora*, if ſhe could perſuade the king to marry her; but the lady told him that ſhe had no ambition to be the king's wife; tho' at the ſame time, don *Juan*, under pretence of condoling with the king of *Portugal*, upon the treatment his daughter received from *Alonſo*, ſet on foot a propoſal of marriage between his daughter *Conſtantia* and the infant of *Portugal*, which afterwards took place. The other intrigues of don *Juan*, for diſturbing the public tranquillity, were with the *Moors* and the houſe of *Lara*; and in the year

Her magnanimity.

1332. 1332, *Gibraltar* was beſieged by an army of *African Moors*, who took it. *Alonſo* marched with an army to relieve it, and endeavoured to reclaim the malecontents to their duty, but they found means to raiſe ſuch inſurrections in the kingdom as endangered his throne, and obliged him not only to make a truce with the *Moors*, but to remit the tribute paid him by the king of *Granada*.

Alonſo perceiving that all his attempts to reclaim the rebels were in vain, returned to his natural ſeverity, and put ſo many of their accomplices to death, in the way of juſtice, that the reſt were ſtartled, and don *Juan de Lara* returned to his

his duty. In the year 1335, don *Juan Emanuel* offered likewiſe to ſubmit himſelf entirely to the king, and deſired his majeſty's conſent to the match depending between his daughter *Conſtantia* and the infant of *Portugal*. *Alonſo* agreed to all, and the public tranquillity ſeemed once more to be reeſtabliſhed, when it was diſturbed with an invaſion of *Caſtile*, by the viceroy of *Navarre*, who had no provocation for his hoſtilities. He was defeated by *Alonſo*'s general, *Martin Fernandez*. This victory, and the unanimity of *Alonſo*'s ſubjects under his government, gave him a great figure in foreign courts. He received embaſſadors from *Edward* the IIId of *England*, and the king of *Morocco*, who were ſtruck with the ſplendour and politeneſs of the *Caſtilian* court; but while *Alonſo* thus thought himſelf in the boſom of tranquillity, he diſcovered the plan of a new rebellion, which had been drawn up by don *Juan Emanuel* and don *Juan de Lara*. *Alonſo* very prudently laid the diſcoveries he had made before his ſtates, and they voted both thoſe noblemen to be traitors. The king proſecuted *de Lara* with unrelenting ſeverity, and beſieged him in *Lerma*, where, notwithſtanding all the machinations of don *Juan Emanuel*, and his other friends, and the threats of the king of *Portugal*, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf and the place to *Alonſo*, who, upon his moſt humble application, reſtored him to his favour. Don *Juan Emanuel* then ſubmitted to *Alonſo*, who found himſelf involved in a ſhort war with *Portugal*, but it was finiſhed by the pope's mediation. All that *Alonſo* had now to apprehend, was an invaſion from the *African Moors*, under *Abul Aſſan*, king of *Morocco*. To provide againſt that, he held an aſſembly of his ſtates, where many excellent regulations were made for the defence of the kingdom. His holineſs took that opportunity of admoniſhing *Alonſo*, to part with *Leonora*, but with no effect. One of the fruits of *Alonſo*'s reconciliation with don *Juan Emanuel*, was an alliance now entered into between him and the king of *Arragon*, againſt the *Moors*. The year 1339 was diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral victories obtained againſt thoſe infidels, and next year *Abul-Aſſan*, to revenge the death of his ſon, who had been killed in the preceding campaign, again invaded *Alonſo*'s dominions, and completely defeated his fleet.

1335.

The viceroy of *Navarre* defeated.

The *Chriſtian* rebels ſubmit.

1339.

The defeat produced a renewal of the peace between *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, and *Alonſo* took the proper meaſures for oppoſing a freſh invaſion made by *Abul-Aſſan*. This invaſion took place, and the infidels beſieged *Tariſa*. The *Caſtilian* fleet being wrecked by ſtorms, in endeavouring to relieve it, the king of *Portugal* generouſly offered *Alonſo* his aſſiſtance againſt the infidels. It was readily accepted of, and the two kings agreed that *Alonſo* ſhould attack the king of *Morocco*, and the king of *Portugal* the king of *Granada*. The diſpute was bloody, but at length, on the 29th of *October*, the *Moors* were defeated at *Salſedo*, with an incredible ſlaughter, their loſs amounting to near ſixty thouſand men. This wonderful

Alonſo gains the great victory of *Salſedo*, over the *Moors*.

victory ſeems to have touched the heart of *Alonſo*, with ſome ſentiments of piety, for it is ſaid that he never had any criminal intercourſe with his favourite *Leonora* after that time.

1340. In the year 1340, *Alonſo* took *Alcala* from the king of *Granada*, and obtained ſuch other advantages over him, that he would have renewed his tribute to *Alonſo*, but could not be perſuaded to renounce his alliance with *Abul-Aſſan*. Next year *Alonſo*'s fleet defeated that of the *Moors*, but he found his finances ſo low, and his people ſo much exhauſted, that he reſolved to carry the war into the vitals of the king of *Granada*'s dominions, by beſieging *Algeriza*. It was bravely defended by the *Moors*, who (according to the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians) had artillery mounted upon their walls, and incredible were the diſtreſſes that *Alonſo* had to encounter during that very remarkable ſiege. The young nobility from all parts of *Europe* repaired to it, but were ſoon diſcouraged by its difficulties. The king of *Navarre* brought *Alonſo* a body of troops, but died on his return to his own dominions; and *Alonſo* found himſelf at laſt in danger of being abandoned for want of money, by his *Genoeſe* mercenaries, on whom all his hopes of ſucceſs depended. To complete his difficulties, a *Mooriſh* ſeaman, one *Muza*, found means to throw ſupplies into the place, notwithſtanding a ſtrong dyke which *Alonſo* had conſtructed to block it up, ſo that the beſieged ſtill held out, though *Alonſo* had gained an entire victory over the *Moors*, who attempted to relieve it. The conſtancy of *Alonſo* and his brave nobility, at laſt ſurmounted all obſtacles, and *Algeriza*, on the 26th of *March* 1343, capitulated, and the king of *Granada* ſubmitted to renew his tribute. Soon after *Abul-Aſſan* made a truce with *Alonſo* likewiſe.

He reduces *Algeriza*,

1343.

1346. The tranquillity which *Caſtile* enjoyed about the year 1346, was greatly damped by the reduced circumſtances of the king and the kingdom, through the expenſive wars they had maintained, and by a plague which broke out. Notwithſtanding thoſe diſtreſſes, *Alonſo* no ſooner heard that *Abul-Aſſan* was engaged in a family war at *Morocco*, than he prevailed with his ſtates to give him freſh ſupplies, with which he undertook the ſiege of *Gibraltar*; but when he was on the point of reducing that important fortreſs, he died of the plague, on the 26th of *March* 1348. He was undoubtedly a great and enterprizing prince, and the luſtre of his actions, after he came to the years of manhood, effaced the preceding blemiſhes of his reign; for afterward he ſhone as much by his generous, humane and forgiving diſpoſition, as he had been before noted for the oppoſite qualities.

but dies before *Gibraltar*.

1348.

Succeeded by *Pedro* the Cruel.

Don *Pedro*, afterwards ſurnamed the Cruel, was the only ſon whom the late *Alonſo* left by his queen, and he was ſixteen years of age at the time of his acceſſion to the crown of *Caſtile*. He was entirely under the direction of his mother and her favourite *Alonſo de Albuquerque*, but they gave a melancholy ſpecimen of their adminiſtration, by ordering the

ſiege

siege of *Gibraltar* to be discontinued upon *Alonso*'s decease, and by putting to death the generous *Leonora de Guzman*, who had repaired to court, under the most solemn promises of security. Don *Juan de Lara* and don *Ferdinand Emanuel*, who were equally distinguished for the troubles they excited in the beginning, and the services they performed towards the close of the late reign, retired from court, a short time before their death, and it soon appeared that *Pedro* was the greatest monster that had ever filled the *Castilian* throne. He murdered *Garcilasso de la Vega*, the late chancellor's son, without any provocation. He confiscated the *Lara* estates, and he obliged *Henry* count of *Transtamara*, the late king's son, by *Leonora*, to take shelter in *Biscay*. *Albuquerque* continued to be his worthless first minister, and he artfully engaged his master in an amour with a young lady, *Maria de Padilla*, which continued, on his part, with the most unremitting passion to the time of her death, and was productive of the most dreadful consequences. At that very time, a match had been concluded between *Pedro* and *Blanche*, daughter to the duke of *Bourbon*, but the king's attachment to his mistress was such, that it was with difficulty he was brought to marry her at *Valladolid*. *Albuquerque* now found his wicked politics turned against himself. *Padilla*'s relations supplanted him in the king's favour, and to save their lives, he and his adherents were obliged to fly to *Portugal*. Upon this, all his creatures were dismissed from court. Don *Tello*, another of *Pedro*'s natural brothers, was married to the heiress of the *Lara* family, and *Pedro* imprisoned his wife *Blanche*. He then ordered the grand master of the order of *Calatrava* to be murdered, that he might raise *Padilla*'s brother to his place, and behaved in all other respects with so much cruelty and frenzy, that his brother, don *Henry*, put himself at the head of a numerous party, which, with the assistance of the pope's legate, forced *Pedro* to promise to reform his manners. While conferences for that purpose were held at *Toro*, *Pedro* gained over some of the principal lords of the confederacy, and making his escape, he repaired to *Burgos*, where he cut off many of the suspected nobility, and obtained a considerable supply from the states.

Marriage of *Pedro* to *Blanche* of *Bourbon*.

Pedro, after procuring two of his bishops to pronounce his marriage with his queen *Blanche* to be null, had married a widow lady of the house of *Castro*, whom in a few days he likewise abandoned, which induced her brother, don *Ferdinand de Castro*, to join with don *Henry* and don *Tello*, in opposing *Pedro*. The queen mother being at *Toro*, the king, instigated by his hatred to her favourite *Albuquerque*, besieged that place, but his army was repulsed by don *Henry*. His queen *Blanche* was then at *Toledo*, where the inhabitants had declared themselves in her favour; but *Pedro* becoming master of that city, he committed most enormous cruelties, by beheading the nobility and hanging the chief inhabitants, after which he sent

He marries a second time.

Blanche priſoner to *Siguenca*. He then returned to the ſiege of *Toro*, which he took, together with the perſon of his mother, and the nobility who attended her, whom he ordered to be butchered, while his natural brethren, with great difficulty, eſcaped to *France*. About this time, he had a quarrel by ſea with the king of *Arragon*, who invited don *Henry* into his ſervice, in which he gave him large appointments. *Pedro*, however, had the advantage of the war with *Arragon*, till his two generals, *de la Cerda* and *Guzman*, left him in deteſtation of his conduct. He afterwards murdered his brother, don *Frederic*, and his couſin, don *Juan* of *Arragon*, and dined that very day in the room where the former had been put to death.

His wars and murders.

1358. In 1358, notwithſtanding *Pedro*'s deteſtable cruelties, the pope mediated a reconciliation between him and the king of *Arragon*; but *Pedro* having equipped a ſtrong fleet, inſiſted upon very high terms, carried the war into *Arragon*, and put to death his aunt, the queen dowager of that crown, together with *Iſabella*, the infant of *Arragon*'s wife. By land, his troops were defeated by don *Henry*, whoſe party multiplied, through the growing exceſſes of *Pedro*'s cruelties, and his favourite *Hineſtroſa*, uncle to his miſtreſs *Padilla*, fell in the engagement. *Pedro*'s rage and deſire of revenge upon this defeat, drove great numbers of his ſubjects into *Portugal*, where the king ſided with the king of *Arragon*. It is amazing, after ſo many complicated cruelties as *Pedro* had been guilty of, that he was able at this time to bring an army into the field ſo powerful, that it would have cruſhed don *Henry*, had he not taken refuge in *Najara*. He even found means to make peace with the king of *Portugal*, upon his promiſing to give up ſuch of his ſubjects as were acceſſary to the death of his wife, the famous *Agnes de Caſtro*, in his father's lifetime.

He puts his wife, *Blanche*, to death,

Pedro was equally avaricious as cruel. He put to death, under the moſt exquiſite tortures, a *Jew*, that he might become maſter of his treaſures, which were immenſe. The vaſt riches *Pedro* had heaped up, rendered the court of *Rome* his friend, and the pope's legate made a peace between him and the king of *Arragon*; nor do we know of any eccleſiaſtical cenſures for the death of his virtuous and beautiful queen, *Blanche*, whom he ordered to be poiſoned during her confinement, only becauſe her ſufferings and merits had gained her many friends. The pretext of the pope for mediating a peace between the king of *Arragon* and *Pedro*, was, that the latter might be more at liberty to make war upon the *Moors*, but in

1361. the year 1361, his army was defeated near *Cadiz*, by the infidels, with great loſs. Fortunately for him, *Mohammed Barbaroſſa*, who gained the battle, had uſurped the crown of *Granada*, and was daily in fear of being dethroned by the lawful king, for which reaſon he gave liberty to all his *Caſtilian* priſoners, on condition that they would prevail with *Pedro* to grant him his friendſhip. *Pedro* was irreconcilable, and carried

ried on the war againſt *Barbaroſſa* with ſuch ſpirit and ſucceſs, that he was obliged to ſue for a ſafe conduct, that he might repair to *Seville*, and perform homage to *Pedro* for his crown. The ſafe conduct was given; but *Barbaroſſa* and thirty-ſeven of his chief nobility who attended him, were murdered, amidſt the rejoicings that were made for their reception. Some ſay that *Barbaroſſa* was killed by *Pedro*'s own hand, and it is certain that his head was ſent to *Yago*, the true king of *Granada*, who thereupon reſumed his throne without oppoſition. It was during this war, that *Pedro*'s beloved miſtreſs, *Padilla*, died. He, for ſome time, appeared inconſolable at her loſs; but he aſſembled his ſtates at *Seville*, where he produced evidences, to prove that he had been married to her, previous to his marriage with *Blanche*, upon which the nobility recognized his ſon, *Alonſo*, whom he had by *Padilla*, as his ſucceſſor, and in caſe of his death, his three ſiſters, all born of *Padilla*, were to ſucceed in their turns. He had a remarkable friendſhip for *Charles* king of *Navarre*, juſtly ſurnamed the Wicked, and engaged him to be neutral in the war which he renewed againſt the king of *Arragon*, who thereupon recalled don *Henry* out of *France*. In the mean while his ſon, don *Alonſo*, died, and *Pedro*, after expreſſing his grief for his loſs, made an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with *Edward* the IIId, king of *England*. This was the more neceſſary for his affairs, as don *Ferdinand*, brother to the king of *Arragon*, had a great party in *Caſtile*, who intended to raiſe him to that throne; ſo that don *Henry*, the count of *Tranſtamara*, once more thought proper to return to *France*, where he made a flying kind of a war upon the *Engliſh*, whom he conſidered as *Pedro*'s allies. The pope's legate again interpoſed between *Pedro* and the king of *Arragon*, who conſented to give his daughter, *Johanna*, in marriage to *Pedro*, and the latter agreed to a marriage between his daughter, *Beatrix*, and the prince of *Arragon*, by which he was to ſucceed to the crown of *Caſtile*. This produced an inſurrection among the revolted *Caſtilians*, who were in the intereſt of don *Ferdinand*, who was killed in the fray, and upon his death, *Pedro*, who looked upon him as his moſt dangerous rival, broke off his treaty with the king of *Arragon*.

and murders the king of *Granada*.

Pedro makes an alliance with *England*.

Vol. XI. p. 112.

Don *Ferdinand*'s death drew the eyes of the *Caſtilian* malecontents upon the count of *Tranſtamara*, who was likewiſe favoured by the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon*, whom *Pedro* now ſet at defiance. A confederacy was entered into between thoſe two monarchs and don *Henry*, by which it was reſolved to raiſe the latter to the crown of *Caſtile*. *Pedro* was not wanting to his own defence, and acted with ſuch vigour, that he would probably have dethroned the king of *Arragon*, had he not been relieved by the famous *Bernard de Gueſclin*, in the manner we have already related in the hiſtory of *France*. No ſooner did that great warrior enter *Spain*, than the count *de Tranſtamara*, who did not diſtruſt *Pedro* more than he did the

ibid.

Don *Henry* crowned king of *Caſtile*.

kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, was proclaimed and crowned king of *Caſtile* and *Burgos*, and on the very day of his coronation, he made ample ſatisfaction to all who had contributed to his elevation. In a few weeks he was recognized as king by moſt of the *Caſtilians*; ſo that *Pedro* had little to truſt to, beſides the vaſt treaſures he had amaſſed, great part of which fell into don *Henry*'s hands. *Pedro* was now deteſted by all the princes of *Europe*, to ſuch a degree, that the prince of *Portugal* refuſed to marry his daughter, though ſhe was to bring with her a prodigious ſum in ready money. Finding himſelf thus deſerted, *Pedro* wandered about from place to place, on the frontiers of his dominions, till he was received in *Compoſtella*, by the perſuaſions of the archbiſhop, whom in requital he murdered, that he might ſeize his riches. He then embarked himſelf, his treaſures and the dependents ſtill left him, on board a fleet, in which he ſailed to *Bayonne*, where he claimed the aſſiſtance of the prince of *Wales*, commonly called the *Black Prince*, who received him favourably, on account of the riches he brought with him. The truth is, the *Black Prince* was diſtreſt for money, a conſideration that rendered him leſs delicate in his engagements with *Pedro*, who promiſed to him and his general officers all they could deſire, and left his daughters as hoſtages for the performance. The *Black Prince*, particularly, was to be put in poſſeſſion of the county of *Biſcay*, and many other eſtates in *Spain*. The reſt of *Europe* were amazed, when the *Black Prince* undertook to reſtore *Pedro* to his dominions, which were now entirely poſſeſſed by *Henry*. Some abſurdly imputed it to the envy he entertained of *Gueſclin*'s great exploits in *Spain*, and others to a noble principle of generoſity. Ambition and neceſſity were perhaps his chief motives, but he found himſelf miſerably diſappointed in *Pedro*; for he was ſo far from advancing money towards his own reſtoration, that the prince was obliged to melt down his own plate to pay the mercenaries whom he took into his ſervice, and who had lately ſerved under *Gueſclin*.

He is defeated by the *Black Prince*, and flies to *France*.

It was now too late for the prince to recede, and after muſtering his army he marched into *Spain*. His ſucceſs there was at firſt ſo bad, that *Henry* called a council of war, to ſettle the diſpoſitions for a general engagement, but he was diſſuaded from that reſolution by *Gueſclin*, who well knew the military talents of the *Black Prince*, and the excellent diſcipline of his troops. While both armies lay in ſight of one another, the *Engliſh* at *Navarette*, and the *Spaniards* at *Najara*, the *Black Prince* (who very probably by this time had altered his opinion of *Pedro* and his cauſe) entered into a negotiation with the count of *Tranſtamara*, to whom he made vaſt offers, if he would reſign the crown to *Pedro*. The letters which paſſed between the prince and the count on this head, have come to our hands, and it is extremely remarkable, that in thoſe written by *Henry*, he ſays that the *Caſtilians* had no intention to have deprived *Pedro* of his crown, had he not made

made a voluntary abdication of it. All hopes of an accommodation vaniſhing, a general battle was fought, in which the *Black Prince* proved victorious, and *Gueſclin* was made priſoner, as were the chief officers of *Henry*'s army. As to *Henry* himſelf, after behaving with the greateſt perſonal courage, he was, in a manner, forced out of the field by *Gueſclin*, and once more ſaved himſelf in *France*. The loſs of the *Engliſh* amounted to no more than forty common ſoldiers, and four knights, but that of the *Spaniards* was above ſix thouſand men, and muſt have been far greater, had not the *Black Prince*, who ſaw *Pedro* eager to ſatisfy his vengeance and thirſt of blood, put a ſtop to the ſlaughter. *Pedro*, upon his knees, returned the prince thanks for reſtoring him to his throne; but it was with difficulty that the preſence and admonitions of the prince prevented his giving a looſe to his natural cruelty. An epidemical diſeaſe broke out in the *Engliſh* army, and the prince finding it neceſſary to return to *France*, put *Pedro* in mind of his engagements, which he moſt ungratefully evaded, under pretence that the exceſſes committed by the *Engliſh* troops, diſabled him from raiſing the money. The prince, before his return, negociated a truce between *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and concluded a defenſive treaty, in his own name, with *Arragon* and *Portugal*. The ſickneſs in his army encreaſing, nothing was now left to the prince, but either to force *Pedro* to fulfil his engagements, or to return to *France*. The firſt was deemed to be impracticable, conſidering the ſtate of the *Engliſh* army, and the latter was reſolved upon, but not before *Pedro* refuſed to pay his auxiliaries, and intimated that he would be glad to ſee them leave his dominions. *Pedro* was reſtored to his crown after the battle of *Najara*, almoſt without oppoſition; but no ſooner were the *Engliſh* departed, than he relapſed into his former cruelties, which rendered him ſo deteſtable over the reſt of *Europe*, that by the aſſiſtance of the pope, the *French* king, and the duke of *Anjou*, *Henry* was again at the head of an army, with which he invaded *Spain*.

Pedro refuſes to pay the *Engliſh* troops.

1367.

Vol. XI. p. 114.

In the month of *April* 1368, *Henry* conquered the city of *Leon*, and the greateſt part of *Aſturia*; but by this time *Pedro* had made an alliance with the king of *Granada*, who furniſhed him with ſix thouſand horſe and thirty thouſand foot, with whom he undertook the ſiege of *Cordova*. Nothing but the deſpair of the beſieged, occaſioned by the dread of *Pedro*'s cruelties, could have prevented him from taking it; but he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to march to the relief of *Toledo*, which was beſieged by *Henry*. This brought on another battle, in the neighbourhood of *Seville*, after *Henry* had been joined by *Gueſclin*, who was now ſet at liberty. It was fought in the plains of *Montiel*, where victory declared for *Henry*, who beſieged his brother in the caſtle of *Montiel*, where he had ſhut himſelf up. Finding the place not tenable, *Pedro* entered into a negotiation with *Gueſclin*, for permiſſion

1368. Death of *Pedro*.

miſſion to eſcape; and the latter, with *Henry*'s privity, having appointed him a meeting in his tent, he was there put to death by *Henry*'s own hands, and thoſe of his followers. Thus ended the life of a prince ſtained with every crime that was execrable, and every vice that was mean, and yet his memory has found advocates among the favourers of hereditary right. He was not quite thirty-ſix years of age when he died, and notwithſtanding the immenſe loſſes he ſuſtained, he left behind him prodigious treaſures (hiſtorians ſay a hundred and fifty millions, but do not tell us of what ſpecies) in gold and ſilver, beſides jewels and plate. The only good quality he had, was his courage, for which he was diſtinguiſhed, eſpecially in the laſt battle of *Montiel*, which was fought on the 14th of *March* 1368-9, and in which he loſt fourteen thouſand men.

Wiſe adminiſtration of his ſucceſſor *Henry*.

The two daughters of the late king *Pedro* remained ſtill as hoſtages in *Guienne*, and at firſt *Henry* obtained little more by his victory than the death of his rival; for more formidable rivals ſtarted up. Many places declared for the king of *Arragon*, and more for don *Ferdinand*, king of *Portugal*, who was now a pretender to the crown of *Caſtile*. *Henry* carried his arms into *Portugal*, where he took *Braga*, and acted with ſo much temper, prudence, and generoſity, that he was well ſerved by his ſubjects, and he forced the king of *Granada* to ſue for a truce. The treaſures of the late king, his brother, had fallen into his hands, and they enabled him to equip a fleet, which defeated thoſe of *England* and *Portugal*. Upon the death of his brother, don *Tello*, he annexed *Biſcay*, that great bone of contention, to the crown of *Caſtile* for ever,

1370. and by his prudent adminiſtration, about the year 1370, he was in full poſſeſſion of all *Caſtile*, and at peace with his neighbours, eſpecially the king of *Portugal*, who offered to marry *Henry*'s daughter, *Leonora*, with three hundred thouſand crowns for her fortune. The *Portugueſe* monarch, however, falling in love with another lady, broke off the match, and acknowleged the title of *John* of *Gaunt*, duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edward* the IIId of *England*'s ſon, to the crown of *Caſtile*, by his marrying donna *Conſtantia*, daughter to the late king *Pedro*. Though *John* made ſeveral attempts, by the king of *Portugal*'s aſſiſtance, to diſpoſſeſs *Henry*, yet the latter took his meaſures ſo well, that they all proved fruitleſs, and he carried his arms to the very gates of *Liſbon*, part of which he burned down. This forced the king of *Portugal* to agree to a peace, under the mediation of the pope's legate, which was very honourable for *Henry*. His great maxim, after his recovering the crown, was to cultivate the friendſhip of *France*, of which he reaped the benefit, by being able to reduce once more his dominions to a ſtate of tranquillity. The duke of *Lancaſter* being thus left to puſh his pretenſions alone, applied for aſſiſtance to the king of *Arragon*, and renewed his invaſion of *Caſtile*. *Henry* raiſed troops to oppoſe him, but had the misfortune

misfortune to loſe his brother, don *Sancho*, in a mutiny of the ſoldiers. Before hoſtilities commenced, a treaty took place between him and the king of *Arragon*, who received a hundred and eighty thouſand crowns for the places he gave up. All *Henry*'s care now was to guard againſt the future attempts of *John* of *Gaunt*, which he effectually did; and in the year 1375, he gave his daughter, *Leonora*, to don *Carlos*, the prince of *Navarre*, while his ſon, *Juan*, infant of *Caſtile*, married *Leonora* of *Arragon*. Soon after thoſe intermarriages, *Edward* the IIId of *England* died, and the perfidious king of *Navarre* was almoſt made a priſoner, in an attempt to ſurprize *Logrono*, while his ſon, don *Juan*, penetrated almoſt to *Pampeluna* in *Navarre*. 1375.

The ſchiſm which at this time prevailed in the church, gave *Henry* a pretext to aſſemble his ſtates at *Burgos*, where it was reſolved to ſequeſter the revenues of the pope, till the ſchiſm was ended. *Henry*, at the ſame time, made a peace with the king of *Navarre*, to whom he lent a ſum of money, to enable him to diſcharge his mercenaries, and died, as ſome think, by poiſon, in the year 1379, with the character of his having made up the deficiencies of his title by many royal virtues, particularly, by a punctual performance of all his engagements. His death. 1379.

Don *Juan*, when he mounted his father's throne, made a peace with *Mohammed Guadis-Abulhagen*, king of *Granada*, a prince, like himſelf, of a peaceable, beneficent diſpoſition. In the ſame year, the king of *Portugal* cancelled a match, to which he had conſented, between his daughter and heir, donna *Beatrix*, and *Frederic*, the natural ſon of the late king *Henry* of *Caſtile*, that he might marry her to don *Henry*, *Juan*'s lawful ſon, who was no more than a year old. By the marriage articles, the ſurvivor was to enjoy the dominions of the other. Notwithſtanding this ſeeming cordiality, don *Juan* raiſed an army to oppoſe that of the *Portugueſe*, who had invited the duke of *Lancaſter* to renew his attempts upon *Caſtile*, the title of which he ſtill continued to aſſume. *Juan* having certain intelligence that the duke was expected to land with an army in *Portugal*, invaded that kingdom by ſea and land, and his admiral of *Caſtile* entirely defeated the *Portugueſe* fleet. Upon the arrival of the *Engliſh* auxiliaries, commanded by the earl of *Cambridge*, the fickle king of *Portugal* actually married his daughter, *Beatrix*, to that prince's eldeſt ſon, who was afterwards duke of *York*, though he was no more than ſix years of age, and they were bedded in public. The king of *Caſtile*, however, had now laid ſiege to *Liſbon*, but upon the arrival of the *Engliſh* troops, he was obliged to retire to *Caſtile*; and a quarrel ſoon after breaking out between the *Engliſh* and the *Portugueſe*, the two kings of *Portugal* and *Caſtile* were about to decide their differences by a general engagement, when they again made peace; the chief ſtipulation of which was, that the *Caſtilian* ſhould furniſh a fleet, (that Succeeded by his ſon *Juan*.

of

of *Portugal* having been deſtroyed) for carrying the *Engliſh* back to their own country. In the year 1382, *Juan* being a widower, he married the infanta *Beatrix* of *Portugal*, though ſhe was then actually contracted to his ſecond ſon, *Ferdinand*. This match encouraged *Alonſo*, brother to *Juan*, a prince of a very turbulent diſpoſition, to revolt, but he was quickly reduced by *Juan*, whoſe wife, *Beatrix*, became at this time queen of *Portugal*, by the death of her father, the moſt unſteady prince of his time. Upon this, the king put his brother again under arreſt, and likewiſe don *Juan*, the late king of *Portugal*'s brother, who had a ſtrong party for his ſucceeding to that crown. Another don *Juan*, a natural brother to the late king, alſo put in his pretenſions, and ſeized the government, under the title of protector. The king of *Caſtile*, upon this, raiſed an army, aſſumed the title of king of *Portugal*, and invaded that kingdom in his wife's right.

1382.

War with *Portugal*.

A bloody war enſued, and in all appearance, the *Caſtilian* would have become maſter of *Liſbon*, with the aſſiſtance of the prince of *Navarre*, had he not been obliged to raiſe the ſiege, by the practices of the queen mother of *Portugal*, and a peſtilence which broke out in his army. He, upon this, garriſoned the places he had taken, and having returned to *Caſtile*, he received certain intelligence that the eſtates of *Portugal* had elected the protector for their king. This gave *Juan* ſenſible uneaſineſs, and it is ſaid, upon good authority, that he employed the count of *Tranſtamara* to take off the new king by aſſaſſination, but that the plot was diſcovered. It is certain the *Caſtilian* raiſed an army of thirty thouſand men, and again invaded *Portugal* by ſea and land. He was oppoſed by the *Portugueſe Juan*, at the head of about ten thouſand men, but thoſe encamped to ſuch advantage, that the attacking them was againſt the ſenſe of the beſt officers in his army. The queſtion, however, for the attack, was carried by the young officers in the *Caſtilian* army, which was completely routed, and the king was obliged to throw himſelf aboard his fleet, which carried him to *Seville*. The *Portugueſe* army then invaded *Caſtile* in its turn, and defeated the *Caſtilians* under the grand maſters of St. *James*, *Alcantara* and *Calatrava*. So many diſaſters obliged the *Caſtilian* to apply to the pope and the king of *France*, for their mediation and aſſiſtance. The king of *France* ſent him a conſiderable reinforcement, and the pope his beſt advice; but in *July* that ſame year, the duke of *Lancaſter* again landed in *Portugal* with a freſh army, and was proclaimed king on the frontiers of *Caſtile*, in right of his queen *Conſtantia*, who attended him in this expedition. Before hoſtilities commenced, the duke of *Lancaſter* and the *Caſtilian* monarch entered into a private negotiation together, upon a marriage propoſed between the infant don *Henry*, ſon to the king of *Caſtile*, and donna *Cathalina*, daughter to the duke of *Lancaſter*, by *Conſtantia*. The engagements the duke was under with regard to *Portugal*, broke off this negotiation, and

and the *Portugueſe* and *Engliſh* again invaded *Caſtile*, but with very bad ſucceſs; ſo that they were ſoon obliged to return to *Portugal*. The marriage treaty between the duke of *Lancaſter* and the king of *Caſtile* was again renewed, and the marriage at laſt agreed upon, as ſoon as the infant don *Henry* was of age to conſummate the nuptials, which, in caſe of his death, was to be performed by his younger brother.

Marriage of the infant *Henry* to the duke of *Lancaſter*'s daughter.

The duke of *Lancaſter* and his wife, by marrying their daughter to the heir of *Caſtile*, were at the ſummit of their wiſhes, and donna *Conſtantia*, in an interview ſhe had with the *Caſtilian* monarch, made him a preſent of the golden crown which her own huſband was to have worn at his coronation, and a ewer of the ſame metal. The war ſtill continued between *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, and though the *Caſtilian* finances were much exhauſted, through the great ſums paid to the duke of *Lancaſter* and his wife, yet his ſubjects generouſly ſupplied his neceſſities, being touched by the tenderneſs with which he had always treated them. About the year 1389, *Juan* of *Caſtile* grew ſo much out of love with the world, that it was with difficulty his nobility diſſuaded him from reſigning his crown to his ſon, who was but a minor. He had the happineſs, however, to continue the tranquillity of his ſubjects, by the kings of *Granada* and *Portugal* renewing their engagements with him; and he prevailed with the king of *Morocco* to ſuffer a number of his *Caſtilian* ſubjects, who had been ſettled in *Africa*, under the title of *Farfans*, to return to *Spain*. Thoſe exiles were famous for their horſemanſhip, and upon their firſt diviſion coming over, *Juan* deſired to ſee a ſpecimen of their dexterity at *Alcala*; but during the exhibition, his own horſe made a plunge, which threw him over his head, and killed him on the ſpot. The great difficulties, which this prince ſurmounted, through the faithful attachment of his ſubjects, ſufficiently prove him to have been the father of his people.

1389.

He ſucceeds his father in the throne.

Juan was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Henry* the IIId. who was no more than ten years of age. It was neceſſary, to preſerve the public tranquillity, to gratify the princes of the blood, who, beſides the queens dowager, who reſided at the court of *Caſtile*, were very numerous, with large appointments and places, and a regency was fixed in the perſons of the duke *de Benevent*, who was natural ſon to *Henry* the IId, and conſequently uncle to the late king, the archbiſhops of *Toledo* and *Compoſtella*, and others. This regency was confirmed by the ſtates, but diſapproved of by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and a new one appointed, but with as little unanimity of ſentiment as the former. The public diſſentions encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that the *Moors* of *Granada* invaded the kingdom, but were defeated, and it was thought by ſome, that the duke of *Benevent*, and ſome of the heads of the regency had dangerous deſigns upon the crown. Young *Henry* was then no more than twelve years and ten months of age, but he had ſenſe to perceive that the diviſions among his great men muſt,

1393.

in

in the end, bring himſelf and his people to ruin. He therefore came to the wiſe and ſpirited reſolution of taking the helm of ſtate into his own hand, and his conduct ſoon convinced his people of his capacity for government. He called his ſtates together at *Madrid*; he confirmed the privileges of *Biſcay*; he celebrated his marriage with the princeſs of *Lancaſter*; and after performing many popular acts, he ventured to ſtrike off the exorbitant appointments of his great men and the princes of the blood. This created a general defection of them from his court, but *Henry* proceeded with firmneſs, made the archbiſhop of *Toledo* his firſt miniſter, and though ſome of them took up arms, he at laſt reduced them all, partly by prudence, partly by force, to their duty.

His ſpirited conduct.

The *Moors* defeat the *Spaniards*.

In the mean while, don *Martin Yanez*, grand maſter of *Alcantara*, and one of the beſt military officers in *Spain*, was ſo much deluded by an enthuſiaſt hermit, who lived in the neighbourhood, that he believed himſelf, and all the troops under him to be invulnerable, in caſe they ſhould undertake an expedition againſt the *Moors* of *Granada*, and, by virtue of the ſame revelation, they were perſuaded they ſhould conquer. The deluſion was ſo infectious, that *Yanez* was ſoon at the head of five or ſix thouſand troops, among whom were many men of quality. The king of *Granada* ſuffered them to advance almoſt to the gates of his capital, where the *Chriſtians* made their experiment, but it failed, for they were ſurrounded by a body of *Moors*, who cut half of them in pieces, with their general, and made the others priſoners. The *Mooriſh* king was ſo little of a barbarian, that he admitted of *Henry*'s apology, that ſo frantic an attempt, headed by one or two enthuſiaſts, ought not to break the good underſtanding that ſubſiſted between them. *Henry*, however, perceiving that the princes of his blood and his malecontent lords were preparing to renew the public commotions, raiſed an army, and proceeded with ſuch vigour, that he ordered the duke of *Benevent* to be arreſted, and ſtripped him of all his places.

War with *Portugal*.

He ſecured, at the ſame time, the perſon of his aunt, the queen of *Navarre*, one of the moſt dangerous of the malecontents, and ſent her home to live with her huſband, from whom ſhe had been for ſome time ſeparated. In ſhort, he forced all who oppoſed him, or attempted to diſturb the public tranquillity, to accept of the terms he was pleaſed to preſcribe.

1395. In the year 1395, a war broke out between the *Caſtilians* and the *Portugueſe*, on account of the latter having ſurprized *Badajoz*. *Henry* in this war was victorious by ſea, but the *Portugueſe* obtained ſome advantages by land, and at laſt a ten years truce was concluded between the two kingdoms.

Henry has a daughter.

This truce left *Henry* at liberty to chaſtiſe the corſairs of *Barbary*, from whom he took *Tetuan* in the year 1399. The wiſe and vigorous meaſures of *Henry*, rendered his name reſpectable among the infidels themſelves.

1399. *Mohammed*, the young king of *Granada*, came in perſon to his court, and renewed

newed his truce with him, and even the great *Timur Bec*, or *Tamerlane*, expreſſed a veneration for *Henry*'s perſon, and offered him his friendſhip in the moſt polite and honourable manner. *Henry* having acknowledged *Benedict* the XIIIth to be pope, ſuffered him to name his nephew, don *Pedro de Luna*, to the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*; and in the year 1402, his queen was brought to bed of a daughter, whom the ſtates recognized as his ſucceſſor, if he ſhould die without male heirs. 1402.

General ſtate of *Spain*.

In this year it is reaſonable to preſume that *Spain*, in general, was in the zenith of its proſperity. Her provinces, notwithſtanding the many dreadful plagues that had broken out, were prodigiouſly populous, and the *Caſtilians* were reckoned the moſt induſtrious and ingenious of any people in *Europe*, in all manufactures, eſpecially thoſe of ſteel and clock-work. The *Moors*, with more frugal manners, were equally populous and proſperous, and the growing friendſhip between *Tamerlane* and *Henry* was of inexpreſſible advantage to the commerce of *Caſtile*. He could not, however, without the moſt terrible apprehenſions, reflect on the invincible antipathy that ſubſiſted between his ſubjects and the *Moors*, that the fineſt provinces in *Spain* belonged to the latter, and that they were daily improving in the arts of life and war. The reduction of his expences, gave a hint to the king of *Granada*, that he reſerved his treaſures for ſupplying a war, and he omitted nothing, by preſents or ſubmiſſions, that could teſtify his eſteem and affection for *Henry*. It has been with reaſon ſuſpected, that a *Jew* phyſician mingled in the train of one of thoſe magnificent embaſſies ſent to *Henry*, and adminiſtered to him a ſlow poiſon, the effects of which he began to feel about the year 1405, as he was intent upon the moſt laudable duties of a king, the ſuppreſſing thoſe ſeditions and factions among his ſubjects, that are generally attendants upon riches, encouraging agriculture, and embelliſhing his dominions with ſtructures equally magnificent as uſeful. The ſame year, to his great joy, his queen was brought to bed of a ſon, *Juan*; but he was ſoon alarmed, by the intelligence he received, that the *Moors* of *Granada* were in motion, and had beſieged *Guezada* with four thouſand horſe and twenty-five thouſand foot; it is thought that the *Mooriſh* king was encouraged to this, by the ſecret intelligence he had that *Henry*'s life was drawing to its cloſe. Whatever may be in that, it is certain that *Henry* drew his army to the field, defeated the infidels in two actions, and raiſed the ſiege of *Guezada*. He next aſſembled his ſtates at *Toledo*, to deliberate upon a total reduction of the kingdom of *Granada*, but was unable to preſide in the aſſembly, and died on *Chriſtmaſs* day 1406. According to the *Spaniſh* authors, the conduct of *Henry* ought to be a model for that of all princes towards their ſubjects. By his juſtice and equanimity, he conciliated the affections of the common people to ſuch a degree, that he was enabled to humble his

Henry is poiſoned, 1405.

1406.

his turbulent nobility and the princes of his blood, and though he died very rich, he never was accuſed of avarice or oppreſſion.

and leaves a minor ſon.

Don *Ferdinand*, *Henry*'s ſurviving brother, preſented his nephew, don *Juan*, to the aſſembly of the ſtates, and upon reading the late king's will, it was agreed that the queen and don *Ferdinand* ſhould be joint regents during the royal minority. Happily for *Caſtile*, *Ferdinand* was a prince of vaſt abilities, and ſo ſincerely attached to his nephew, that he diſcouraged every inſinuation thrown out by the great men, as if he himſelf was the moſt proper perſon to fill the throne. His wars with the *Moors* were generally ſucceſsful, though the infidels ſeldom brought fewer than fourſcore thouſand men into the field; but he had ſome difficulty in managing the temper of the queen dowager, who was greatly influenced by her favourites. At laſt, he ſucceeded ſo well, that he gained her approbation in making one of his ſons, don *Sancho*, grand maſter of *Alcantara*; another, *Henry*, grand maſter of the order of St. *James*; and ſhe gave her daughter donna *Maria*, to *Alonſo*, his eldeſt ſon. During the minority, the ſtates of *Caſtile* were cautious of acting offenſively againſt the *Moors*; but don *Ferdinand* convinced them of their error, and took *Antequera*, one of their beſt and ſtrongeſt towns. *Ferdinand* would have improved this and many other advantages he obtained over the infidels, had not his intention been entirely turned on making good his claim upon the crown of *Arragon*, the right of which would have belonged to the king don *Juan*, had it not been for a family compact, which was confirmed by the ſtates of both kingdoms, to prevent the two crowns from being united in one perſon; a proviſion, however, which was afterwards eluded. As the queen mother of *Caſtile* was then entirely in *Ferdinand*'s intereſt, ſhe agreed not only to temporary truces with the *Moors*, but to *Ferdinand*'s applying a vaſt treaſure, that had been voted for a war againſt them, to his own purpoſes, by which he ſucceeded in his claim. He ſtill met with reſiſtance from the count *de Urgel*, but he was ſo well ſupported by the *Caſtilians*, that by his wiſdom and moderation, he became the arbiter of all the neighbouring crowns, but he died in the year 1415, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Alonſo*, who had three brothers, *Juan*, *Henry*, and *Pedro*.

1415.

Diſcontents on account of a favourite.

The death of *Ferdinand* left the queen mother ſole regent of *Caſtile*, and ſhe governed by a council. She did not long enjoy that honour, for though ſhe was in every other reſpect an excellent princeſs, yet ſhe was addicted to wine, and found dead in her bed of an apoplexy. Though the king, don *Juan*, was then no more than thirteen years old, yet it was thought proper to declare him of age, and he married donna *Maria* of *Arragon*. Don *Juan*, and don *Henry* of *Arragon*, caballed to ſurprize his perſon, in which the latter ſucceeded; but the king

king of *Caſtile* eſcaped out of his hands by the aſſiſtance of don *Alvaro de Luna*, who afterwards became his reigning favourite. Don *Juan*, out of hatred to his brother *Henry*, raiſed troops under pretence of ſecuring the king's freedom; but the difference between the two brothers operated to the tranquillity of king don *Juan*, who, young as he was, played them ſo ſkilfully againſt each other, that he became maſter of them both. In this ſtate matters continued till the year 1422, when the king don *Juan* deprived the conſtable of *Caſtile*, for his ſeditious practices, of that high office, which he gave to his favourite *Alvaro*. The year following, ſome differences happened between the kings, *Juan* of *Caſtile*, and *Alonſo* of *Arragon*, concerning the perſon of *Henry*, *Alonſo*'s brother, whom the king don *Juan* had impriſoned. In the year 1424, the queen of *Caſtile* was delivered of a ſon *Henry*, who was recognized by the ſtates as his ſucceſſor, and matters were compromiſed between the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, but, in the mean while, don *Juan* of *Arragon* became king of *Navarre* in right of his wife donna *Blanca*, and the firſt uſe he made of his new dignity, was to procure the deliverance of his brother *Henry* out of priſon. The tranquillity which the union of thoſe three crowns produced, was but of ſhort continuance; for the nobles of *Caſtile* were ſo much diſcontented at the ſway which the favourite continued to have in the government, that, countenanced by the king of *Arragon*, they obliged the king, don *Juan*, to part with him. He was quickly recalled, through the imprudence of his enemies, and the king of *Navarre*'s influence. The king, don *Juan*, to give his nobility employment farther abroad, inſtigated *Mohammed* the Left-handed, who had been driven from the throne of *Granada*, to reclaim his dominions; but all ſchemes of that kind were fruſtrated by the kings of *Navarre* and *Arragon* joining the noble *Caſtilians* againſt *Alvaro de Luna*, whoſe power in *Caſtile* was now more formidable than ever. Various were the tentatives to compromiſe matters, but a war between *Caſtile* and *Arragon* ſucceeded, in which the king don *Juan* had the advantage, and the malecontents were reduced.

1422.

1424.

The king of *Navarre*, and the infant don *Henry* of *Arragon*, ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Albuquerque*, and the king don *Juan* confiſcated all their eſtates in *Caſtile*. By this time, *Mohammed* the Left-handed had recovered his kingdom, and put to death his rival; but ungratefully ſided with the king of *Arragon*, againſt his benefactor the king of *Caſtile*. This fired the *Caſtilians* ſo much, that in the year 1431, the king don *Juan* was at the head of a hundred thouſand troops, and completely defeated the army of the infidels, which was equally numerous, near *Cavecca de los Ginetes*. Twenty thouſand infidels were killed in the battle and the purſuit, and a vaſt body of them ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war to the conſtable. The averſion the *Caſtilian* nobility had to that great man, prevented the king don *Juan* from making himſelf maſter of *Gra-*

The *Moors* defeated.

1431.

nada, and driving the *Moors* entirely out of *Spain*. He had, however, intereſt enough to place *Muley* on the throne of *Granada*, which became tributary to that of *Caſtile*. Scarcely was the king of *Caſtile* returned from this glorious campaign, when the noble *Caſtilians* renewed their cabals againſt the conſtable; but after various events, too minute for this hiſtory, they ended in their own loſs and confuſion.

1432. A rebellion in *Caſtile*.

In 1432, *Muley* king of *Granada* died, and *Mohammed* the Left-handed recovered that throne. The king, don *Juan*, obtained money from the ſtates ſufficient for renewing the war with the infidels, but the plots and conſpiracies which prevailed among his nobles, prevented him from doing any thing deciſive. He had better fortune in his war with the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre*, whom he took priſoners in a ſea fight, but generouſly ſet the king of *Navarre* at liberty.

1435.

In the year 1435, all matters were amicably compromiſed between the kings of *Caſtile*, *Arragon* and *Navarre*. The diſcontented nobility proving ſtill troubleſome, the king don *Juan* commanded *Pedro Manrique* to be put under reſtraint, and ordered his great men to ſerve upon the frontiers, in the war which ſtill continued againſt the *Moors*. They obeyed with a ſeeming chearfulneſs, but it was only to appear in a body againſt their ſovereign. They were ſupported at firſt by the king of *Navarre*, and the infant don *Henry*. The former ſoon joined the king don *Juan*, and the latter headed the malecontents, whom the king of *Navarre* had abandoned, only that he might be the more in a condition to mediate a peace. All *Caſtile* was now in arms, and the king don *Juan* ſaw that he muſt either loſe his crown or give up his favourite, who was accuſed of the moſt arbitrary tyrannical practices. The king, at firſt, ſeemed to liſten to his people, by ordering *Alvaro* not to appear at his court; but they were more exaſperated than ever at ſeeing him put at the head of the prince of *Aſturia*'s houſhold, who had been lately married to donna *Blanca*, the king of *Navarre*'s daughter. That prince had a favourite as well as his father; his name was *Pacheco*, by whoſe advice he declared himſelf for the malecontents, and ſurprized *Toledo*. The king, don *Juan*, omitted nothing to retake it, but in vain, for the malecontents united themſelves more ſtrictly than ever. His own queen became a party againſt him, and at laſt, he was forced to put himſelf into the hands of the malecontents, and to accept of the terms they pleaſed to preſcribe againſt the conſtable. He was inſincere in the reconciliation, and endeavoured to divide the confederacy, in which he would have ſucceeded, had it not been for the intrigues of his ſon, the prince of *Aſturia*.

1443. Its king a priſoner, but eſcapes.

In the year 1443, the king, don *Juan*, found himſelf little better than a ſtate priſoner, under the cuſtody of his own family, and that of the admiral. The confederacy, however, when it was leaſt expected, ſplit among themſelves, and the prince of *Aſturia*, by *Pacheco*'s inſtigation, offered upon certain

certain terms to ſet his father at liberty; but while the negotiation was in agitation, the king, don *Juan*, made his eſcape, and put himſelf at the head of a body of loyal ſubjects, who at the inſtigation of the biſhop of *Avila*, had taken arms for his deliverance. He ſoon obliged the king of *Navarre*, and the chief malecontents to retire; and before the end of the year 1444, he completely regained his authority. The prince of *Aſturia* being then reconciled to his father, the king of *Navarre*, and the remains of the malecontents took the field; but in *May* 1445, the king, don *Juan*, entirely defeated his opponents, and made the admiral, with the heads of the faction, priſoners. The admiral eſcaped, but the king proceeded with ſo much ſeverity againſt his aſſociates, that the prince again declared himſelf on the ſide of the malecontents. The king truſting to a body of troops ſent out of *Portugal* to his aſſiſtance, continued his ſeverities againſt the rebels, and his queen dying at this time, his favourite, without his knowledge, had the inſolence to make up a match between him and donna *Iſabella* of *Portugal*. Though the king, don *Juan*, reſented this ſtep at firſt, yet he ſoon acquieſced, and gave his favourite the grand maſterſhip of the order of St. *James*, but at the ſame time, he was obliged to give the prince the diſpoſal of many other places of great importance. A revolution which happened this year in *Granada*, gave the king, don *Juan*, an opportunity of ſupporting *Iſhmael*, a *Mooriſh* prince, and one of his own officers, who was a competitor for the crown, and thereby he divided the infidels among themſelves. 1444. 1445.

In all the diſputes between the *Caſtilians* and their ſovereign, the former conſtantly declared that their oppoſition was only to don *Alvaro*; but though the prince of *Aſturia* had adopted that pretence himſelf, yet his father eaſily ſaw that he intended to dethrone him. Both again took the field, and an accommodation was patched up by their two favourites, on the 11th of *May* 1446. After this, the favourites quarrelled with one another, and the king's affection for *Alvaro* began to cool, but he found he durſt not diſgrace him, and the remaining part of the year preſented a moſt diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter and deſolation between the *Navareſe* and the *Gaſcons* who invaded *Caſtile* on the one hand, as the *Moors* did on the other, both of them in ſupport of the malecontents, while the prince of *Aſturia* underhand omitted no meaſure or art to oblige his father to reſign his crown. The match between the king, don *Juan*, and the princeſs of *Portugal*, had now taken place, and he imparted to her in ſecrecy, that he was determined to ruin his favourite *Alvaro*. The queen, who owed her marriage to *Alvaro*, joined in the project, and ſupplanted him in her huſband's affections. *Alvaro* had ſome ſuſpicion of this, and by means of *Pacheco*, brought about an interview between the king don *Juan*, and his ſon; but this ſerved only to augment the public diſtractions, and to encourage the *Navarreſe* and *Moors* to renew their incurſions. The king, don *Juan*, He diſlikes his favourite, 1446.

was now fallen into a ſtate of mind which diſpoſed him to keep no farther meaſures with *Alvaro*, and to compromiſe all differences with the king of *Navarre* and the malecontents. This intention was favoured by his ſon diſcarding *Pacheco* at the ſame time, and by the clergy, who under the pope's authority, mediated ſo effectually, that the prince of *Aſturia* ſubmitted himſelf to his father, and gave up *Toledo*. *Alvaro*, in appearance, preſerved as much power as ever, becauſe he knew the king durſt not arreſt him. The treaſurer, *Vivero*, joined with the queen in plotting his deſtruction, and a ſecret, but more powerful confederacy than ever was formed againſt him. A quarrel between the king of *Navarre* and his ſon, in which the latter was defeated and taken priſoner, happened in
1452. 1452, and this gave *Alvaro*'s enemies an opportunity, under pretence of interceeding for the prince of *Navarre*'s liberty, to bring their machinations to a criſis.

who is beheaded. The event was, that after a great number of difficulties were ſurmounted, *Alvaro*'s houſe was ſurrounded, and he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, upon his obtaining, as is ſaid, a promiſe of pardon. His proceſs was immediately ordered to be made out, and being condemned, he was beheaded on a ſcaffold at *Valladolid*, on the 5th of *July*. Notwithſtanding all his exceſſes, he undoubtedly was a great man, and the king ſoon regretted his loſs. He was delivered, it is true, from a miniſter, whom he both feared and hated, but he was obliged to ſpend the remainder of his life in the midſt of his guards, and under perpetual apprehenſions. At laſt he died,
1454. on the 21ſt of *July* 1454.

Henry IV. king of *Caſtile*. The prince of *Aſturia*, under the name of don *Henry* IV. ſucceeded to the crown of *Caſtile*, and the commencement of his reign promiſed to efface all remembrance of his conduct during his father's life time, by reſtoring tranquillity both at home and abroad, which left him at liberty to continue the war againſt the *Moors*. In this, however, he was not very ſucceſsful, and his favourite *Pacheco*, now marquis of *Villena*, having recovered all his influence over him, his nobles caballed againſt him, as they had done againſt *Alvaro*. The king viſited the coaſt of *Barbary*, and his favourite privately ſwore allegiance to the king of *Arragon*, with a view of obtaining in time of neceſſity, an aſylum in that prince's dominions. The archbiſhop of *Toledo*, the admiral and other grandees, drew up remonſtrances upon the public grievances, which *Henry* promiſed ſhould be redreſſed in an aſſembly of the ſtates. Inſtead of that, he endeavoured to promote upſtarts, and to raiſe new families, who might counterbalance the old. This
1459. ſucceeded in ſome meaſure, but in the year 1459, he received freſh remonſtrances from his nobility, who required, as he had nō children of his own, on account of his natural impotence, that he ſhould name don *Alonſo* his heir, and give him a ſuitable education, and likewiſe the infanta *Iſabella*, who was next
1460. in ſucceſſion to don *Alonſo*. In 1460, the queen, donna *Joanna*,

Joanna, was brought to bed of a daughter, whom *Henry* owned as his own, though the general opinion was that ſhe was begotten by his new favourite don *Bernard de la Cueva*. Notwithſtanding this, ſhe was recognized as heireſs to the crown by don *Alonſo*, donna *Iſabella*, and the ſtates of *Caſtile*. *Henry*, about this time, recovered the ſtrong fortreſs of *Gibraltar*, from the *Moors*, while the *Catalans* ſhook off the yoke of *Arragon*, and proclaimed him their king in *Barcelona*. He was even flattered with the hopes of becoming king of *Arragon* and *Valentia*, but he was prevailed upon by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the marquis of *Villena*, to make *Lewis* XI. of *France*, the arbiter of his difference with *Arragon*. The deciſion of *Lewis*, who had an interview with *Henry*, was equally diſtaſteful to both parties, and the war went on. A new league was formed in *Caſtile* againſt *Henry*, who, to fortify himſelf, offered his ſiſter *Iſabella* in marriage to the king of *Portugal*; but that penetrating princeſs evaded the propoſal, by pretending that her hand was at the diſpoſal only of the ſtates of *Caſtile*.

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A league againſt him.

The marquis of *Villena*, having joined in the confederacy againſt *Henry*, had formed ſeveral dangerous, but well concerted plans for ſeizing the perſon of the king, in which, however, he failed. The kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* joined the confederates, and publicly proclaimed one of the cauſes of their taking arms, to be the king's (who was notoriouſly impotent) having impoſed upon the ſtates a ſuppoſititious heir. There wanted little proof of this, and the king was once more obliged to conciliate matters with the confederates, and not only to acknowledge the infant don *Alonſo* for his heir, but to ſtrip his favourite *la Cueva* of the grand maſterſhip of St. *James*, and to beſtow it on that prince, who, at the ſame time, was to be put into the hands of the marquis of *Villena*. *Henry* was ſoon ſenſible that the confederates having thus carried their point, would raiſe don *Alonſo* to the throne, and he ſummoned them to reſtore his brother into his hands. It was now too late; for in an aſſembly at *Seville*, the ſtates of *Caſtile* depoſed *Henry*, and choſe his brother, don *Alonſo*, in his room. His incomparable ſiſter, donna *Iſabella*, was his only comforter, under this terrible reverſe of fortune, and he retired to *Salamanca*, while the confederates raiſed troops to ſupport their choice. The archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had been the chief agent in this revolution, propoſed marching immediately to ſurprize the king in *Salamanca*; but the marquis of *Villena*, who hated the archbiſhop, privately informed *Henry* of his danger, and the confederates beſieged *Simencas*. This gave the king liberty to join the loyal part of his ſubjects, and he was ſoon at the head of an army which would have reduced the malecontents, had he not been perſuaded by the marquis of *Villena*, to conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and to diſmiſs his troops. This happened in the year 1465; but notwithſtanding *Villena*'s treachery, the king found ſo powerful a

1465.

ſupport at the court of *Rome*, that the rebels agreed to abandon the cauſe of don *Alonſo*, provided the infanta donna *Iſabella* was given in marriage to *Giron*, *Villena*'s brother and grand maſter of *Calatrava*. Though donna *Iſabella* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this marriage, yet ſhe might have been forced to give *Giron* her hand, had he not critically died of a fever. The confederates then readopted the cauſe of don *Alonſo*, and beſieged *Medina del Campo*. The king marched to raiſe the ſiege, and a battle followed, but neither ſide could boaſt of a victory. Don *Alonſo*, however, recovered the cuſtody of his ſiſter *Iſabella*'s perſon; but the intrigues and treachery that prevailed among the confederates were ſuch, that the pope's legate excommunicated them.

Marriage of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*.

The papal power was then very high, and the confederates ſoon felt the force of its cenſures, for *Henry* recovered *Toledo*, and don *Alonſo* was preparing to retire to *Avila*, but died on the road, as is thought of poiſon. The confederates then turned their eyes upon his ſiſter donna *Iſabella*, and ſhe was not only preſſed to accept of the crown, but actually proclaimed queen at *Seville*, and ſeveral other places. She firmly renounced the dignity which they had no power to beſtow, but inſiſted upon her being recognized as next heir to the crown, which ſhe accordingly was, and by her ſeaſonable reſolution, ſhe preſerved the crown on *Henry*'s head. The marquis of *Caſtellan* thinking his ſervices not ſufficiently rewarded, ſpirited up the queen, donna *Joanna*, (who remained as a kind of hoſtage with the archbiſhop of *Seville*) to make her eſcape, which ſhe did, and the marquis thus became poſſeſſed of the perſons of her and her daughter, the ſuppoſititious princeſs. Notwithſtanding this, *Henry* diſregarding all other conſiderations, treated of a marriage between his ſiſter and don *Ferdinand*, king of *Sicily*, ſon and heir to don *Juan*, king of *Arragon* and *Naples*. As the latter had his heart fixt upon this match, no money was ſpared to bring it about; but it was oppoſed by the great lords, who foreſaw their own ruin if it ſhould take place. The *Arragoneſe* gold, notwithſtanding the violence of their intrigues and oppoſition, at laſt prevailed, and the marriage, being favoured by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and the admiral, was publicly celebrated at *Valladolid*, on the
1469. 25th of *October* 1469. Don *Henry* not having been conſulted in the conſummation of this match, pretended to take it highly amiſs, that it had been concluded without his conſent, and revived the claim of his ſuppoſed daughter, *Joanna*, to be his heir. Thus, two preſumptive heirs to the crown of *Caſtile* appeared, which once more filled that unhappy kingdom with blood and devaſtation. The infant *Joanna* was betrothed to the *French* duke of *Berry*, and both ſides publiſhed manifeſtos in defence of their ſeveral titles. The pope, however, favoured *Henry*, and the *Arragonian* intereſt muſt have been ruined, had it not been firmly ſupported by the archbiſhop of *Toledo*. The match between the infanta *Joanna* with the

duke of *Berry*, had never taken place, and *Henry* offered her firſt to the king of *Portugal*, and then to don *Henry* of *Arragon*.

Villena was a ſtrenuous advocate for this match, as being the only expedient that could defeat the effects of the other; but the politics of the court of *Rome*, at this time, favoured *Ferdinand*. The latter applied to his father, to put don *Henry* of *Arragon* under arreſt, but he eſcaped to *Caſtile*, where he behaved in every reſpect as if he had been already on that throne. To put an end to the public calamities and the civil war which continued to rage in *Caſtile*, a legate arrived from the pope, but as he inclined to the *Arragoneſe* party, his preſence ſerved only to enflame matters, and ſo little regard was now paid to the authority of the crown, that private noblemen waged war with one another, as if they had been independent princes, which occaſioned a prodigious effuſion of the nobleſt *Caſtilian* blood. Don *Henry* of *Arragon*'s behaviour was ſuch, as diſguſted all the *Caſtilian* noblemen, and *Villena* perſuaded, or rather commanded the king, don *Henry*, to elude the performance of his marriage with donna *Joanna*. Don *Henry*'s treaſures lay then in the *Alcazar* at *Segovia*, which was commanded by *Cabrera*, an officer of approved virtue and loyalty. As they were very conſiderable, *Villena* made ſeveral attempts to become maſter of them, but he was always baffled by *Cabrera*'s courage and vigilance. He had, however, ſuch an aſcendency over *Henry*, that he obtained from him an order directed to *Cabrera*, for the latter to deliver up the place into *Villena*'s hands; but the gallant officer refuſed to comply with the order, which he ſaid was ſuch as his maſter ought not to give. *Villena* perſuaded him to go in perſon to *Segovia*, where in a converſation he had with *Cabrera* and his wife, his eyes were opened, for he was made ſenſible of *Villena*'s treacherous practices, and the expediency of his being reconciled to *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. The faithful wife of *Cabrera*, in the diſguiſe of a peaſant, brought *Iſabella*, who had been formerly her miſtreſs, to *Segovia*, where *Henry* was ſo much captivated with her converſation, that he ordered all the public honours to be paid to her that were due to the heir of his crown, he himſelf even holding her bridle, when ſhe appeared on horſeback. *Iſabella* was followed by her huſband *Ferdinand*, who was likewiſe highly careſſed by *Henry*; but that unſteady prince falling ill during their ſtay at *Segovia*, he ſuſpected that they had given him poiſon, and renewed his private correſpondences with *Villena* and his party. This did not eſcape the penetration of *Cabrera*, who defeated all his machinations to ſurprize the perſons of *Iſabella* and her huſband.

Diviſions in *Caſtile*.

Reconciliation of the king to *Iſabella*.

It was thought proper that *Ferdinand* ſhould leave *Segovia*. In the mean while, that prince was ſolemnly inveſted by the ambaſſadors of the duke of *Burgundy*, with the order of the golden fleece, and obtained many advantages over his antagoniſts.

Caſtile and *Arragon* united.

tagoniſts. Don *Henry* ſtill preſſed the king of *Portugal* to marry his daughter, but during the dependence of that negotiation, *Villena* died, and in him periſhed all the hopes of the infanta donna *Joanna*. He was quickly followed by the king
1474. don *Henry* himſelf, who died at *Madrid* in 1474, and on his death-bed declared the infanta donna *Joanna* to be his ſole heir. He was a weak unſteady prince, entirely governed by his favourites, but poſſeſſed of the two *Spaniſh* virtues, of gravity and religion. As we are now to conſider the crowns of *Arragon* and *Caſtile* to be united by marriage, though not in one perſon, it is proper for us to purſue a ſlight recapitulation of the hiſtory of *Arragon*, ſo as to connect it with that of *Caſtile* at this period.

History of *Arragon*. It is moſt probable that the kingdom of *Arragon*, after the invaſion of the *Moors*, was divided into many little principalities or ſtates, each headed by its chieftain, who provided for the ſafety of himſelf and his dependents in the beſt manner that the rugged ſituation of the country admitted of. We have already obſerved, that don *Sancho* the Great, took the title of earl of *Arragon*, and in what manner he partitioned out his territories to his children. *Arragon* fell to the lot of *Ramiro*, but it was then no more than a ſmall county, though dignified with the name of a kingdom. *Ramiro* was married to the beautiful *Ermiſinda*, daughter to the count of *Bigorre*, about the year 1036; but on the death of *Gonçales*, his brother, he ſucceeded to his dominions, which comprehended the countries of *Soprarba* and *Ripagorza*. This acceſſion rendered him a powerful prince, but at the ſame time, prompted him to invade don *Garcia*, the king of *Navarre*'s dominions; but he was defeated, and *Garcia* following his blow, drove *Ramiro* to the mountains of *Soprarba*. Matters, however, were accommodated by the intervention of the clergy; and *Sancho*, who ſucceeded *Garcia* in the kingdom of *Navarre*, joined with *Ramiro* in oppoſing the formidable progreſs of *Ferdinand*, king of *Leon*. *Ramiro* was now old, and he cloſed his days by attacking the *Moors*, who were tributaries to the king of *Caſtile*, but he was killed in battle in the 28th year of his reign.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sancho*, who was no more than eighteen years of age. This prince is ſaid to have ſubſtituted the *German* code of laws inſtead of the *Gothic*, and was deeply engaged in a war with the *Moors*, who threw themſelves under the protection of the king of *Navarre*. After that king was aſſaſſinated, *Sancho* acquired a part of his kingdom, but the reſt was diſputed by the king of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. About this time, the *Roman* pontifs began to enter their illegal claims of ſuperiority over the *Spaniſh* monarchs; but the king of *Arragon* diſclaimed all ſuch ſubjection, and obtained two glorious victories over the *Moors* of *Saragoſſa*. He continued his wars againſt thoſe infidels with vaſt ſucceſs, and brought an army

army into the field againſt the *Mooriſh* prince of *Hueſca*, whoſe capital he beſieged, but he was killed during the operations in the year 1094.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pedro*, who continued the ſiege of *Hueſca*, which the *Moors* endeavoured to raiſe. The prince of *Hueſca* was aſſiſted by the king of *Caſtile*, whoſe tributary he was; but *Pedro* defeated the *Moors*, and their *Caſtilian* auxiliaries in the plain of *Alcaraz*. It is ſaid, that in this battle, the infidels loſt forty thouſand men, and *Hueſca* opened its gates to the conqueror, who thereby acquired a finer province than any he had before in his dominions. About the year 1101, *Pedro* extended his conqueſts farther over the *Moors*, and was beginning to cultivate the arts of peace, when grief for the loſs of his two ſons put an end to his life in 1104. His brother *Alonſo* ſucceeded him, and being a prince of vaſt accompliſhments, he married, as we have ſeen, *Urracca*, daughter to the emperor *Alonſo*, king of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. The reader is already acquainted with the conſequences of this match, which promiſing as it was, terminated highly to the diſadvantage of the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, through the diſagreement between the king and the queen. After the divorce between them had taken place; *Alonſo*, king of *Arragon*, applied himſelf to the improvement of his hereditary dominions, and to the reduction of the *Mooriſh* power in *Spain*. In this, he was aſſiſted by the *French*, who were always fond of cruſades againſt the infidels. By their aſſiſtance he reduced *Tudela*, in the year 1114, defeated the *Moors*, and took *Saragoſſa*, with many other places, on the 18th of *December* 1118. *Alonſo* made *Saragoſſa* the capital of his kingdom, but in conſequence of the *Gothic* maxim, he diſmantled the fortifications, that the inhabitants might owe their ſecurity to their ſwords. The two following years he continued to extend his conqueſts over the ſame infidels, many of whom patiently ſubmitted to be his ſubjects and tributaries. Being again joined by the *French* in the year 1121, he defeated the *Moors* in a great battle near *Alcaraz*. This and many other ſucceſſes againſt the infidels, brought numbers of thoſe *Chriſtians*, who had fortified themſelves in the mountains, to recognize his authority; and he formed them into civil ſociety. After he had comprized ſome differences with the king of *Caſtile*, he was perſuaded by a party of the *French* to march towards *Gaſcony*, where he reduced *Bayonne*. During his abſence, the *Moors* had obtained ſome advantages; but upon his return, he checked them, and beſieged *Fraga*. Meeting with a vigorous reſiſtance, the infidels brought into the field all their force, and defeated him with a vaſt ſlaughter, ſo that a few days after he died of grief. He was a prince of great virtues, and enlarged his dominions two thirds more than he found it.

Don *Pedro* defeats the *Moors*.

He was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Arragon* by his brother don *Ramiro*, a monk, and in that of *Navarre* by don *Garcia Ramirez*. We have already touched upon the hiſtory of both in

A monk king of *Arragon*.

in that of *Caſtile*, and it is ſufficient here to obſerve that in the year 1137, having married his daughter and heireſs to *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, he reſigned to him the reins of government, and retired again to a monaſtery. *Raymond* reigned under the title of prince of *Arragon*, and proved an excellent general as well as politician, for he obtained many advantages over the *Moors*, concluded a peace with the king of *Navarre*, acquired large family eſtates in *France*, but died in 1162, as he was marching to aſſiſt the emperor *Frederic* to dethrone pope *Alexander* III. His widow, donna *Petronella*, did all ſhe could for ſecuring the public tranquillity, which was in danger from an impoſtor, who pretended to be the late king *Alonſo*, who died of grief after the battle of *Fraga*, and whom ſhe ordered to be put to death. She then reſigned the government to her ſon *Alonſo*, the greateſt part of whoſe hiſtory is recounted in that of *Caſtile*. He died full of glory in 1196, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pedro*, who had the weakneſs to go to *Rome*, and acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the holy ſee, and to pay his holineſs a large tribute. He married *Maria*, daughter of the count of *Montpellier*; but he was unacceptable to his people on account of his ſubjection to the ſee of *Rome*. We have already ſeen the connections of this prince with the count of *Tholouſe*, and the manner of his death at the battle of *Moret*. His ſon was then in the hands of *Simon de Montfort*, who delivered him up to the ſtates of *Arragon*, when he was no more than ſix years and four months old, and he reigned by the name of don *Jayme*, under the tuition of his mother and his uncle don *Sancho*, a prince of great ambition, who aimed at the crown, and rendered his nephew's reign very uncomfortable. His virtues prevailed with the king of *Navarre* to adopt him as his ſon, but he ſuffered the right heir to ſucceed, and in general he was ſucceſsful in his wars with the *Moors*, from whom he conquered the kingdom of *Valentia*. Towards the latter end of his reign he became arbitrary, but was obliged at laſt to refer the grievances of his ſubjects to the aſſembly of his ſtates. In the year 1269, he took upon himſelf the croſs for the *Holy Land*, but was driven back by a ſtorm, and died after a turbulent reign in 1276. He was ſucceeded as king of *Arragon* by his ſon *Pedro* III. and in the kingdom of *Majorca*, which he had acquired, by his ſecond ſon don *Jayme*. Having a claim in right of his wife, daughter to king *Mainfroy*, upon the crown of *Sicily*, we have already ſeen how artfully he conducted himſelf in the tragedy of the *Sicilian* veſpers, and how he made himſelf maſter of that iſland. No prince of his time that we know of, even though he was excommunicated by the pope, experienced a more uninterrupted courſe of ſucceſſes, and no prince encountered more powerful enemies. Having driven the *French* out of his dominions, which they had invaded under *Philip* the Hardy; he died in 1285, leaving the crown of *Arragon* to his ſon don *Alonſo*; but his ſecond ſon, don *Jayme*, ſucceeded to that of *Sicily*.

Vol. X. p. 81. & ſeq.

ibid. p. 111.

Alonſo,

Alonſo, who is called the Third, was in *Majorca*, when he heard of his father's death; but ſo very free were the ſtates of *Arragon* at that time, that they formed a confederacy againſt him for preſuming to take the title of king before he was crowned, nor would they ſuffer him to name even his own miniſters and ſervants, without their approbation. He was befriended by *Edward* I. of *England*, but oppoſed by pope *Nicholas* IV. and we have had frequent opportunities in the hiſtories of *France* and *Italy*, to give an account of his various wars and negotiations. Having by his addreſs and courage conquered all oppoſition, he called an aſſembly of his ſtates, in which he annulled all their claims and acts that were derogatory to the royal authority. He died during the preparations that were making for his celebrating his marriage with the princeſs *Eleanor* of *England* in 1291. His ſucceſſor was his brother don *Jayme* II. the principal events of whoſe reign may be ſeen in the hiſtory of *Caſtile*. He would willingly, for the ſake of public tranquillity, have reſigned the kingdom of *Sicily*; but his mother, *Conſtantia*, who was heireſs of that crown, and his brother *Frederic* kept poſſeſſion of it. He was by pope *Boniface* VIII. over perſuaded to enter into a war with both. *Frederic*, who had taken the title of king, oppoſed him with great vigour, but the power of *Arragon* by ſea, being at that time very great, his fleet was defeated, and the reader in the places referred to, may learn the conſequences. This don *Jayme* generouſly protected the knights templers againſt the cruel perſecution which they ſuffered in the year 1306; and when that order was diſſolved, he made large allowances to them out of their own eſtates. He was greatly mortified after raiſing his people to a very high pitch of proſperity, by the diſpoſition of his eldeſt ſon don *Jayme*, who affecting a life of privacy, was inſenſible to his father's threats to deprive him of the ſucceſſion, took an oath of fealty to his brother don *Alonſo*, renounced all pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, aſſumed a religious habit, and died as a private perſon. It was about that time, that, by a decree of the ſtates, *Arragon*, *Valentia* and *Catalonia* were united, and declared to be for ever after inſeparable. We muſt refer our readers to the hiſtory of *Italy* for an account of this prince's conduct there. Having acquired by his virtues the name of *Jayme* the Juſt, he died in the 27th year of his reign, in 1326, leaving his kingdoms in the moſt flouriſhing ſtate they had ever known.

Great power of the ſtates there.

The crown of *Arragon* diſputed.

Vol. X. p. 114, 117, & *ſeq.*

Jayme the Juſt, was ſucceeded by his ſon don *Alonſo* IV. a prince like his father, of great virtues, but unhappy in the diſpoſitions of his family, for his ſon *Pedro* rebelled againſt him. He died in 1336, and the epithet given him by the gratitude of his ſubjects, was that of *Alonſo* the Kind. His ſucceſſor *Pedro* IV. found his dominions in great diſorder, through the broils raiſed by himſelf during his father's life. He had ſome differences with his mother-in-law, donna *Leonora* of *Caſtile*, which he compromiſed, and he joined with the *Caſtilians*,

Alonſo IV. king.

Pedro IV. king.

Caſtilians, as we have already ſeen in their wars with the *Moors*, but was embroiled with the king of *Majorca*, who refuſed to pay him homage for his crown; and, at laſt, in the year 1343, he ſtript that prince of his dominions, which he annexed to the crown of *Arragon*, and brought him to implore his forgiveneſs on his knees. Even this humiliating poſture could not mollify the ſtern don *Pedro*, who continued his perſecution of him, till he was obliged to take refuge with the count *de Foix*. *Pedro*'s perpetual ſucceſſes, his profound policy and vaſt power, both in *Spain* and *Italy*, encouraged him to alter the ſucceſſion to his crown, as he had then no ſon, and to exclude his brothers in favour of his daughters. This occaſioned a revival of the union of *Arragon* under his brother don *Jayme*, which reduced him to ſuch diſtreſs, that he was obliged to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, where he ſubmitted to all the terms they propoſed, with the impious reſolution of not obſerving one. After this, it is thought that he poiſoned his brother don *Jayme*, but at laſt, he ſubdued all the patrons of public liberty, and eſtabliſhed his own will as a law to his ſubjects. Thinking himſelf then above all controul, being thwarted by the pope's legate, he ordered him to be hung upon a gibbet by the heels over a precipice, threatening to cut the rope if he did not inſtantly comply with his will, which the legate did juſt as the executioner was about to have obeyed the king. *Pedro* died in 1386, after living ſeventy-ſix years, and reigning fifty. He was ſevere, ceremonious, and haughty; but knew how to make himſelf obeyed by his ſubjects, and dreaded by his neighbours.

Juan I. king.

Don *Pedro* the Ceremonious, as he was called, was ſucceeded by his ſon don *Juan* I. who deprived his mother-in-law *Sybilla* of her jointure, and would have taken her life likewiſe, had not the pope interpoſed in her favour, on the ridiculous charge of her having bewitched the late king, for which, however, ſeveral innocent perſons ſuffered death. He had ſeveral differences with the duke of *Lancaſter*, on account of ſome arrears which the latter alledged were due to him, but they were ſoon compromiſed, and the court of *Arragon* afterwards became under the patronage of the queen donna *Violante*, and her favourite donna *Carazza Villaragut*, the favourite reſidence of poetry and muſic; but the ſternneſs of the *Arragonian* lords forced the king to expel them, and to diſmiſs *Villaragut* from his court. *Juan* II. was reckoned an indolent prince, and having a propenſity to pleaſure, his indigence diſabled him from ſupporting the luſtre of his predeceſſors in *Italy* and its adjacent iſlands, and in the frontiers towards *France*. He was killed by a fall from his horſe in 1395. The ſuddenneſs of his death occaſioned great perplexity to the ſtates of *Arragon*. His widow donna *Violante* pretended to be with child; his ſon in law, the count of *Foix*, aſpired to the crown in right of his wife; but it was by the ſtates of *Arragon*, *Valentia*, and *Catalonia* decreed to his brother don *Martin*, duke of

of *Montalban*, who was then in *Sicily*. *Arragon* was invaded by the count of *Foix*, who was obliged to retire with loſs, and the king don *Martin*, having ſettled the affairs of his ſon, the king of *Sicily*, committed the regency of *Arragon* to his wife, a princeſs of incomparable ſpirit and abilities, and had a conference with the pope at *Avignon*, from whence he landed at *Barcelona* on the 26th of *June* 1397. Being ſettled on the throne, he compromiſed all differences with the count of *Foix*, and by his addreſs prevailed with his ſtates, not only to give him very extraordinary ſupplies, but to acknowledge his ſon the king of *Sicily*, as the heir apparent of *Arragon*. The ſon of the king of *Sicily* dying, affairs ran into ſuch diſorder in that kingdom, that the king don *Martin* was obliged to go to the aſſiſtance of his ſon, who was a diſſolute prince, with an army. After he had re-eſtabliſhed his ſon's affairs, the latter died of his exceſſes, but his father don *Martin*, who was his heir, did not long ſurvive him; for he having married a young wife in hope of male heirs, he died on the laſt of *May* 1410, and the difficulties that occurred in his ſucceſſion, occaſioned an interregnum, during which the adminiſtration was executed by the ſtates.

Notwithſtanding the complicated claims upon the kingdom, the chief of which was that of the count *Urgel*, yet the crown of *Arragon*, in the end, loſt none of its ſplendor. The ſtates agreed to ſettle the ſucceſſion, and, for that purpoſe, deſired the protection of the infant don *Ferdinand* of *Caſtile*, who was the ſon of donna *Leonora*, eldeſt ſiſter to the two late kings; and the ſtates, after many formal meetings and great debates, choſe nine judges to determine the important affair. Their deciſion was in favour of *Ferdinand*, becauſe he was the next heir male to the laſt reigning prince, though deſcending from a female. His title was by no means clear, but it was as unexceptionable as that of any of the other competitors, and he entered upon the exerciſe of the regal office with far leſs oppoſition than he had reaſon to expect; though if we conſider the principles of hereditary ſucceſſion, his father had the prior title. He began his reign with the uſual acts of popularity, and took ſuch meaſures as kept the count of *Urgel* quiet, and at laſt, obliged him to throw himſelf at his feet; upon which he was committed to priſon. *Ferdinand* did not ſit quite four years on the throne of *Arragon*, and met with ſuch oppoſition in money matters, that he retired to *Caſtile*, where he died in 1416. He was ſucceeded by his ſon don *Alonſo* V. who, as we have already ſeen, was embroiled in the affairs of *Italy*, where he was taken priſoner by the duke of *Milan*, who entertained him nobly, and diſmiſſed him. His captivity brought together the ſtates of *Arragon*, which were held by his queen donna *Maria*, at *Moucon*, and voted a large ſum to be raiſed if neceſſary, for the king's ranſom. Though *Alonſo* had no occaſion for the money to procure his liberty, yet the whole of it was generouſly ſent him, and in the main he found himſelf a very conſiderable

Diſpute about the ſucceſſion to the crown, decided in favour of *Ferdinand*.

Vol. X. p. 188. & *ſeq.*

conſiderable gainer by his defeat and captivity. In 1443, he became maſter of the kingdom, and city of *Naples*; and the following year he was conſidered as the moſt powerful prince in *Europe*. He died on the 22d of *June* 1468, after being king of *Arragon* forty-three years. He was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Arragon*, by his ſon don *Juan*, king of *Navarre*; who held an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Braga*, and to pleaſe the *Arragonians*, he annexed the crowns of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for ever to *Arragon*. He was embroiled with his ſon, the prince of *Viana*, whom he refuſed to declare heir to his crown. The king of *Portugal* offered his daughter to that prince, but the latter being tampered with by the ambaſſadors of *Caſtile*, his father, for reaſons that have never yet been aſcertained in hiſtory, put him under a cloſe arreſt. The ſtates of *Arragon* and *Catalonia* raiſed troops in favour of the prince, but his father ſet him at liberty, and was forced to give him the principality of *Catalonia*. His father, however, having an irreconcileable hatred of his perſon, perſuaded the court of *Caſtile* to abandon him, and the prince died of heart-break at *Barcelona*. He is ſaid to have been adorned with every quality proper either for a royal or a private ſtation, and the *Catalans* were ſo much convinced that he was poiſoned by his mother-in-law, that they took arms, and beſieged her and her ſon in *Giron*; but the ſiege was raiſed by the aſſiſtance which *Lewis* XI. of *France* gave to the king don *Juan*.

Alonſo king of *Arragon* and *Naples*.

The rebels ſtill kept their arms in their hands, and after offering their principality to various potentates, it was accepted of by the duke of *Anjou*, and his ſon, the duke of *Lorrain*. The king of *Arragon*, though old and infirm, ſhewed great abilities againſt the rebels, but his ſucceſſes were owing to the ſpirit and intrepidity of his queen, who headed his armies, and whoſe fatigues in the field finiſhed her life. It is ſaid, that on her death-bed ſhe expreſſed great horrors for having poiſoned the prince of *Viana*, in order to make way for her ſon don *Ferdinand* to the crown. Her death did not diſarm the *Catalans* of their reſentment, but in 1471, the *Arragoneſe* were entirely defeated by the king don *Juan*, who ſoon after became maſter of *Barcelona*, but upon terms preſcribed by the inhabitants, to whom he was thoroughly reconciled. He next forced the *French* twice to raiſe the ſiege of *Perpignan*; but his perpetual calls for money to ſupply the expences of his ſon *Ferdinand* at the *Caſtilian* court, diſpoſed him to negotiate with the *French* king. He was deceived by the perfidy of that prince, and the *French* again ravaged his dominions, which were at the ſame time afflicted with a plague and famine. The king don *Juan* was now almoſt blind, and muſt have ſunk under the difficulties he encountered, had he not been occaſionally relieved by his ſon don *Ferdinand*. At laſt, in the year 1479, he died at *Barcelona* in the eighty-ſecond year of his age.

Union of *Arragon*

We are now arrived at the period in which we propoſed to connect the hiſtory of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*. No ſooner was

don

don *Henry* of *Caſtile* dead, than donna *Iſabella* and her huſband don *Ferdinand*, were proclaimed king and queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; but they ſoon received ſome trouble from the party of the infanta donna *Joanna*, whom the late king, don *Henry*, had on his death-bed acknowledged for his daughter. Some diſputes happened about the joint authority of the king and queen, but it was agreed that the former ſhould do nothing without the conſent of the latter. In the year 1475, king *Alonſo* of *Portugal* eſpouſed donna *Joanna*, (but the marriage never was conſummated) who had ſtill a great party in *Caſtile*, and took upon her the titles of that crown. A war enſued, in which *Iſabella* diſcovered great political and natural abilities, and contributed greatly to the ſucceſſes of her huſband. The latter beſieged *Toro*, which the king of *Portugal* endeavoured to relieve. This drew on a battle, which ended to the diſadvantage of the *Portugueſe*, and they were forced to retire to their own country. Upon the return of *Ferdinand* and his queen to *Caſtile*, they entered into a treaty with the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who had joined the *Portugueſe*, and who notwithſtanding all his high demands, was obliged at laſt to ſubmit to their majeſties, and after ſurmounting infinite difficulties, they re-eſtabliſhed order in *Caſtile*. Upon the death of don *Juan*, king of *Arragon*, *Ferdinand* being obliged to repair to his hereditary dominions, left the government of *Caſtile* in the hands of *Iſabella*, who conducted herſelf with ſo much firmneſs and wiſdom, that ſhe made a peace with the king of *Portugal*, who thereby quitted the titles and arms of *Caſtile*. This peace, which is called that of *Alcacovas*, left *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* without a rival to their dominions, which by their reſumptions of exorbitant grants, and other wiſe regulations, they raiſed in a few years to an immenſe pitch of grandeur; but their reign was ſtrained by their introducing into *Spain* the execrable court of inquiſition, about the year 1480. This meaſure was apologized for by the neceſſity their majeſties were under to prevent their ſubjects from being poiſoned in their loyalty as well as religion, by *Jews* and *Moors*. We are not to omit, that before this time, the infanta *Joanna* of *Caſtile*, who had been betrothed to the king of *Portugal*, had taken the veil and ſhut herſelf up in a monaſtery at *Liſbon*.

and *Caſtile*.

The inquiſition introduced into *Spain*.

1480.

The great ſcheme of queen *Iſabella*, and perhaps, her chief failing, was her deſire to expel all the *Moors* out of *Spain*. As a preparatory meaſure for this, ſhe and her huſband proceeded with equal firmneſs and ſeverity in reforming the morals and police of their people, eſpecially in *Galicia*. Having ſucceeded in that great point, they came to a reſolution of breaking the truce, which ſome time before they had made with *Abul Haſſein*, king of *Granada*, for which violation of good faith, nothing but zeal for religion could be pleaded. A quarrel with the pope intervened about this time, but *Ferdinand* ſupported his civil rights with ſo much reſolution, that his holineſs was obliged to yield, and to grant a bull, which gave *Ferdinand* and

War with the *Moors*.

and his ſucceſſors a power of nominating to all the archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics in *Spain*. Hoſtilities multiplying with the king of *Granada*, the latter took the field with forty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to retake the town of *Alhama*, which had been ſurprized by the marquis of *Cadiz*, a *Spaniſh* general; but he was forced by don *Ferdinand* to raiſe the ſiege. No difficulties could conquer the invincible averſion *Iſabella* had for the *Moors*, who on their part carried on the war
1482. with equal ardour; but in the year 1482, their majeſties were alarmed by intelligence they received, that the king of *Portugal* had taken the infanta *Joanna* out of her convent, and intended to diſpoſe of her in marriage to the king of *Navarre*, nephew to *Lewis* XI. of *France*. This year, the war with the *Moors* of *Granada* proved unfavourable to the *Chriſtians*; but the latter ſurprized and made priſoner the young king of *Granada*, *Muley Abul Abdali*, who had rebelled againſt his father *Abul Hoſſein*. By *Iſabella*'s deciſion, he was reſtored to his liberty, that the differences among the *Moors* might be kept up. Notwithſtanding this, the *Moors*, though divided between the father and ſon, continued the war, even with ſucceſs, till by the indefatigable zeal of *Iſabella*, the troops were provided with artillery, and with every thing that could enable them to keep the field during the winter. She likewiſe put to ſea a fleet, which cut off their communication with the coaſt of *Barbary*.

New method of making war.

Theſe precautions entirely altered the nature of the warlike operations againſt the *Moors*, and from that time the whole ſyſtem of making war in *Europe* ſeems to have been changed. *Abul Hoſſein*, who had now recovered his throne, finding he could not be relieved by the king of *Morocco*, offered to enter into a treaty with *Ferdinand*; but his advances were rejected, and it is ſaid, that the firſt regular army, according to the preſent mode of making war, appeared in 1485, upon the plains of *Granada*, where *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* were attended by almoſt their whole nobility, twelve thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, all of them choice troops, completely armed, provided with a large train of artillery, and plentifully ſupplied from magazines with every means of ſubſiſtence. The progreſs of ſuch an army was irreſiſtable by the *Moors*. Thoſe in the open country quietly ſubmitted, and were ſent by *Ferdinand* to the interior parts of his dominions; and to prevent the reſt from ſeeking their ſafety in deſpair, he offered them good terms, and was very punctual in performing the capitulations he granted them. *Ferdinand*, however, did not ſucceed in his
1485.

1486. attempts to beſiege *Malaga*, but when the campaign in 1486 opened, he found himſelf at the head of an army vaſtly ſuperior both in its numbers and appointments to that he commanded the year before. The reader may judge of this by the number of his draught horſes and mules, which amounted to fifty thouſand. The truth is, at this time, the expedition againſt *Granada* became ſo much in vogue at other *Chriſtian* courts,

courts, that their nobility flocked from all quarters to ſerve under *Ferdinand*, whoſe army conſiſted of the beſt officers and ſoldiers who had borne arms in *Italy*, *Spain* and *France*. It is amazing how the *Moors* under *Abul Abdali*, made ſo great a head as they did againſt ſo formidable a power. They bravely diſputed every inch of ground, till at laſt *Abul Aldali* being ſeverely wounded, was forced to ſurrender *Loja*, and once more to become tributary to *Ferdinand*. Notwithſtanding this, he rendered himſelf maſter of *Granada*, from whence he had been ſome time before expelled, and dethroned his uncle, *Al Zagel*. *Ferdinand* turned his arms againſt *Velez*, which he reduced, and then he beſieged *Malaga*, the moſt conſiderable place, next to *Granada*, that the *Moors* held in *Spain*. The *Moors* within it, made a noble reſiſtance, but the town at laſt was obliged to capitulate, *Abul Abdali* having joined *Ferdinand*, and promiſing to put *Granada* into his hands.

The expences of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, in carrying on this war, were ſo exceſſive, that in the campaign of the year 1488, their army was not ſo powerful as in the two preceding years, and the *Moors* even recovered ſome places they had loſt. The ſiege of *Baza* was formed, and *Ferdinand* found ſuch difficulties in carrying it on, that he was on the point of raiſing it, had it not been for *Iſabella*, who repaired in perſon to the camp, and encouraged the ſoldiers to continue it; upon which *Baza* was ſurrendered by the *Mooriſh* governor, who entered into the ſervice of *Ferdinand*, and perſuaded *Al Zagel* to ſurrender *Guadix* and *Almeria*; but *Ferdinand*, upon reviewing his army at the end of the year, found that he had loſt twenty thouſand men during the campaign. 1488.

Next year might have been fatal to the *Spaniſh* arms, had not *Ferdinand*, by his money, found means to corrupt moſt of the *Mooriſh* generals, and treated all who ſubmitted to him with the greateſt politeneſs. Having ſummoned *Abul Abdali* to ſurrender *Granada*, according to his promiſe, he excuſed himſelf, on account of the vaſt encreaſe of *Moors* in the city, who had been driven thither by the ſucceſs of their majeſties arms. In the mean while the inhabitants of the diſtrict of *Alpujarros* revolted againſt *Ferdinand*, and it was with ſome difficulty that they were reduced. After that, the ſiege of *Granada* was formed, and *Iſabella*, who was in the camp in perſon, to mitigate the inconveniencies of a winter campaign, ordered houſes of free-ſtone, inſtead of tents, to be built for the ſoldiers, from the neighbouring quarries. This expedient facilitated the reduction of *Granada*, where a moſt terrible famine raged, and the city capitulated on the 25th of *November* 1491. The terms granted to the king and garriſon were honourable; and thus ended the conqueſt of all the places belonging to the *Moors* in *Spain*. *Granada* taken. 1491.

During the ſiege of *Granada*, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* entered into a negotiation for the marriage of their eldeſt daughter, *Joanna*, with the archduke *Philip*, ſon to the emperor *Maximilian*, Matrimonial negotiations.

milian, and of their ſecond daughter, *Catharine*, with *Arthur* prince of *Wales*, ſon to *Henry* the VIIth of *England*; both which matches afterwards took place. This period is remarkable for two great events. The firſt is, the expulſion of the *Jews* out of *Spain*, to whom their majeſties denied the ſame indulgence they had granted to the *Moors*, and who are ſaid to have amounted to eight hundred thouſand ſouls. The ſecond was, the agreement made by queen *Iſabella* with the famous *Chriſtopher Columbus*, for the diſcovery of a new world. So greatly were the royal finances exhauſted at this time, that the queen could not have been at the expence of fitting *Columbus* out for his expedition, without pawning her jewels, had not one of her domeſtics advanced her ſeventeen thouſand ducats. In 1493, *Charles* the VIIIth, king of *France*, being intent on his expedition to *Italy*, reſtored to their catholic majeſties the counties of *Rouſſillon* and *Cerdagne*. We have already given the detail of the invaſion of *Naples* by *Charles*, and of the very politic, if not perfidious behaviour of *Ferdinand*, during, and after, the expedition. In 1496, *Ferdinand* found means to ſurprize the important city of *Melilla* in *Africa*, and completed the marriage of his ſon, the prince of *Aſturia*, with the princeſs *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, but don *Juan* died that ſame year, without leaving any iſſue.

Expulſion of the *Jews*.

1493.

Vol. XI. p. 257, & ſeq.

1496.

The reduction of *Granada* was only a part of the great ſcheme queen *Iſabella* formed, for the *Moors* muſt either turn *Chriſtians*, or evacuate *Spain*. The execution of this alternative was left to the archbiſhops of *Toledo* and *Granada*, and moſt of the *Moors* ſuffered themſelves to be converted, but without being ſincere in their new profeſſion. The court was diſappointed at this, and many pretexts were invented for accuſing them of a correſpondence with their brethren in *Africa*, or for driving them into deſpair, which at laſt had the deſired effect. The infidels had ſtill a number of caſtles in the mountains, and ſuch were the oppreſſions they ſuffered, that they broke out into open rebellion, though without the leaſt proſpect of their obtaining relief. *Ferdinand* marched into their country at the head of an army, and they ſubmitted; many of them agreeing to be tranſported to *Africa*, and the remainder purchaſing their pardon with money. Upon the birth of *Charles*, the ſon of donna *Joanna*, and the archduke *Philip*, the young prince was acknowledged the heir of the crown, after ſome debate on that head between *Iſabella* and her ſpouſe, to whom the recognition was very diſagreeable. During the archduke's abode in *Spain*, he diſcovered ſo much duplicity and diſſimulation in *Ferdinand*'s conduct, that he never could afterwards be reconciled to his perſon; and notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, he formed an unalterable reſolution of leaving *Spain*. In his way through *France*, he made a treaty, as we have already ſeen, with *Lewis* the XIIth, but it was diſowned by *Ferdinand*, who gave orders to *Gonſalvo*, called the Great Captain, not

The *Moors* continue to be perſecuted.

1501.

Vol. X. p. 224.

to

to comply with the terms, and this renewed the war between *France* and *Spain*, in which *Ferdinand* had the advantage. In the mean while, the infanta *Joanna* was delivered of a ſecond ſon, *Ferdinand*, but upon her recovery ſhe diſcovered viſible marks of incapacity; upon which it was reſolved to ſend her to her huſband, of whom ſhe was diſtractedly fond. Her misfortune, joined to other private calamities in the family, had ſuch an effect, that her mother, the famous queen *Iſabella*, died under them, on the 26th of *November* 1504. She 1504.
was one of the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate princeſſes that hiſtory records. She lived to ſee the riches which the diſcovery of *America*, owing to her patronage alone, brought into *Spain*; and the ſteadineſs with which ſhe proſecuted the extirpation of the *Mooriſh* power in that kingdom, is the more allowable, when we reflect on the irreconcilable differences between the *Chriſtian* and the *Mohammedan* religion, and the conſtant antipathy the profeſſors of both had for each other.

No ſooner was *Iſabella* dead, than *Ferdinand* ordered her daughter, the archduchеſs *Joanna*, to be proclaimed queen of *Spain*, though he ſecretly intended to keep all the power in his own hands. We have already related the events which Vol. IX.
immediately followed, and that *Philip* had ſuch a deteſtation p. 85.
of his father-in-law's duplicity, that at the time of his death, which happened ſoon after, he left the guardianſhip of his ſon *Charles*, to *Lewis* the XIIth of *France*. *Pacheco*, marquis of Oppoſi-
Villena, and the duke of *Majara*, were at the head of a ſtrong tion to
party formed againſt *Ferdinand*'s adminiſtration, and he was *Ferdi-*
ſupported by the admiral of *Caſtile*, the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, *nand.*
and the duke of *Alva*; but the diſſimulation and addreſs of
Ferdinand, proved his beſt friends. By propoſing a match Vol. XI.
between himſelf and *Germana de Foix*, the *French* king's fa- p. 269.
vourite neice, and by offering to ſettle the kingdom of *Naples* on the heirs of the marriage, he detached *Lewis* from the intereſt of the *Auſtrian* houſe, and he evaded the execution of
the treaty of *Blois*. King *Philip*, *Ferdinand*'s ſon-in-law, left *Ibid.* 270.
behind him don *Carlos*, afterwards the famous *Charles* the Vth, and don *Ferdinand*, afterwards emperor of *Germany*; the infanta donna *Eleonora*, who was firſt queen of *Portugal*, and then of *France*; donna *Iſabella*, who was married to the king of *Denmark*; donna *Maria*, married to the king of *Hungary*, and donna *Catalina*, or rather *Catharine*, who became queen of *Portugal*. Their mother was ſtill alive, and queen of *Caſtile* in her own right; but her huſband's death had touched her brain, and ſhe was incapable of acting; ſo that the archbiſhop of *Toledo* prevailed with the ſtates of *Caſtile* to commit the adminiſtration to king *Ferdinand*, who was then in *Naples*.

The diſcovery of the new world by the great *Columbus*, who 1506.
died about this time, altered the political ſyſtem of *Europe* as Diſcove-
well as *Spain*. We ſhall here only mention the vaſt ingrati- ry of *Ame-*
tude of *Ferdinand* to *Columbus*, for his important diſcovery. *rica.*

The truth is, that *Ferdinand* was himſelf of ſo groveling and jealous a diſpoſition, but at the ſame time ſo very avaricious, that he had not ſpirit ſufficient to make the beſt of the diſcovery; and the great affairs he was engaged with in *Spain*, the *Low Countries*, and *Italy*, ſwallowed up the treaſures that had been imported by *Columbus* and his immediate ſucceſſors or officers. His grandſon, *Charles* the Vth, was afterwards engaged in ſtill more extenſive ſchemes; ſo that the effects of the vaſt acquiſition of *America*, were for ſome years imperceptible in *Spain*, but ſenſibly felt in almoſt every other country in *Europe*.

Exploits of *Ximenes*. Vol. X. p. 227.

No ſooner had the ſtates of *Caſtile* voted the adminiſtration to *Ferdinand*, than he returned from *Italy*, from whence he brought the Great Captain, to whom he owed all his ſucceſſes there, little better than a ſtate priſoner. Upon his arrival at *Caſtile*, he found that the emperor *Maximilian*, the other grandfather of don *Carlos*, had a ſtrong party in his favour; but *Ferdinand*'s riches and addreſs got the better of all oppoſition, and that too, without being obliged to have recourſe to acts of tyranny and violence. He laid before the ſtates of his kingdoms a moſt excellent code of laws, which they embraced without difficulty. He ſecured private property by his juſtice, and conciliated the minds of his nobility and clergy, by his prudence and equanimity. The party of *Maximilian* was like himſelf, unſteady and indigent, and *Ferdinand* having ordered the biſhop of *Badajoz*, and ſome of the moſt turbulent among them, to be put under arreſt, forced others to take refuge in the great cities, where they held dangerous cabals. At *Cordova*, tumults roſe to ſuch a height, that the marquis *de Ariego*, one of the greateſt men in *Spain*, entered into a rebellion; but the firmneſs of *Ferdinand*, who marched againſt him at the head of an army, ſoon reduced him to his duty, and all the other great lords of his party were overawed. As to the marquis himſelf, he was put under confinement, and his chief caſtles razed to the ground, whilſt his partizans were executed, or otherwiſe puniſhed in *Cordova*, as were all the imperial emiſſaries, wherever they were diſcovered. The famous cardinal *Ximenes* was the miniſter and favourite of *Ferdinand*, to whom he was very uſeful, by the art he had of conciliating differences between him and his great men. The cardinal, however, ſerved him in another capacity, for he undertook the conqueſt of *Oran*, in quality of archbiſhop of *Toledo*, at his own expence. He raiſed ten thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe for the expedition, the king only furniſhing the fleet for tranſporting them. Though the cardinal was very ill ſerved by *Navarro* and *Vianelli*, the two chiefs, who commanded under him, yet he had ſo good intelligence within the place, that he completed his conqueſt, and left the command of his troops to *Navarro*, who, after performing very great exploits againſt the infidels, was at laſt defeated by venturing too far. *Oran* itſelf was then ſubject to the *African* prince

prince of *Tremecen*; but by the bargain which the cardinal made with *Ferdinand*, the ſovereignty and revenue of the place was to be annexed to the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, till the king refunded the expence of the expedition.

Ximenes behaved with peculiar modeſty upon his ſucceſs. He avoided all congratulations, and applied himſelf to found the univerſity of *Alcala*. He was quickly drawn from his retirement, to act as *Ferdinand*'s lieutenant in *Caſtile*. We have already ſeen in what manner *Ferdinand* and the pope extricated themſelves from their engagements, by the league of *Cambray*, and by what meaſures *Ferdinand* ſecured to himſelf the kingdom of *Naples*. What is moſt wonderful, is, that he made thoſe acquiſitions while he was engaged in a bloody, and no very ſucceſsful war, with the *Moors* in *Africa*, where *Navarro*, don *Garcia de Toledo*, and *Vianelli* were killed. The kings of *Spain* ſeldom loſt by being defeated by infidels. The church, and the zeal of their bigotted people, were always at hand to recruit their troops, circumſtances of which *Ferdinand* knew well how to avail himſelf. He raiſed a vaſt army, and declared that he was reſolved to head it himſelf, againſt the *Moors*, and to paſs over into *Africa*. The *Moors* ſubmitted to the terms he preſcribed them, and they became his tributaries; but *Ferdinand* kept his army on foot to execute his own ambitious ſchemes. He had an eye upon *Navarre*, whoſe king, *John d'Albret* (by marrying the heireſs of that crown) was in the *French* intereſt. He found means, by flattering the vanity of *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*, and promiſing to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of *Guienne*, to bring him over to his meaſures, and even to aſſiſt him in his deſigns upon *Navarre*. He marched an army into that country, and made ſuch demands upon *d'Albret* as his honour could not comply with, upon which the duke of *Alva* beſieged and took *Pampeluna*, and reduced the greateſt part of that kingdom to *Ferdinand*'s allegiance. The *French* made ſome ineffectual efforts to recover *Navarre*, and at laſt, conſented to a truce for a year, which left *Ferdinand* at liberty to complete his other ſchemes. His politics were ſo impenetrable, that all the princes in *Europe* were at a ſtand how to regulate their conduct. *Henry* the VIIIth was the firſt who diſcovered the arrangements he propoſed, which were to make intermarriages between his family and that of *France*, and to prolong the truce. The *French* court knew there was no meaning nor ſincerity in *Ferdinand*'s promiſes, and readily cloſed with *Henry* of *England*, who was farther exaſperated, both with *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, for delaying the match which had been long before concluded between the archduke *Charles* and the princeſs *Mary* of *England*. He offered *Lewis* his own beautiful ſiſter in marriage, and the match was quickly concluded. This meaſure gave a turn to the affairs of *Europe*, eſpecially in *Italy*, as the reader may perceive in the hiſtory of

His modeſty.

Vol. X. p. 234.

Vol. XI. p. 273.

Navarre conquered.

Vol. X. p. 234.

Ibid. p. 238.

that country; but the war there ended at laſt, in a truce, through the mediation of *Leo* the Xth.

1514. In 1514, *Ferdinand*, notwithſtanding the late truce, had on foot great armaments both by ſea and land, under pretence of curbing the infidels. Upon the acceſſion of *Francis* the Iſt to the crown of *France*, he ſent embaſſadors to feel his pulſe about the affairs of *Italy*, and it was eaſy for them to perceive, notwithſtanding the diſſimulation of *Francis*, that he intended to invade *Italy* in perſon, though at firſt it was ſuſpected that his deſign was to recover *Navarre* for the *d'Albret* family. The hiſtory of the war that followed in *Italy* has been already related. *Ferdinand* could not, without the aid of his ſtates, ſupply ſo many wars as he was engaged in, eſpecially as his returns from *America*, through the ſelfiſhneſs and corruption of his officers there, were now but inconſiderable. Having annexed all he held in *Navarre* to *Caſtile* and *Leon*, he brought their ſtates into his meaſures; but when he ſent his young queen, *Germana*, to the ſtates of *Arragon*, they complained that the privileges of their nobles had been invaded, by their vaſſals being permitted to maintain ſuits againſt them in the royal courts, and therefore they refuſed to raiſe the ſupplies demanded. The reader may form ſome judgment of the immenſe power which thoſe nobles had formerly over their vaſſals, from this complaint, the ground of which was the glory of *Ferdinand*'s reign. He was then in a dangerous ſtate of health, and had juſt made his will, when deputies from *Arragon* laid their grievances before him. His anſwer was, that as he had made his people free, he was determined to keep them ſo, and he then ordered the deputies to quit his preſence. He recovered ſo much ſtrength, however, as to go in perſon to *Arragon*, where he found the ſtates greatly divided. The clergy and the cities naturally ſought refuge under the wings of the royal authority, from the tyranny of the nobles, who continued ſtill obſtinate. *Ferdinand* applied to the cities, who gave him a ſupply without conſulting the nobles.

Ferdinand's great preparations.

Vol. XI. p. 284. *Ibid.* & *ſeq.*

His death and character.

By this time, the archduke *Charles*, to the great mortification of his grandfather, *Ferdinand*, had been declared of age by the ſtates of *Flanders*, and young as he was, *Ferdinand* had intelligence out of *England*, that he conſidered himſelf as having the beſt right to his mother's crown of *Caſtile*. *Ferdinand* was then overwhelmed with cares and infirmities, and ſhifting from place to place of his dominions, for the benefit of air. His fleets were hard preſſed at ſea, by thoſe of the infidels, commanded by *Barbaroſſa*; and it was owing to the great ſkill and intrepidity of his generals, *Navarro* particularly, that he ſtill maintained his footing againſt *Francis*, in the *Milaneſe*. Though then on the brink of the grave, it is ſaid he was pleaſed with the death of his Great Captain, *Gonſalvo*, whoſe vaſt ſervices in *Italy* he had ſo ungratefully requited, that it was thought, had both of them lived much

longer, *Gonſalvo* would have declared for the archduke. *Ferdinand* had now no relief, either in body or mind, but in the amuſement of hunting; and he was taken ill at a common inn in the little village of *Madrigalejo*, where he ſent for two of his chief counſellors, *Zapata* and *Carvajal*, to conſult about his will, by which he had left the regency of *Caſtile* to his grandſon, don *Ferdinand*, in prejudice of his elder brother, the archduke *Charles*. They diſapproved of this diſpoſition, and *Ferdinand* altered his will in favour of the archduke, who was to inherit the crown of *Spain*, after his daughter donna *Joanna*; but cardinal *Ximenes* was to be regent of *Caſtile*. After this he expired, on the 23d of *January*, in the 64th year of his age. We have already mentioned his legitimate children, but he had ſeveral who were natural, particularly the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, and donna *Joanna*, the wife of *Velaſco*, the conſtable of *Spain*. He certainly was a man of great natural and acquired parts, but ſtuck at no breach of promiſe or practice of iniquity with his neighbours, to acquire his ends. He diſobliged them all by turns, when they found out his duplicity, and therefore, though he was generally ſucceſsful, yet his life was diſquieted, and his reign rendered uncomfortable, by his never enjoying a moment free from war or intrigues. He had the uncommon good fortune, by adding to his own power, to encreaſe the happineſs of his people; for while he reduced the tyranny of his nobles, he rendered himſelf abſolute over his other ſubjects.

SECTION IV.

The Hiſtory of Spain *under the Houſe of* Auſtria.

THOUGH the period we now enter on is recent, yet there is reaſon to believe that the events it contains have never been fully explained, becauſe it was the intention of the prevailing party that they ſhould be concealed. By the will of queen *Iſabella*, her grandſon *Charles* was not to act as king of *Caſtile* till he was twenty years of age; and by *Ferdinand*'s will, *Ximenes* was to be regent during the intermediate time. He now proved himſelf to be one of the ableſt miniſters that ever ſerved a prince, and it is no wonder that *Ferdinand* was partial in his favour. His birth was humble, but he joined to the primitive ſimplicity of his profeſſion, an unbounded knowledge of the public intereſt, and of the *Spaniards* in general. Though humble and diſintereſted in his private life, and in the practice of every virtue, he had the moſt clear and exalted ideas of civil policy. Had *Ferdinand* followed his advice more implicitly than he did, his reign would have been

State of *Spain*.

more happy, but now that he was regent, he reaped the benefit of the counſels he had given as miniſter. He knew that the nobles of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* thought the time was come for their reſuming their hereditary privileges, by which they would have made the people ſlaves, and the crown dependent; but *Ximenes* defeated their ſchemes, for he armed the common people againſt the nobles, ſo that beſides the veteran army of the crown, he had always on foot thirty thouſand well diſciplined men among the commons and citizens, who ſerved the crown without putting it to the ſmalleſt expence.

Conduct of cardinal *Ximenes*.

Ximenes had however prodigious difficulties to encounter. He was no ſtranger to the dark inquiſitive diſpoſition of *Charles*, or the ſelfiſh ſuſpicious temper of *Chievres*, and his other *Flemiſh* miniſters, under whom he had been bred, and who he knew hated him in proportion as he acquired power and authority in *Spain*. The dean of *Louvain*, as lieutenant for *Charles*, had demanded the regency. *Ximenes* anſwered, that *Charles* had no authority to give him ſuch a deputation. *Charles* thought proper to acquieſce, and to confirm *Ximenes* in the regency, but demanded to be acknowledged by the ſtates of *Caſtile* in the character of king, which he aſſumed. *Ximenes* called together the ſtates, but could not carry his point, till he told them they were only conſulted for form ſake, and ordered the ſtandard of *Charles* Iſt to be diſplayed, and his title to be proclaimed. So reſolute a behaviour awed the nobility into ſubmiſſion; and when ſome of them demanded to ſee the cardinal's powers, he ordered the crown troops and artillery to be drawn out. Behold, ſaid he, my powers, and by them I am reſolved to govern, till the king's arrival. With the like vigour he defeated all the attempts of the king and queen of *Navarre*, to recover their dominions.

1496. In the year 1496, *Barbaroſſa* beat the *Spaniſh* fleet which attacked the king of *Fez*, and then ſtrangled that prince, who had called him to his aſſiſtance.

His death.

The greater capacity *Ximenes* ſhewed for government, the greater was the diſtruſt of the *Flemiſh* miniſtry; but *Charles* found it expedient, if not neceſſary, to ſend him ſuch powers as rendered him almoſt abſolute in *Spain*; and he made uſe of them with ſuch wiſdom and vigour, that when *Charles* arrived in that country, he found the royal authority flouriſhing, confirmed, and reſpected. His mother, queen *Joanna*, was ſtill alive at *Tordeſillas*, but ſtill under a moſt deplorable ſtate of melancholy, though not of inſenſibility. As ſhe was the only perſon who could counteract the cardinal, he removed from about her perſon all whom he ſuſpected, and prevailed with her to reliſh the honours, and to appear abroad in the dreſs of royalty. With all thoſe, and many other exalted merits, even to the oppoſing the pope's encroachments, *Ximenes* was ſo much hated at his maſter's court, that the latter had ſcarcely ſet his foot on the *Spaniſh* ſhore before he was poiſoned, in a trout which had been ſerved him up at dinner. Others ſay,

that

that his end was haſtened by his ſurprize at having received a letter of diſmiſſion from all his poſts from *Charles*. We ſhall not diſpute his having received ſuch a letter; but when the temper and complexion of the man is conſidered, it is highly improbable that it occaſioned his death. The king's natural uncle, the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, had been appointed regent of *Arragon*, but had not been able to prevail with the ſtates there to acknowledge *Charles* as king. *Chievres* made that an accuſation againſt the archbiſhop, and when the latter came to court, neither *Charles* nor his mother would ſee him. When the ſtates of *Caſtile* met, they were perſuaded, by the biſhop of *Badajoz*, to truſt to their monarch's generoſity for obſerving their privileges, and to make him a preſent of ſix hundred thouſand ducats. Their example influenced thoſe of *Arragon*, who at laſt acknowledged him as king, and likewiſe preſented him with a large ſum of money.

Charles diſguſts the Spaniards.

This generoſity of the ſtates ſeems to have had very little influence upon *Charles*, for, to the great diſguſt of all true *Spaniards*, he ſent his brother *Ferdinand*, who was their favourite, into the *Low Countries*, and he raiſed *de Croy*, nephew to *Chievres*, to the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*. He gave his ſiſter, donna *Leonora*, in marriage to the king of *Portugal*, though he had been before married to two of her aunts. In *Africa*, his troops defeated and killed *Barbaroſſa*, but the fleet he had prepared againſt *Algiers* was diſperſed by a tempeſt.

When *Charles* had juſt begun to eſtabliſh his authority in *Spain*, the imperial throne became vacant, by the death of his grandfather, *Maximilian*. *Charles* was then little more than eighteen years of age, but he had already expended immenſe ſums in gaining a majority among the electors, and we have already ſeen in what manner he ſucceeded to that dignity. The ſtates of *Caſtile* and *Arragon* laid hold, however, of that opportunity to claim the performance of their king's magnificent promiſes, and he was obliged to temporize. The dean of *Louvain*, now the cardinal biſhop of *Tortoſa*, and afterwards pope, by the name of *Adrian* the VIth, held an aſſembly of the clergy at *Barcelona*, in conſequence of a grant made by pope *Leo* the Xth, of eccleſiaſtical tithes to *Charles*, for carrying on his war againſt the infidels. The clergy proved refractory, being inſtigated by the nobles, and the king put the government of *Valentia* into the hands of the trading corporations. The nobles made ſtrong remonſtrances to *Charles* upon his conduct. He endeavoured to ſoothe them, and ſent the cardinal of *Tortoſa* to open the ſtates; but as *Charles* ſtill continued to favour the commons, he could obtain nothing from them. After his ſucceſſion to the imperial crown, not only the nobles, but many of the commons, became immeaſurably jealous of his authority, and all the arts that *Charles* could employ could not prevent his life from being endangered in an inſurrection, which happened at *Valladolid*, on a rumour that he was about to embark for *Germany*, and

Vol. IX. p. 96.

Vol. XI. p. 288.

Oppoſition of his government.

to

to carry his mother with him. He adjourned the ſtates of *Caſtile* from place to place, till at laſt he extorted from them a ſubſidy for ſupplying his preſent neceſſities. The ſtate of affairs in *Germany* abſolutely demanded his preſence there, but he was obliged to leave *Spain* in a very unſettled ſtate. We have already ſeen the reaſons of his paying a viſit to *Henry* the VIIIth, and his miniſter in *England*, from whence, after paſſing the *Whitſun* holidays, he embarked for *Flanders*. The *German* hiſtory, during his reign, has been related under its proper head, and we are now to follow that of *Spain*.

Vol. IX. p. 97.

Confuſion in *Spain*,

Upon the departure of *Charles*, all *Spain* became a ſcene of confuſion, and the people, as well as the nobles, roſe up in arms. They were headed by don *Juan Padilla*, and aſſociated themſelves by the name of *Los Communeros*, or the Commoners. They pretended to the queen *Joanna*, that they had aſſembled together for her defence and ſecurity, as the king, her ſon, had precipitately left the kingdom. The queen received them at *Tordeſillas*, and ſeemed to be ſo uneaſy at the ſtate of affairs, that the commoners took courage, and removed from about her perſon all the domeſtics who had been left her by her ſon. Cardinal *Adrian*, as he was called, then acted as viceroy for *Charles* in *Spain*, but it was with difficulty that he and the royal council eſcaped to *Burgos*, where they continued to act, as the Commoners did by a like council which they eſtabliſhed at *Tordeſillas*. *Charles* ſent from *Flanders* a commiſſion for aſſociating with the cardinal in the regency, the conſtable and admiral of *Caſtile*. Both parties now raiſed troops. Thoſe on the ſide of the regency were commanded by the count *de Haro*, but the Commoners not agreeing about the appointment of their general, they were, by *Haro*, driven out of *Tordeſillas*; upon which they continued *Padilla* in his command. His wife, donna *Maria*, of the turbulent houſe of *Pacheco*, was the ſoul of the inſurgents; and *Arragon*, through the prudence of the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, was the only province in *Spain*, that was not then filled with blood and commotion. This ferment received ſome abatement by the death of *Chievres*, who was exceſſively unpopular on account of his avarice. The ſcene was now greatly changed, ſince the death of *Ximenes*. *Charles* had diſregarded the commoners and the great cities who were now in arms, and the nobles offered to ſupport him, provided they were reinſtated in their privileges. *Charles* was not naturally of a humour to gratify either the one or the other, for which he was ſeverely reprimanded by his old tutor, the cardinal *Adrian*. *Haro*'s troops were greatly ſuperior to thoſe under *Padilla*, who on the 23d of *April* 1521, were entirely routed, and *Padilla*, with *Bravo* and *Maldonado*, the two officers next to him in command, being taken priſoners, were beheaded the next day.

attended by a civil war,

1521.

This ſeaſonable ſeverity had a wonderful effect in favour of the royaliſts, ſo that in a ſhort time, *Toledo* was the only

which ends in fa-

city

city of conſequence that ſtood out. The biſhop of *Zamora*, who, by the death of *Padilla*, acted as general of the malecontents, was defeated by the army of the regency, under the prior of St. *John*'s, and at laſt the whole force of the *Caſtilian* malecontents was ſhut up in the *Alcazar* of *Toledo*, which was bravely defended by donna *Maria*. At laſt, however, it was forced, and ſhe was obliged to fly to *Portugal*. Your of the government.

The connection between *Charles* and *Henry* the VIIIth of *England*, received a ſevere ſhock by the preference the former gave to cardinal *Adrian*, in raiſing him to the papacy inſtead of *Wolſey*; but by the force of large preſents, and ſtill larger promiſes, he regained that miniſter's friendſhip, and ſettled matters ſo well between him and *England*, that on the 6th of *July*, 1522, he arrived at *Port St. Andero*, in *Spain*, with a hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, and a conſiderable land force on board. His preſence overawed the malecontents, to whom he ſeemed to behave very graciouſly; but by his moderation, he diſappointed all parties; for he ordered a general pardon to be iſſued, with a reſervation of not above fourſcore of the moſt culpable inſurgents, of whom no more than twelve perſons were put to death. The *French* endeavoured to foment the public diſcontents of *Spain*, and were ſtill carrying on a briſk war in *Navarre* and *Biſcay*, where the *Spaniards* took *Fontarabia* from the *French*. The moderation and preſence of *Charles*, at laſt reſtored a face of authority to his government in *Spain*; for he gratified the ſtates of *Caſtile* in their moſt reaſonable demands, and they in return preſented him with four hundred thouſand ducats. *Charles* returns to *Spain*. 1522.

We have, in the hiſtories of *France*, *Italy* and *Germany*, given a full detail of *Charles*'s wars and political connections in all parts of *Europe*, excepting *Spain*. Many writers have blamed him ſeverely for his reſidence in *Spain* and employing himſelf in ſettling little punctilios among the ſtates and courtiers, when he ought to have been at the head of his armies in *Italy* and *France*. The truth is, *Charles* was diſguſted with the *Germans*, who were both poor and refractory. He knew that his troops who were to make head againſt *Francis*, were commanded by the beſt generals in the world, and that it was in *Spain* alone, where, by his reſidence and the conformity of his manners with the inhabitants, he could procure the ſinews of war. His revenues from *America* were indeed not very conſiderable as yet, but thoſe of his *Spaniſh* ſubjects were immenſe; and now that he had gratified the wiſhes of his people, they were proud to pour them forth at his ſervice. He had employed the prince of *Orange* to make an irruption into *Navarre*, and the dominions of *France* had been portioned out as we have already ſeen. It muſt be owned, at the ſame time, that *Charles* left a great deal, perhaps too much, to fortune, and his ſucceſs in defeating and taking priſoner *Francis* the Iſt, was an event which he had no reaſon His ſituation there, Vol. IX. p. 100. Vol XI. p. 295.

to

to expect, nor can the warmeſt advocates of his memory vindicate his treatment of that prince.

The luſtre of *Charles* ſeemed to be encreaſed by his abſence from the great ſcenes of action. The ſophy of *Perſia* ſent him a formal embaſſy, inviting him to an alliance againſt the *Turks*, and he married his youngeſt ſiſter, donna *Catharina*, to don *Juan*, king of *Portugal*, which ſeems to have been a favourite alliance with *Charles* as well as his grandfather. While he remained in *Spain*, he was a little embarraſſed by a viſit which the duke of *Bourbon* paid him, to whom he had promiſed his ſiſter, the queen dowager of *Portugal*, in marriage; but that princeſs diſengaged him, by declaring that ſhe preferred *Francis*, who offered her his hand, to the duke. During the captivity of *Francis*, the politics of *Henry* the VIIIth took a new turn, and, by the advice of *Wolſey*, he threw his weight into the ſcale of the holy league, which had been formed by the pope and the *Italian* ſtates, in favour of *France*. We have related the conſequences of that league in more places than one of the preceding hiſtory, to which we refer our readers. Even when *Charles* held pope *Clement* the VIIth his priſoner, and was maſter of *Rome*, he continued to reſide in *Spain*, where he puniſhed the *Moors* of *Granada* and *Valentia* for their inſurrections. In the ſpring of the year 1527, *Charles* introduced a very conſiderable alteration in the conſtitution of *Caſtile*, which he rendered conformable to that of *England*, by allotting ſeparate houſes to the ſeveral aſſemblies. He was, by this time, married to donna *Iſabella* of *Portugal*, though ſhe, as well as he, was the grand-child of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*; and in *May* ſhe was brought to bed of don *Philip*, at *Valladolid*. The relation of the tranſactions, challenges and bravades that happened between *Charles* and *Francis*, on account of the latter not fulfilling the treaty of *Madrid*, are a diſgrace to hiſtory.

and greatneſs.

1527.

1529. In the year 1529, though the ſtates of *Caſtile* were greatly diſcontented, yet *Charles* found himſelf under a neceſſity of going to *Italy*. A remarkable incident happened before his departure. *Catalonia*, the moſt turbulent of all the *Spaniſh* provinces, had never recognized the ſovereignty of *Charles* or that of his predeceſſors, in any other quality but that of counts of *Catalonia*. Upon his informing the *Catalans* that he intended, before his departure for *Italy*, to hold an aſſembly of their ſtates, they ſent him a deputation to know whether they ſhould receive him as emperor or as count of *Barcelona*. He wiſely anſwered, that he preferred the latter before all other titles; upon which they voted him a noble ſupply. Little occurs, relating to *Spain*, that has not been already taken notice of during the three following years, excepting his naval tranſactions. His gallies were defeated by the younger *Barbaroſſa*, who continued his ravages on the coaſts of *Spain* and *Italy* with ſuch cruelty, that *Charles* ordered his admiral, *Doria*, to

His wars with the infidels.

to check them. *Doria* collected together all the remaining ſea force of *Spain*, but found himſelf inferior to the infidels, till he was reinforced by a *French* ſquadron, upon which the *Turks* retired into port, and *Doria*, after conquering the greateſt part of the *Morea*, returned to *Genoa*, where he propoſed to meet the emperor in 1532. In the mean while, *Charles*, to 1532.
eaſe himſelf of ſome part of the war with the infidels, made a ceſſion of *Tripoli*, *Malta* and *Goſa*, to the knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and he appointed his ſiſter, donna *Maria*, queen dowager of *Hungary*, to be his governeſs of the *Low Countries*. He was then embarraſſed by the oppoſition which his clergy of *Spain*, headed by cardinal *Tavera*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, made to the demands of the pope, which they thought ſtruck at their privileges; but by his influence at the court of *Rome*, all their fears were removed, and his holineſs, to ſhew his regard for *Charles*, made the archbiſhops of *Seville* and *Compoſtella* cardinals. During the abſence of *Charles*, his empreſs had aſſembled the ſtates of the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, where every thing paſſed to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, and *Charles* then prepared to return to *Spain*, where he was very popular. On the 22d of *April* 1533, he ar- 1533.
rived at *Barcelona*, where he was met by his queen and his court, and gave audience to the king of *Tunis*, whom *Barbaroſſa* had diſpoſſeſſed of his dominions. *Charles* promiſed him his aſſiſtance; but he found his conqueſts in the *Morea* ſo expenſive to maintain, that after offering them to the pope and the *Venetians*, he ſent *Doria* with a fleet, which brought away their garriſons to *Sicily*.

In *July*, *Charles* preſided with great luſtre at *Moncon*, where he held an aſſembly of his ſtates, who, in conſideration of the great things he had done againſt the infidels, voted him all the ſupplies he demanded. *Charles* ſupported the high opinion they had conceived of him, by the vaſt preparations he made to fulfill his promiſe of reſtoring the old king of *Tunis* to his throne. In this he was aſſiſted by the king don *Lewis* of *Portugal*, and embarking on board a fleet commanded by *Doria*, conſiſting of an hundred and forty large, and two hundred and ſixty ſmaller, ſhips, he landed at *Tunis*, where *Barbaroſſa* had brought a hundred thouſand men to defend it. He ſtormed the fortreſs of *Goletta*, which was the ſtrongeſt defence of *Tunis*, by the intrepidity of the *Spaniſh* infantry, and there ſeized all his enemies magazines. He then, by the advice of the infant of *Portugal*, and the duke of *Alva*, marched againſt *Tunis* itſelf, defeated, in a pitched battle, the great army of *Barbaroſſa*, and forced that barbarian to fly to *Algiers*. After that, he replaced the king of *Tunis* on his throne, and obliged him to become his tributary; but he kept poſſeſſion of *Goletta*, where he left a ſtrong garriſon, and then returned to *Sicily*. Thoſe glorious actions, which were purſued with a proper ſpirit, might have been fatal to the intereſts of the infidels, had not *Francis* the Iſt, out of the conſtant hatred he had for

He holds an aſſembly of his ſtates.

Charles,

Charles, become their friend and ally, and ſupported them with all his power, both by ſea and land. This diſconcerted all the generous plans of *Charles*, and he found it difficult to make head againſt his numerous enemies, who puſhed him all at once. He rouſed the indignation of all *Europe* againſt the unchriſtian conduct of the *French* king, but he found in *Spain* the chief reſources for ſupporting his power. The ſtates of *Caſtile*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia* and *Valentia*, voted him liberal ſupplies; and, as if he had been determined to riſk his all againſt the infidels, he ordered regiſters to be made out of all his *Spaniſh* ſubjects. Happily for him, his *French* and other enemies were as much exhauſted by the war as he was, and means were found out to bring about a truce for ten years, in the year 1537, the particulars of which are related in the preceding parts of this hiſtory. On the 1ſt of *November* he held an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Leon* and *Toledo*, where he made a ſtrenuous effort to obtain a fixed and determined revenue, by means of an exciſe, in which he failed, through the firm oppoſition of his ſtates, to whom he gave viſible marks of his diſpleaſure. Their excuſe was, that they were afraid that ſuch a method of raiſing the revenue would produce a rebellion; but at the ſame time they made him a free gift of four hundred and fifty millions of marvedies. After this, *Charles* underwent ſome ſenſible mortifications from the haughtineſs of the *Caſtilian* nobility, and his empreſs dying in child-bed in the mean while, added to his affliction. The commotions that happened in *Ghent*, obliged *Charles* at laſt to leave *Spain*, and it was then he performed the famous journey through *France*, on that king's honour. This was the more extraordinary on both ſides, as *Francis* had a claim upon the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Milan*, for his ſon, the duke of *Orleans*; and as *Charles* was the moſt diſtruſtful prince alive, and had often publicly branded *Francis* for his treachery.

The *French* king unpopular.

1537.

Vol. IX. p. 111.

Death of the empreſs.

Charles, upon his leaving *Spain*, had nominated the cardinal *Tavera* and the commander *Eobos*, to the regency; but while he was occupied in the affairs of the *Low Countries*, one of *Barbaroſſa*'s officers became maſter of *Gibraltar*, from whence he carried off an immenſe booty, but it was recovered by *Mendoza*, the *Spaniſh* admiral, who deſtroyed or made priſoners all the infidels. This inſult renewed in *Charles* the deſire of conquering *Algiers*, for which he iſſued orders to his admirals and generals. They were obeyed with vaſt punctuality, and *Charles* having made the beſt proviſions he could for the tranquillity of his dominions, during his abſence in 1541, returned to *Italy*, and embarked on board his fleet, though the ſeaſon of the year was then far advanced. This was one of the few inſtances in which *Charles* indulged his deſpotic authority, for his admiral, *Doria*, and his general, the marquis *del Vaſto*, did all they could, but in vain, to diſſuade him from ſo unpromiſing an expedition. He proceeded to *Algiers*, notwithſtanding the tempeſts he encountered on the voyage, with two hundred

Unſucceſsful expedition to *Africa*.

1541.

hundred capital and a hundred ſmaller ſhips, which carried ſix thouſand *Spaniſh* and five thouſand *Italian* foot, eight thouſand *Germans*, two thouſand cavalry and three thouſand volunteers, beſides ſailors and ſupernumeraries of every kind. With this vaſt armament he beſieged *Algiers*, towards the end of *October*, and the famous *Hernando Cortez*, who had added *Mexico* to his *Spaniſh* empire, ſerved as a volunteer in his army. This ſiege was long and unfortunate, through the brave defence made by the beſieged; and *Charles* being afraid that he ſhould loſe his fleet by the tempeſts, which had already deſtroyed great part of it, reimbarked his army; and thus ended that unfortunate and unſucceſsful expedition.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *Spain*, in the beginning of *December* 1542, he found that the *French* had, during his abſence, been very buſy in forming alliances againſt him; but *Charles* was ſo well ſerved on the frontiers of *France*, and in the *Low Countries*, that the *French*, notwithſtanding the powerful efforts they made, obtained but few advantages. Before he left *Spain*, he introduced his ſon, *Philip*, to the ſtates of *Aragon* and *Catalonia*, who acknowledged him as his father's heir, and preſented *Charles* with half a million of ducats. Their example was followed by the ſtates of *Valentia*. *Charles* then, though he was burning with reſentment at the ungenerous uſage he had met with from the *French* during his abſence, drew up, with wonderful deliberation and ſagacity, a paper of inſtructions for his ſon, whom he appointed to be his regent, but under the direction of the duke of *Alva* and *Cobos*. *Charles* then embarked on board *Daria*'s gallies, and landed at *Genoa*. It was at this time principally, that his conduct proved him to be the great captain and politician he really was. He ſubdued the duke of *Cleves*, the *French* king's ally, and obliged him to renounce his alliance with *France*. He forced his enemy, *Francis*, to call the *Turkiſh* fleet to his aſſiſtance; but it brought him little beſides diſgrace and diſappointment, and univerſal deteſtation among all the *Chriſtian* powers. The marquis of *Bazan*, next to *Doria*, his ableſt admiral, beat the *French* fleet, which was ravaging the coaſt of *Galicia*; and *Charles* in perſon, made ſuch an impreſſion on the frontiers of *France*, that it was thought he would march to the gates of *Paris*. We have already ſeen in what manner this was prevented by the treaty which the *French* were forced to ſue for at *Creſpi*, or (as ſome call it) the treaty of *Soiſſons*. While *Charles* was thus employed, ſo much to his glory, his *Spaniſh* nobility reſtored the *Mooriſh* king of *Tremecen*, to whom he had promiſed his aſſiſtance, to his dominions.

1542. War with *France*.

Vol. XI. p. 313.

Ibid. p. 317.

A peace.

On the 8th of *January*, 1545, the princeſs of *Aſturia* died in child-birth of her ſon, don *Carlos*, who was thought afterwards to have been put to death by his father. The two next years were ſpent by *Charles* in the affairs of the empire, of which we have given a detail in the hiſtory of *Germany*. The

1545.

Philip acknowledged many duke of *Brabant*.

many vexations he met with, on the part of the pope, and the ſhameful management of the council of *Trent*, is ſaid at this time to have induced *Charles* to give ſome attention to the points in diſpute between the *Roman* catholics and the proteſtants, from which he imbibed ſome notions ſo much in favour of the reformers, that the violent *Roman* catholics pronounced
1548. him to be a heretic. In 1548, he ſent his nephew, *Maximilian*, ſon to his brother *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, to *Spain*, where he married his daughter, donna *Maria*, formerly betrothed to the duke of *Orleans*, who was then dead. The prince of *Aſturia*, at his father's requeſt, transferred his regency to *Maximilian*, and then embarked for *Italy*. His ſtate, his attendance, and his behaviour on this occaſion, have been perhaps too pompouſly and too minutely deſcribed by hiſtorians; his after conduct, at leaſt, ſuited ill with ſo promiſing an outſet in life, as they deſcribe. Upon his arrival at *Bruſſels*, he proſtrated himſelf before his father, and he was, by the ſtates of the *Low Countries*, acknowledged as duke of *Brabant*. It is certain that *Philip* was a ſon according to *Charles*'s own heart, and that he had laid a deep plan, in which he however miſcarried, for leaving him the empire of *Germany*.
1551. In 1551, this miſcarriage, with ſeveral others of a political kind, determined *Charles* to ſend *Philip* back to *Spain*, where his hereditary dominions were threatned by a deſcent of the *Turks*, the faithful allies of *France*. Upon the arrival of the prince of *Aſturia* at *Barcelona*, prince *Maximilian* and his conſort left *Spain*, while *Charles* was making an unequal war againſt the proteſtants in *Germany*, where he narrowly eſcaped
Vol. IX. p. 120. loſing his liberty. His affairs being reſettled by the peace of *Paſſau*, his ſtates of *Spain* furniſhed him with the means of
1552. protecting his *Italian* dominions; but in 1552, the *Turks* defeated his admiral, *Doria*, by ſea. By this time *Charles* had formed the ſcheme of a match between his ſon, the prince of *Aſturia*, and *Mary*, queen of *England*, and in order to forward it, had declared the prince king of *Naples*. Upon *Philip*'s leaving *Spain* to go to *England*, the princeſs dowager of
Marries the queen of *England*. *Portugal* was appointed regent of *Spain*. It is certain, that *Charles* and his ſon had the *Engliſh* match ſo much at heart, that they expended immenſe ſums in *England* to bring it about. *Philip* landed at *Southampton*, with a retinue compoſed of the chief *Caſtilian* and *Arragonian* nobility, and after the celebration of the marriage, he ſent to his father in *France*, four thouſand *Spaniſh* troops who attended him.

Charles was, at this time, at once the greateſt and the moſt unhappy prince in *Europe*. In *Germany* he had been thwarted in all his ſchemes, by his own brother and the princes of the empire; the advantages he had gained over *France* had coſt him more than they were worth; he ſaw daily reaſons for diſtruſting the pope and the *Italian* princes; the power of the *Turks* was encreaſing; and though he ſucceeded in the *Engliſh* match, yet the articles of marriage were ſuch, that the crown

of

of *England* was to remain for ever independent on that of *Spain*. The buſy courſe of life which *Charles* had led, his bodily fatigues and perpetual application to buſineſs, had now rendered him infirm, and what was worſt of all, he had loſt the vigour of mind neceſſary for ſupporting the toils of government. He ſeldom or never opened himſelf to his miniſters, and his ſiſters, the queens of *Hungary* and *France*, were his only confidents. To them he propoſed to abdicate his crown, and retire from the world. The encreaſing diſorder of his affairs in *Italy*, and the ſuperiority which the *Turkiſh* marine had obtained in the *Mediterranean*, confirmed him in his reſolution. He ſent for his ſon, the king of *Naples*, to *Bruſſels*, where, in a full court, on the 25th of *October*, he reſigned to him all his hereditary dominions in the *Low Countries* and *Burgundy*, as he did the crown of *Spain* on the 16th of *January* following. Writers are greatly divided concerning the motives of this reſignation, and we have already given our opinion in the place referred to. *Charles* reſigns his dominions. Vol. IX. p. 122.

In the following *September*, he embarked for *Spain*, having ſignified his intention of diveſting himſelf of the imperial authority. He had already fixed on the monaſtery of St. *Juſtus*, in the *Vera de Placentia*, a moſt elegant retreat, for the place of his retirement, during the remainder of his life, and ſo eager was he to reach it, that he ſet out for it in a rainy day, attended by his ſiſters, the queens of *Hungary* and *Portugal*. The natural reſerve which *Charles* had always maintained, had now riſen to a diſguſt at the world. Therefore it is idle in private hiſtorians to pretend to deſcribe his words and actions, during this period of his life, as few could have acceſs to know them. He ſhut himſelf up, with a few attendants, in a little houſe contiguous to the convent, where he often relieved his auſtere acts of devotion, by practiſing turnery and other mechanical arts, to which he had a natural genius. It is certain, that the court of *Rome*, during his retirement, thought that he had embraced and practiſed ſome of the doctrines of the reformation; and had it not been for the interpoſition of his ſon, even his aſhes muſt have undergone diſgrace. We are entirely ignorant whether he did or did not repent of his reſignation; but it is ſaid, that the penſion he had reſerved for himſelf, which amounted only to two hundred thouſand crowns a year, was not very punctually paid, and that he was ſhocked at the little reſpect that was paid to him by the *Spaniſh* nobility after his abdication. He died on the 21ſt of *September* 1558, and we have already given an account of his iſſue. Before we cloſe his hiſtory, we muſt recount the calamitous events of the female part of his family; for his ſiſter *Leonora*, queen dowager of *France* and *Portugal*, died but a few months before him. His ſiſter, the queen of *Hungary*, died the ſame month; and his daughter-in-law, the queen of *England*, ſurvived him but two months. His retreat, *Ibid.* and death. 1558. *Ibid.* p. 123.

Succeeded by *Philip*.

The abdication of the emperor *Charles* was no ſooner known in *Spain*, than his grandſon don *Carlos* proclaimed his own father *Philip* king, with great formality, at *Valladolid*. *Philip*, upon his entrance on the government, was very pacifically inclined, and he concluded a truce with *France* for five years. He was then on very ill terms with the pope, (*Paul* IV.) who wanted to give the kingdom of *Naples* to a *French* prince, but was over-awed by the *Spaniſh* viceroy, the duke of *Alva*. The *Spaniards* were, at this time, inclined to have entered into an offenſive war with the *Moors*, who had of late taken *Bugia*, and had obtained ſeveral other advantages over them; but *Philip* reſtrained them till he could return to *Spain* in perſon. Notwithſtanding the truce, the pope found means to engage the court of *France* in ſuch practices as broke it; and the queen of *England* took her huſband's part. We have already ſeen the events of the war which enſued in the *Low Countries*, and the almoſt bloodleſs victory which *Philip* obtained over the *French* at St. *Quintin*, chiefly by his *Engliſh* auxiliaries. The peace of *Chateau Cambreſis* followed; and it ſeems to be pretty certain that *Philip*, who had then loſt his wife, *Mary* of *England*, would gladly have eſpouſed her ſiſter queen *Elizabeth*; but after the concluſion of the peace, he married the princeſs *Iſabella* of *France*. Upon his return to *Spain*, he called an aſſembly of the ſtates of *Caſtile* at *Toledo*, and ſoon after he gave ſpecimens of his bloody inſenſible diſpoſition, by renewing all the terrors of the inquiſition, and being preſent at the numerous inhuman executions of heretics. According to the practice of his predeceſſors, he preſented his eldeſt ſon don *Carlos* to the ſtates, and they acknowledged him for his ſucceſſor, about the time that *Philip*'s admiral, the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, was completely beaten by the infidels in attempting to take *Tripoli* out of their hands. *Philip* was then receiving immenſe treaſures from *America*, but he found them inſufficient for carrying on the vaſt projects he had in view, and therefore applied to the pope for power to tax his *Spaniſh* clergy.

Vol. XI. p. 333.

ibid. p. 337. &c. ſeq.

His great expences.

He raiſes a marine.

Philip was the firſt king of *Spain*, who fixed the reſidence of his court at *Madrid*, near which he laid out incredible ſums in building the *Eſcurial*. In fact, *Philip* ſcarce knew any engine of government but money, and he employed it in the moſt deteſtable purpoſes, thoſe of endeavouring to root out what he called hereſy, both in his own and other dominions. It is uncertain which he hated moſt, the infidels or the proteſtants, but his bloody perſecutions fell the moſt heavily on the latter. Being ſenſible of the ſuperiority of the *Turks* by ſea, he gave orders for equipping a ſtrong fleet, and for diſarming his *Moriſco* ſubjects in the kingdom of *Granada*; but a ſtrong ſquadron of his ſhips under *Mendoza*, with four thouſand men on board, foundered in a ſtorm at ſea, as they were proceeding to the relief of *Oran*, which was threatened by the

Moors. After this, *Haſſan*, king of *Algiers*, being ſtrongly ſupported by the *Turks*, inveſted both *Oran* and *Mazalquivir* by ſea and land. The count *de Alcandete* was the governor of *Oran*, and his brother *Martin de Cordova* of *Mazalquivir*. Their defence was ſuch as might have been expected from brave officers and men of honour, but the ſieges were preſſed ſo furiouſly, that one or both of thoſe places muſt have been taken, had they not been critically relieved by the *Spaniſh* fleet. It is not improbable that *Philip*, at this time, 1563, had the conqueſt of *England* in his view. It is certain, that the progreſs he made in raiſing a marine, was aſtoniſhing; and overawed both the *Turks* and *Chriſtians*. As he was naturally ſevere, he held progreſſes through different parts of his kingdom, where he put to death and confiſcated the eſtates of great numbers of people, who were accuſed of oppreſſing his ſubjects; and after receiving vaſt ſubſidies from his ſtates, he ordered all his gallies to be ready the beginning of next year. 1563.

Affairs of the *Low Countries*.

The family of *Philip* was then weak, he having no legitimate ſon but don *Carlos*, who about this time narrowly eſcaped death by a fall down ſtairs. He therefore ſent for his nephews *Rodolph* and *Erneſt*, ſons of *Maximilian* king of the *Romans*, to be educated at his court. In 1564, he made uſe of the vaſt ſuperiority he had acquired at ſea, in recovering from the *Moors* the ſtrong fortreſs of *Penon de Velez*, and about the ſame time he annexed all his *American* dominions to the crown of *Caſtile* for ever. But while *Philip* reſided in *Spain*, he was ignorant of the true ſtate of his affairs in the *Low Countries*, where the introduction of the inquiſition and his cruel maxims of government had thrown every thing into confuſion, as we have ſeen in a preceding part of this work. All that *Philip* could be brought to, was to remove his unpopular miniſter cardinal *Granvelle*, who governed his *Low Countries* under the dutcheſs of *Parma*, and even that was done with a view of afterwards ſcourging the inhabitants more cruelly. Next year the vaſt maritime preparations of the *Turks*, obliged *Philip* to aſſemble all his fleets, and we have already mentioned the interview at *Bayonne*, where the deſtruction of the proteſtants in *France* was reſolved on. It is, however, remarkable that when *Philip* enforced the very unpopular meaſure of obliging his ſubjects both in *Spain* and the *Low Countries*, to receive the decrees of the council of *Trent*, he did it by his regal authority alone, which gave great offence to the court of *Rome*. 1564. Vol. IX. p. 303, 304. Vol. XI. p. 355.

Siege of *Malta* raiſed.

The ſtorm of the *Turkiſh* fleet broke, at laſt, upon the iſland of *Malta*, to which *Philip* ſent very powerful ſuccours; but after the ſiege was begun, and likely to prove ſucceſsful, the viceroy of *Naples*, notwithſtanding *Philip*'s order to the contrary, withheld the fleet appointed for the relief of *Malta*, being apprehenſive of the fate of *Sicily* and *Naples*. He ventured, however, at laſt to ſail, and threw ſuch reinforcements into the place, as obliged the infidels to raiſe the ſiege. Vol. VIII. p. 153.

State of *Philip*'s family.

Philip began at this time to be uneaſy in his own family. He had educated at the ſame ſeminary his ſon the prince of *Aſturia*, his natural brother don *Juan* of *Auſtria*, and *Alexander Farneſe* the young prince of *Parma*. The firſt being diſguſted with his father's authority, intended to have eſcaped to the *Low Countries*, but his ſecret was betrayed to *Philip* by *de Silva*, with whom *Carlos* had entruſted it. Don *John* made an elopement from court, with an intention to ſerve a campaign againſt the *Turks*, but falling ill on the road, he was obliged by *Philip* to return; and the prince of *Parma* was ſent to his mother in the *Low Countries*. *Philip* continued to act independently of
1565. the pope in eccleſiaſtical matters, and in the year 1565, his inquiſition impriſoned the archbiſhop of *Toledo*; but pope *Pius* V. obliged *Philip* to ſend him to be tried at *Rome*. Soon after the *Turks* ravaged the coaſts of *Naples*, and on the 11th
1566. of *Auguſt* 1566, *Philip*'s queen was brought to bed of a daughter, who afterwards diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the name of *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*. One *Montigny*, an agent from the *Low Country* malecontents, was then in *Spain*, where he and ſome of his friends loſt their heads for their intrigues with the prince of *Aſturia*. This diſcovery exaſperated *Philip* ſo much againſt the *Flemings*, that he immediately took the reſolution of ſending the ſtern duke of *Alva*, at the head of an army, to root out proteſtantiſm in the *Low Countries* with fire and ſword.

Vol. IX. p. 304.

His wars with the *Moriſcos*.

Philip's tyranny was not confined to his proteſtant ſubjects. Ever ſince the recovery of *Spain* from the *Moors*, the remains of that nation who continued there, went by the name of *Moriſcos*, and they embraced to appearance, at leaſt, *Chriſtianity*. The biſhop of *Granada* ſuſpected that their converſion was not ſincere, and that they correſponded with their *Mooriſh* countrymen. He prevailed with the pope to lay his ſuſpicions before *Philip*, who immediately adopted them as certainties, and ſent *Spinoſa*, an inflexible bigot, to force the *Moriſcos* to leave off their habit, language and manners, and to conform themſelves upon pain of extirpation to thoſe of *Spain*. The marquis of *Mondejar*, *Philip*'s governor of *Granada*, in vain interceded for the *Moriſcos*, and they ſeconded him with their moſt humble repreſentations; but *Philip* was inexorable, and his orders were ſo rigorouſly executed, that deſpair drove the *Moriſcos* into a reſolution of revolting. This was what *Philip* both wiſhed for and expected, but he did not foreſee to what lengths their deſpair afterwards carried them. The ſcheme of their revolt was laid down by one *Farax*, *Aben Farax*, and others; and upon enquiry, they found that the country of *Alpujarros*, and the neighbourhood of *Granada* could furniſh them with fifty thouſand fighting men. Though they proceeded with vaſt addreſs and caution, yet the government diſcovered their practices, but it was with ſome difficulty that the marquis *de Mondejar* prevented *Granada* (the *Mooriſh* kingdom of which they wanted to revive) from falling into their hands. Upon this diſappointment, they proclaimed a young

young gentleman, don *Ferdinand de Valor*, king of *Granada* and *Cordova*, and he took the name of *Mohammed Aben Humeya*. The exceſſes which the *Moriſcos* were guilty of, after they had avowed their revolt, are beyond deſcription. The reducing them was committed to the marquis *de Mondejar*, and the marquis *de los Velez*. The former was inclined to have treated them with lenity, becauſe he knew many of them to be ſincere *Chriſtians*; but finding that he was ſuſpected at court of favouring them, he proceeded to a contrary extreme, for he put them to death without diſtinction.

Humeya was twice defeated by the marquis *de Mondejar*, and was diſappointed in the great expectations he had formed of ſupport from the *Turks* and *Moors*. The two *Spaniſh* generals differed in their conduct of the war, and *Philip* ordered don *John* of *Auſtria* to command in chief againſt the *Moriſcos*. The new general proceeded with great caution, and even admitted of applications from *Humeya*, whoſe father and uncle were priſoners at *Granada*. This correſpondence being diſcovered, the *Moriſcos* began to murmur, at which *Humeya* was ſo much offended, that he was guilty of ſeveral acts of cruelty and imprudence, and his ſubjects ſtrangled him. They ſubſtituted in his room one who took the name of *Muley Abdallah*, who defended himſelf with great vigour againſt don *John* and the duke of *Seſſa* for many months, ſo that, upon the whole, the war laſted between two and three years. At laſt, about the year 1570, the king, by the advice of the moderate part of his counſellors, admitted them to terms, and ſuffered them to ſettle in *Caſtile*, but not before the war had coſt above a hundred and twenty thouſand lives. We have carried this hiſtory forward, in order to preſerve the greater continuity in other events. 1570.

The diſorders in the *Low Countries* continuing, *Philip* was exaſperated againſt his rebels there as he thought them, to a degree of enthuſiaſm. He had diſcovered that his ſon's ambition, was to go to *Flanders*, either to head the inſurgents, or to fight againſt them; but *Philip* named the bloody duke of *Alva* for his general, nor could he have pitched upon an abler commander. When the duke went to take leave of the prince, the latter was ſo exaſperated at being deprived of the command, that had he not been withheld by force, he would have ſtabbed him with his dagger; and from that moment we may date the prince's ruin, to which his own perverſe diſpoſition did not a little contribute. His real hiſtory is however dark. The auſtere diſpoſition of his father, probably drove him into violent meaſures, for it is certain that he wanted to form connections both with the *German* princes and the *Spaniſh* grandees, and the latter laid his letters before his father. It has been ſaid, that the prince was in love with the archdutcheſs *Anne* of *Auſtria*; but we have not been able to diſcover how he could have any idea of her perſon but by report, or from a picture. Be this as it will, it is certain that the prince had made diſ- Don *Carlos* put to death.

1578. poſitions to leave *Spain*, when on the 18th of *January* 1578, his father, attended by his guards and ſome of his nobles, entered his apartment, ſecured his arms and papers, and put his perſon under arreſt, while the prince exclaimed againſt his majeſty's ſeverity. He immediately laid before the public a detail of what he had done, and the prince died ſoon after; but the manner of his death is variouſly related. Some ſay that by the king's order he was tried by the inquiſition, and condemned to death, and that four ſlaves entering his room, confined his hands and feet, while the fourth ſtrangled him. It has been aſſerted, that while the prince was ſtruggling for his life, the executioner deſired him to have patience, becauſe all he was doing was for his good. Others transfer that ſaying to his father when he put him under arreſt; and ſome *Spaniſh* writers affirm, that he died of a ſurfeit by vaſt draughts of cold water. The gloomy character of *Philip*, authorizes the ſevereſt preſumptions. The death of his queen, donna *Iſabella*, when ſhe was in the fifth month of her pregnancy, was conſidered by the public as the effect of *Philip*'s jealouſy, and heightened their diſcontents.

Philip remarried. Scarcely was queen *Iſabella* dead, when *Philip* entered into a treaty of marriage for *Anne* of *Auſtria*, whom the emperor, her father, had deſtined for his ſon. The emperor took that opportunity to adviſe *Philip* to moderation, eſpecially in the *Low Countries*; but though all advice of that kind was rejected, the marriage was concluded and conſummated, upon the bride's arrival in *Spain*.

Vol. VIII. p. 160. The reduction of the *Moriſcos* in *Spain*, left *Philip* at liberty to enter into the holy league againſt the *Turks* in the year 1571; and in the places referred to, we have already given a full detail of the glorious victory of *Lepanto*, which his general Vol. X. p. 279. don *John* of *Auſtria* obtained over the infidels. The rejoicings, which were exceſſive on that account, were encreaſed by the birth of an infant, don *Ferdinand*. The victory of *Lepanto* was more ſplendid than advantageous to the league. The allies, as uſual, differed among themſelves; and thus the year

War with the *Turks*. 1572 paſſed without improving that blow. Inſtead of that, the new *Turkiſh* admiral *Ulucciali*, repaired his maſter's marine in a ſurpriſing degree. *Charles* IX. was perſuaded to withdraw from the confederacy, and *Philip* began to grow tired of the vaſt expence attending it, while he was daily loſing ground in the *Low Countries*. He continued don *John* in his poſt of admiral; but ſuch were the differences that prevailed among the other officers, that don *John* did not attack *Ulucciali*, though they threw the blame upon his backwardneſs and the apprehenſions *Philip* was under, with regard to the deſigns of the *French* upon his own dominions. The jealouſies between the *Venetians* and *Spaniards*, after this, drove the former into a peace with the *Turks*, but *Philip* began now to entertain ſuſpicions of don *John*'s intentions.

It never has been certainly known who that prince's mother was; but the affection and treatment he met with from the emperor *Charles*, and *Philip*, make it probable that ſhe muſt have been a perſonage of high diſtinction. He had been bred up under a nobleman, *Quixada*, and he had conſidered him and his wife as his father and mother. The ſtriking reſemblance between him and his father *Charles*, (though don *John*'s perſon was much handſomer) his valour and other great qualifications rendered him highly reſpected by the *Spaniards*, and he thought that illegitimacy was no bar to royalty, ſo that he entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the pope for his friendſhip with *Philip*, for declaring him a ſovereign prince either of *Genoa* or *Tunis*. We have already ſeen in what manner his hopes of the latter were baulked. *Philip* ſuſpected his ambition, and that his ſecretary *Juan de Soto* favoured it; upon which he removed the latter to the ſuperintendency of the fleet, and ſupplied his place about his brother's perſon with *Eſcovado*, whom he thought to be more tractable. Upon the concluſion of the peace between the *Turks* and the *Venetians*, *Philip* ordered don *John* to take and demoliſh *Tunis*. Don *John*, after taking it, fortified it, and the pope actually ſollicited *Philip*, that he ſhould hold it with the title of king, a requeſt which he artfully evaded. It is not eaſy to account for the indulgence which *Philip* obſerved to his brother after this flagrant diſcovery of his ambition. He even hinted his willingneſs to gratify him, but that he was unable to ſupport him againſt the whole force of the *Turks*, which was ready to fall upon his new conqueſts in *Africa*.

Philip jealous of don *John*.

Vol. X. p. 286.

ib'd.

The truth is, that *Philip* by this time was in fact a bankrupt, notwithſtanding the incredible treaſures he received from *America*, and the vaſt ſums he raiſed in *Spain*. He gave penſions and appointments to the *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and *Iriſh*, who were diſaffected to queen *Elizabeth*'s government. The expences of his *Low Country*, *Italian* and *African* wars, were aſtoniſhing; and he in a manner ſupported the *Auſtrian* and imperial court in *Germany*, beſides paying great ſubſidies to the *French Roman* catholics and the northern courts. As he had foreſeen, the *Turks* in the year 1574, recovered *Tunis*, and almoſt all that they had loſt in *Africa*, where they only kept *Mazalquivir*. Don *Juan* was then in *Italy*, and unable, partly through the bad weather, and partly through the backwardneſs of the *Spaniſh* viceroys, to prevent the progreſs of the *Turks*; ſo that under pretence of laying before *Philip* the true ſtate of his affairs, he obtained leave to return to *Spain*. He there importuned *Philip* to be declared infant of *Caſtile*, and his lieutenant general in *Italy*. *Philip* evaded both requeſts by plauſible pretexts, and upon the death of don *Lewis de Requiſens*, he appointed him to the government of the *Low Countries*. Don *John*'s remonſtrances for an encreaſe of troops and other particulars, before he embarked for his government, diſguſted *Philip*; but he diſmiſſed him with great ſhew of af-

Who is made governor of the *Low Countries*.

fection, and he left him ſo much at large by his inſtructions, that he was tied down to nothing, but the not granting liberty of conſcience to the proteſtants.

Don *Sebaſtian* king of *Portugal*, killed in *Africa*.

About this time, the famous *Muley Moloch* had driven his brother *Mohammed* from the throne of *Fez* and *Morocco*. *Philip* was ſo much diſpleaſed with the ſtate of his affairs in *Africa*, that when *Mohammed* applied to him for aſſiſtance, he refuſed to be concerned in the diſpute; but he privately ſent over a dexterous miniſter to enquire into the ſtate of affairs in *Africa*, and to make his report accordingly. Before that could be done, *Mohammed* had applied in like manner to *Philip*'s nephew, don *Sebaſtian*, king of *Portugal*, a prince of unbounded but inconſiderate courage, who undertook to aſſiſt him. *Philip* hearing of his nephew's raſhneſs, endeavoured to diſſuade him by laying before him the informations he had received concerning the great power of *Muley Moloch*, who was ſupported by the *Turks*, and he even gave *Sebaſtian* a meeting to diſſuade him from his purpoſe; but *Sebaſtian* told him he had gone too far to retract. Before they parted, however, *Philip* promiſed that if the *Turkiſh* fleet did not put to ſea that year, he would ſend him ſome aſſiſtance. Inſtead of that, being apprehenſive that the *Turks* might ſeize the kingdom of *Morocco*, he concluded a private treaty with *Muley Moloch*, and a truce with the *Turks* for three years, but in the intermediate time, he renewed his inſtances, but all in vain, with don *Sebaſtian*, to lay aſide his expedition. The unhappy youth proceeded in it, and landing in *Africa*, a battle followed, which was fatal to three ſovereign princes. Don *Sebaſtian* loſt the battle, and was killed; as was *Mohammed*; and *Muley Moloch* died of a fever, juſt as victory had declared in his favour.

Perez ſecretary of ſtate arreſted.

It appears that *Philip* was, at this time, under a moſt unhappy ſtate of mind. His natural ſuſpicion was revived and encreaſed by the conduct of don *John*, whoſe ſecretary, *Eſcovado*, after various attempts to poiſon him, was, by the immediate direction of *Antonio Perez*, but by the expreſs order of *Philip*, murdered in the ſtreets of *Madrid*. This aſſaſſination, with the death of don *John* of *Auſtria*, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, created a great ferment in *Spain*. It was thought, and there is ſome colour for it, from the conduct of queen *Elizabeth*, that don *John* aſpired to her hand in marriage, and that *Eſcovado* managed the correſpondence, which was far from being diſcouraged on her part. It is however more probable, that *Philip*'s real ground of diſpleaſure with don *John*, lay in the advances made by the latter to become the huſband of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, whom the *Roman Catholic* party in *England* conſidered as their queen, and who undoubtedly was *Elizabeth*'s preſumptive heir. Whatever may be in this, the ſecretary *Perez*, who was a vain weak man, fell himſelf under *Philip*'s ſuſpicion, for having too intimate connections, both perſonal and political, with the princeſs of *Eboli*, *Philip*'s miſtreſs, and both of them were put under arreſt, but were ſoon after

after ſet at liberty, and *Perez* was reſtored to his functions as ſecretary. But we are now to attend the great ſcene that opened in *Portugal*.

Upon the death of don *Sebaſtian*, in 1578, his uncle, cardinal *Henry*, took that crown, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Philip*, who feared that he inclined to marry, made a party at the court of *Rome* againſt that event, and having concluded a peace for twenty years with the king of *Morocco*, he took meaſures for not being diſappointed in that ſucceſſion by the duke of *Braganza*, who was married to the late king of *Portugal*'s ſiſter, and who had a ſon. Upon the death of the cardinal king, *Philip* reſolved to aſſert his right to *Portugal* by arms, and though the duke of *Alva* was then in diſgrace, and a priſoner, he employed him to be his general in that expedition. Don *Antonio*, the prior of *Crato*, natural ſon of don *Lewis*, oppoſed him; and a great party among the *Portugueſe* proclaimed him king. The duke of *Alva*, though in a manner in chains, entered *Portugal* with an army, and twice defeated *Antonio*, who, notwithſtanding ſome ſuccour he received from *France* and *England*, was obliged to leave *Portugal*, which the duke of *Alva* in a few days reduced to abſolute ſubjection. The infant *Ferdinand* was now dead, and *Philip* cauſing his eldeſt ſon don *Diego*, to be recognized as his ſucceſſor, proceeded to take poſſeſſion of his new kingdom; but he loſt his queen at *Badajoz*, when ſhe was no more than thirty-one years of age. He ſoon found that the crown of *Portugal* was lined with thorns. Though he ſoftened the ſeverity of his natural temper, by paſſing an act of grace upon his acceſſion, he perceived that he could not gain over any one *Portugueſe* nobleman, who could be of ſervice to him, but by bribing him with vaſt ſums, and which, though that crown was then rich by the *Eaſt India* trade, muſt have more than exhauſted its revenues. The demands of the dutcheſs of *Braganza*, who pretended to be regent of the kingdom, were ſtill more exorbitant, and the exiled king don *Antonio*, having taken refuge in *France*, the queen mother and her party there furniſhed him with a conſiderable armament to put him in poſſeſſion of the *Azores* iſlands, and to intercept the *Spaniſh* plate fleet. The armament was defeated by *Philip*'s admiral, the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who without any ſcruple treated all the *French* who fell into his hands as pirates, even men of quality as well as others, there being then no declared war between *Philip* and the *French* king. During this uncomfortable reſidence in *Portugal*, *Philip* loſt his ſon *Diego*, and the infant don *Philip* was recognized as his ſucceſſor. His old ſervant and general, the duke of *Alva*, died about the ſame time. All *Philip*'s condeſcenſion could not render him popular in *Portugal*, and leaving the cardinal archduke *Albert* his regent there, he returned to his magnificent palace of the *Eſcurial*.

Affairs of *Portugal*,

Vol. IX. p. 379.

of which *Philip* becomes king.

The years 1583 and 1584, were employed in reducing the *Azores*, which the marquis of *Santa Cruz* effected, but exerciſed

1583. 1584.

He resolves on a war with the *Engliſh*,

great cruelties upon *Antonio*'s party. The marriage between the duke of *Savoy* and *Philip*'s daughter, the infanta *Catharina*, was celebrated with great ſtate. *Philip*, amidſt all his ſeeming glory, remained miſerable and unhappy on his throne. He could not bring the ſtates of his kingdom into the ſubjection he deſired, and the pain which his family misfortunes gave him, was the more acute, through the efforts he made to conceal it. He had prohibited the *Dutch* from all commerce with *Spain* and *Portugal*; but he ſaw them now opening a trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, which rivalled that of his own ſubjects. His greateſt mortification, however, aroſe from the *Engliſh*, who intercepted his ſhips, and ravaged his poſſeſſions in all parts of the globe. *Philip* conſidered it as a point of conſcience as well as of intereſt, to reduce thoſe daring heretics, and he had for ſome years taken a reſolution of employing his credit and power in the conqueſt of *England*. Before his preparations could be in readineſs, he ſtooped ſo far from his ſtate, as to ſuffer his general, the prince of *Parma*, to amuſe *Elizabeth*'s miniſters with various interviews and propoſals for peace in the *Low Countries*. Cardinal *Granvelle* is by ſome, and the prince of *Parma* by others, accuſed of encouraging *Philip* to invade *England*; but they were both of them men of too great diſcernment to agree to ſuch an expedition, however they might behave after they found their maſter abſolutely determined upon it. If *Philip* required counſellors on this occaſion, it is more than probable that he found them in the *Roman* catholic fugitives, who had been driven from *England*.

1588. who defeat his invincible armada,

After every thing was in readineſs for the ſailing of the *Spaniſh* fleet, orders were given for its rendezvouſing at the *Groyne*. By the moſt moderate accounts, it conſiſted of the following particulars, viz. nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers, eight thouſand three hundred and fifty ſailors, two thouſand and eighty galley ſlaves, and two thouſand ſix hundred and thirty pieces of ordnance. Nothing that could contribute to the ſucceſs of this expedition, was wanting for the accommodation of this prodigious armament, which ſome ſay was much larger than we have repreſented it, and it undoubtedly coſt *Philip* ten millions ſterling in equipping it. It was to have been commanded by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, but he dying juſt as it was ready to ſail, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* was appointed in his ſtead. The prince of *Parma* was ordered to make preparations for co-operating with the fleet, and for making a deſcent upon *England*; but he had no opportunity of embarking. The elements early declared themſelves againſt the *Spaniards*, ſo that it was the laſt day of *July* before they came in ſight of the *Engliſh* coaſt. The ſecond in command was *Ricaldo*, an able ſeaman; but all the courage and ſkill of the invaders, availed them but little againſt the ſuperior ſkill and judgment of the *Engliſh* admirals and officers. The latter managed their ſhips better, eſpecially in ſtormy weather, which continued all the time of the expedition.

Five

Five different engagements happened, in which the *Spaniards* were defeated, and at laſt, the elements completed the ruin of this invincible armada, as the *Spaniſh* vanity affected to call it. They pretended, upon their return to *St. Andero*, that they loſt no more than thirty-two capital ſhips, and ten thouſand one hundred and eighty-five men. The loſs of the *Engliſh* was too inconſiderable to be mentioned, and conſiſted in little more than a ſmall frigate commanded by one *Cox*.

The behaviour of *Philip*, on this trying occaſion, has been variouſly repreſented: ſome ſay, that it was magnanimous; and others, that it was peeviſh. However that may be, he generouſly relieved the wretched remains of his ſea and land forces who returned to *Spain*, and even condoled with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, upon the mortification he had undergone. The avarice of the *Engliſh* commanders prevented their making the beſt of the conſternation of the *Spaniards* after this defeat. *Elizabeth* gave leave to *Drake* and *Norris* to aſſiſt don *Antonio*, and they took and plundered the *Groyne*; but this occaſioned ſuch a loſs of time, that they failed in the main object of their expedition, which was againſt *Liſbon*, where they found the *Spaniards* ſo well prepared to receive them, that they were obliged to reimbark; but they carried off with them immenſe plunder, and did incredible damage to the enemy. and attack *Spain*.

We have, in the hiſtory of *France*, related the great concern which *Philip* took in ſupporting the catholic league there, and the pains he was at to fix that crown upon the head of his daughter donna *Clara Eugenia*. He was ſo ſanguine in his hopes of ſucceeding, that he even ruined his affairs in the *Low Countries*, by ordering the duke of *Parma* more than once to march to the aſſiſtance of the league. In the year 1590, *Philip* renewed his perſecution of *Perez*, on account of *Eſcovada*'s murder, and he is ſaid to have ordered him to be put to the rack. *Perez* was an *Arragonian*, and finding means to eſcape, he threw himſelf under the protection of the ſtates of *Arragon*. The inquiſition, or rather, the king reſented their reſcuing him from his hands, and ſeveral inſurrections happened, in which the *Arragonians* behaved with ſo much ſpirit, that he eſcaped to *Bearn*, and from thence to *France* and *England*, where he lived and died deteſted and deſpiſed by all parties, for that levity and treachery which debaſed his abilities. *Philip*, however, was not of a diſpoſition to ſlip that opportunity for extinguiſhing the liberties of *Arragon*. He ordered don *Alonſo Vargas*, to take poſſeſſion of *Saragoſſa* with an army, and being favoured by the nobility, he ſtruck off the head of the chief juſtice of *Arragon*, and put the duke of *Villa Hermoſa*, with the count *de Aranda*, under arreſt, for having favoured the liberties of the province. The earl of *Cumberland*, and the lord *Thomas Howard*, were then cruizing upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, expecting the *Plate* fleet; but it was ſaved by don *Antonio Bazon* from the hands of the *Engliſh*, though it was afterwards wrecked. In 1592, the troubles of *Arragon* broke

Affairs of *France*.

1590.

Inſurrections.

1592.

broke out afreſh. Many of the natives took refuge in *Bearn*, and were encouraged to make new attempts in favour of their privileges; but being betrayed, the chief of them were capitally puniſhed, and their privileges aboliſhed; ſo that *Philip* became as abſolute there as in any other part of his dominions.

1594. An impoſtor claims to be *Sebaſtian*.

Philip, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *France*, was buſied till the year 1594, in his intrigues and efforts to procure the ſucceſſion of that crown for his daughter; but all was to no purpoſe. The *Turks*, that ſame year, carried their ravages through the coaſt of *Calabria*, and *Henry* IV. of *France*, declared war againſt *Spain*. An incident happened at this time, that though of a very improbable nature, gave *Philip* great diſquiet. An *Auguſtine* friar, one *Michael*, who by his poſt as confeſſor about court, had all opportunities of knowing every thing about the royal family of *Portugal*, prevailed with one *Gabriel Spinoſa*, a paſtry cook, to perſonate the late don *Sebaſtian*, who was killed in *Africa*. *Michael* ſo artfully inſtructed the fellow, that he impoſed upon donna *Anna* of *Auſtria*, daughter to don *John* and a nun, to furniſh him with money to make his appearance in the world in his new aſſumed character; but in diſpoſing of ſome jewels ſhe had given him, he was ſuſpected, apprehended, and put to the rack, as was his inſtructor, and both of them confeſſing their guilt, ſuffered death. As to donna *Anna*, ſhe ſpent the reſt of her days in cloſe confinement to her cloiſter. This impoſture was ſo artfully carried on, that *Spinoſa* impoſed upon great numbers of the *Spaniards* as well as the *Portugueſe*, and many writers ſince that time, have affirmed that he was the true *Sebaſtian*.

1595. 1596. Death of *Philip*.

In the year 1595, *Philip*'s *American* dominions ſuffered greatly from the depredations of the *Engliſh* in *America*; and next year, the *Engliſh*, under the earl of *Eſſex* and lord *Howard*, executed their expedition to *Cadiz*, in which they defeated the *Spaniards* by ſea, deſtroyed their fleet, took and plundered that city, and carried off an immenſe treaſure. *Philip* might have prevented that diſgrace, had he not now been broken by age, and diſpirited by misfortunes; but he repaired his marine under don *Martin de Padilla*, with a view of making another deſcent upon *England*. This fleet likewiſe was either wrecked or driven back into the ports of *Spain* by tempeſts; but *Philip* was favoured by the miſunderſtandings which ſprung up among the *Engliſh* officers, both by ſea and land, which prevented the *Spaniſh* fleet, laden with ten millions of dollars, from falling into their hands. We have already mentioned the peace of *Vervins*, which he made with *France*, which was among the laſt great actions of his life. As he had again and again ſignified his intention, that the cardinal archduke *Albert* ſhould marry his daughter *Iſabella*; that prince reſigned his cardinal's hat, and likewiſe the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*, and then received the homage of the ſtates of *Brabant* as their ſovereign. But *Philip* was now on his death-bed, and he expired on the 13th of *September*,

Vol. XI. p. 418.

September, at the *Eſcurial*, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, and the forty-ſecond of his reign, in 1598. We need not enlarge upon his character in this place, having already exhauſted the ſubject. Somewhat, however, remains to be ſaid of his private character. He could diſſemble all his feelings, by appearing untouched at the moſt calamitous events of his reign. He was much readier to give audience to his peaſants than to his nobility, whom he always treated with great ſtatelineſs, excepting they were eccleſiaſtics. He was low in ſtature, but well made. He conſidered religion as a great political engine in the hands of a prince; for we find him often differing with the church of *Rome*, when his temporal intereſts were concerned. With him government was no other than a great machine, which performed all its operations by money and arms, for even religion was to be ſupported by the latter; of the former he was ſo laviſh, that his wars in the *Netherlands* alone, coſt him 564,000,000 ducats. 1598.

Philip II. was ſucceeded by his ſon, the third of that name, and one of the earlieſt actions of his reign, was his raiſing his favourite, the marquis of *Denia*, to the dignity of duke of *Lerma*, and appointing him his firſt miniſter. *Philip* confirmed the ceſſion of the *Low Countries* to his ſiſter the infanta, who had been married to the archduke *Albert*, and ratified the peace of *Vervins* with *France*. Having reſolved in his father's life-time to eſpouſe the archdutcheſs *Margaret*, of the *Gratz* branch of the *Auſtrian* family; ſhe was brought to *Spain* by the archduke *Albert*, with the greateſt pomp and magnificence, It was not long after the celebration of this marriage, before the duke of *Lerma* became unpopular by his haughty manners, but in foreign affairs his counſels were moderate, and upon the return of the archduke *Albert* to the *Low Countries*, he received from *Philip* full powers to conclude a peace with *England*. *Philip*, in the mean while, ſecretly perſiſted in ſpiriting up the duke of *Savoy* againſt the *French* king; and the count *de Fuentes*, then governor of *Milan*, having raiſed a great army to ſupport the marſhal *Biron*'s conſpiracy againſt *Henry* IV. all *Europe* was alarmed, till it was undeceived by the execution of that general, which daſhed all his intrigues in pieces. This conduct towards *France*, was ſimilar to that which *Philip* held towards *England*. He was weak enough to believe that his father had a right to the crown of *England*, by a real or pretended diſpoſition of *Mary* queen of *Scots* in his favour, by his marriage with *Mary* queen of *England*, and even by his deſcent from the houſe of *Lancaſter*. *Philip* II. had made over thoſe ridiculous claims to his daughter the infanta *Iſabella*, and ſhe transferred them to her brother *Philip* III. who, by the duke of *Lerma*'s advice, endeavoured to make them good by ſupporting a rebellion in *Ireland*. This likewiſe miſcarried, as did alſo a ſcheme for *Feria*'s ſurprizing *Marſeilles*. Part of *Feria*'s army was then put

Succeeded by *Philip* III.

Vol. XI. p. 424. *&c. ſeq.*

He ſupports a rebellion in *Ireland*.

1601. put on board *Doria*'s fleet, who in 1601, was unſucceſsful in an attempt he made againſt *Algiers*.

A peace with *England*. It was eaſy to ſee from the proceedings of *Philip*, that he followed the maxims of his father, though he was far inferior to him in his political abilities. Though he received a virtuous education under the archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and had naturally no immoral principles; yet he was warped by his miniſter, and his bigotted clergy made him believe, that it was lawful to obtain good ends by wicked purpoſes. Upon the acceſſion of *James* I. to the crown of *England*, *Philip*'s miniſters, well knowing how much it was the intereſt of *Henry* IV. of *France*, to humble the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſent a pompous embaſſy to compliment him, and to aſſure him of their maſter's pacific diſpoſitions towards *England*. *James* was far from
1604. being inacceſſible on that head, and in 1604, the conſtable of *Caſtile*, then the greateſt ſubject in *Spain*, was nominated to
Vol. IX. p. 339. treat of a definitive peace. By way of preliminary, the *Spaniards* demanded that *England* ſhould have no communication with the *United Provinces*, and that *James* ſhould deliver up the cautionary towns in the *Low Countries*, upon his receiving the ſums for which they were pledged. The *Engliſh* miniſtry refuſed to comply with theſe demands, unleſs the *Spaniards* would agree that their maſter's ſubjects ſhould have a free trade to their dominions in *America*. Though neither party receded from their demands, yet ſtill the treaty went on, and was concluded in the beginning of *Auguſt*, to the great credit of *Philip*'s miniſter, to whom it was neceſſary, and to the no leſs reproach of the *Engliſh*, who, by ſtanding out, might have obtained much better terms. This peace with *England*, left *Philip* at liberty to continue his differences with *Henry* IV. and while the *Spaniards* were making rejoicings for the concluſion of the treaty with *England*, their queen was brought
1605. to bed of a prince, don *Philip*, on the 8th of *April* 1605.

War continued in the *Low Countries*. The war in the *Netherlands* ſtill continued, and the duke of *Lerma* became ſenſible that he could not maintain himſelf againſt the univerſal odium of the people, without retrenching his maſter's expences, which in the *Netherlands* alone, amounted annually to above three millions and a half of ducats, in ſupporting a war from which the crown of *Spain* could in no event derive any advantage, but which yearly multiplied its loſſes and diſgraces. Add to this, that the ſums expended upon ſpies, and to keep up differences in foreign courts, and for the ſupport of the *German* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria*, was ſtill very great, and the intereſt paid for money borrowed in the late reign, was intolerable. Thoſe burdens diſtreſſed the finances of *Spain*, though the incomes from *America* exceeded thoſe of the late reign, and it was found expedient to call an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Madrid*. They ſat for near two years, during which time, the perſon and character of the miniſter were treated with much freedom; but before they roſe,

roſe, they made ſeveral excellent regulations of the coinage, ſo as to retain their ſilver money at home, and the miniſter before the end of the year 1608, by concluding a truce for twelve years in *April* 1609, laid the foundation of a definitive treaty with the ſtates general. By the treaty of truce, *Philip* acknowledged the ſtates of the *United Provinces*, to be an independent people. This peace, though perhaps neceſſary to *Spain*, encreaſed the clamour againſt the miniſter, who was forced to turn the attention of the nation to another object. 1608. 1609.

We have already ſeen that the late king had granted the *Moors* or *Moriſcos*, as they were called, of his kingdom a ſettlement in *Spain*, after the ſuppreſſion of their rebellion. This indulgence was diſagreeable to the clergy, and particularly to the biſhop of *Valentia* the miniſter's brother. *Philip* III. in matters of religion did not adopt the maxims of his father, for with him it was a point of conſcience to do whatever his clergy preſcribed. They propoſed an expulſion of all the *Moors* out of *Spain*, and to give a colour for this cruelty, they were accuſed of having invited the *Turks* or *Moors* of *Africa* to invade *Spain*, where they were to be joined by fifty thouſand *Spaniſh Moors*. This reaſon of ſtate, was backed by others of religion, which repreſented the *Moors* as incorrigible infidels, and as being likely to corrupt the morals and principles of the *Spaniſh Chriſtians*. The nobility of the kingdom, eſpecially thoſe of *Valentia*, vigorouſly remonſtrated againſt this reſolution, and ſhewed that no part of the accuſation had any foundation, excepting that of infidelity, which they very properly obſerved, was owing to the indolence and ignorance of the clergy. *Philip* was deaf to thoſe remonſtrances, and on the 7th of *September* 1609, he ſigned an edict for the expulſion of the *Moors* out of *Valentia*, which was followed by other edicts for expelling them out of all other provinces of *Spain*. The wretched people endeavoured to oppoſe this edict by two attempts they made, but they were ſuppreſſed, and the heads they had choſen under denomination of kings, were put to death. By the execution of thoſe edicts, *Spain* loſt eight hundred thouſand induſtrious inhabitants, and yet was far from being cleared of the *Mooriſh* blood. Many infants were retained and bred up in the *Chriſtian* religion, but were declared to be free when they arrived at the age of twelve. Upon the expulſion of the *Moors*, the *Spaniards* loſt the important town of *Larach* in *Africa*, through their treachery as was ſaid, and this gave a handle for the clergy to exult for their having adviſed the meaſure. The *Moors* expelled *Spain*.

We have already mentioned the murder of *Henry* IV. to which the miniſters of *Spain* are ſaid to have been no ſtrangers; but of this, there is no certainty. The duke of *Lerma* ſeemed to be greatly concerned at the event, and immediately reſumed the propoſal of a match that had been made between the eldeſt infanta of *Spain*, and the young *French* king. In this, the miniſter was in danger of meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition in Vol. XI. p. 436. & ſeq.

the

the perſon of the queen conſort, on whom the chief hopes of the *German* intereſt, in *Spain*, then reſted; but ſhe died on
1610. the 3d of *October* 1610, not without the ſtrongeſt ſuſpicion of her having been poiſoned by her favourite *Calderona*, who was the duke of *Lerma*'s favourite likewiſe. The deteſtation of the *Spaniards* for this man, aroſe to the ridiculous charge of his being an enchanter. On the death of the queen conſort, the double marriages, which had been long in agitation between the courts of *Spain* and *France*, were declared. The duke of *Maine* demanded, for his maſter, the infanta at the court of *Madrid*, as did the duke of *Paſtrana*, the princeſs *Iſabella*, ſiſter to the *French* king, for *Philip* prince of *Aſturia*,
Arrival of a rich plate fleet. and both marriages were celebrated. But however convenient they might have been for the miniſters of both kingdoms, they certainly were diſagreeable to the people, whoſe indignation, however, was alleviated by the arrival of a plate fleet from *America*, with eleven millions of ducats.

Vol. X. p. 305, *& ſeq.* This immenſe treaſure aſſiſted the *Spaniards* in completing their deſigns in *Italy*, as the reader will ſee in the hiſtory of that country, where their friendſhip, or rather their neutrality, was of great ſervice to the pope. The duke of *Savoy*, the *Venetians*, and the great duke of *Tuſcany*, ſaw this with great concern, without being able to prevent it. The duke of *Lerma* outwitted the *French* in another capital meaſure, which was that of amuſing the court of *England*. *Philip* even gave ſome intimations to *James*, that he would demand his daughter, the princeſs *Elizabeth* of *England*, in marriage; but that propoſition being impracticable, through the difference of their religions, ſhe was married to the elector palatine, and the *Spaniſh* miniſter ſecretly propoſed a match between *Henry* prince of *Wales*, and the infanta donna *Maria*, his maſter's ſecond daughter. The advantages thrown out by the *Spaniards*, as attending this match, entangled *James*, and on the death of the prince of *Wales*, the propoſal was renewed in favour of his brother *Charles*. Nothing could exceed the diſſimulation of the *Spaniſh* miniſters on this head, if they were not ſincere in the match. We have already, in the hiſtories of *France* and *Italy*, given a full account of the conduct of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, which makes a capital figure in this reign. The unpopularity of the duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*, though he ſeems to have ſupported the glory of his maſter with great ſpirit, encouraged the duke of *Oſſuna*, who was governor of *Naples*, to perſue very dangerous ſchemes, even to the rendering himſelf the independent ſovereign of that kingdom; for which purpoſe he held correſpondence, both with the *Turks* and the *French* duke *Leſdeguieres*. He, at the ſame time, was to have ſupported the marquis of *Bedmar*'s conſpiracy againſt *Venice*. The marquis of *Villafranca*, governor of *Milan*, about the ſame time ſeized the caſtle of *Verceil*, and threatned to conquer all *Savoy*; but without giving any umbrage to the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, who replaced the duke of *Oſſuna* by the cardinal

Conſpiracy againſt *Venice*. Vol. X. p. 313.

dinal *de Borgia*, and recalled the marquis of *Bedmar*. The progreſs of the marquis of *Villafranca* againſt *Savoy*, was likewiſe interrupted by a peace, concluded under the mediation of *France*, between that duke and the court of *Madrid*; which at the ſame time compromiſed all differences with the *Venetians*, and diſavowed the marquis of *Bedmar*'s proceedings.

A domeſtic ſcene, diſtinct from thoſe foreign ones, we have already repreſented in other parts of our hiſtory, now preſents itſelf. The duke of *Lerma* had ſtrong natural parts, if he was not a firſt rate genius. He perceived that the king's perſonal regard for him was apt to be ſhaken by every public misfortune that happened, and he ſought to ſecure himſelf in his poſſeſſion of power by a family intereſt, which might deſcend to his poſterity. He introduced his ſon, the duke of *Uzeda*, to the king, with whom he ſoon became a private favourite, through the ſimilarity there was between the very moderate parts of both. He placed a monk, one *Aliaga*, whom he thought he could truſt, about the king's perſon, as his confeſſor; but he introduced to the prince of *Aſturia*, his nephew, the count of *Lemos*, a man of ſuperior abilities, whom he deſigned to ſucceed him as firſt miniſter. Thoſe precautions ruined the duke of *Lerma*'s intereſt with his maſter. His ſon and the monk confederated together, and procured the removal of the count of *Lemos*, who was faithful to his uncle, from the poſt he held about the prince's perſon, and practiſed ſo upon the weakneſs of *Philip* himſelf, that he was diſmiſſed from all his employments on the 4th of *October* 1618; but the duke of *Lerma*, to ſhelter himſelf from farther perſecutions, had before that time procured a cardinal's hat from the pope. His brother, who had been made archbiſhop of *Toledo*, died ſoon after, and the king gave that rich biſhopric to the infant, don *Ferdinand*, though not ten years of age. Diſgrace of the duke of *Lerma*. 1618.

We are now to conſider the duke of *Uzeda* as firſt miniſter to *Philip*. He adviſed his maſter to make a tour into *Portugal*, where great diſcontents prevailed among the people, who exceeded the *Spaniards* themſelves in riches, magnificence and luxury. His behaviour in *Portugal* did him vaſt ſervice with that nation; but the more he looked into his affairs, upon his return to *Madrid*, he was the more ſtruck with melancholy apprehenſions of the conſequences, both in *Italy* and *Germany*. The vaſt ſupplies of money he received from *America*, enabled him to ſupport the *German* rights of the houſe of *Auſtria* againſt the elector palatine, who was defeated at the battle of *Prague* in 1620, entirely by his means, and the *Spaniſh* monarchy ſeemed to be regaining its luſtre every where, when the death of its king, don *Philip* the IIId, happened, on the 15th of *March* 1621, aged 43 years, and in the 23d of his reign. He left the affairs of *Spain* in great diſorder; and from the expulſion of the *Moors*, may be dated the internal imbecillity of that country. Inſtead of applying his treaſures to repair the miſerable ſtate of his country, which Death of *Philip* the IIId. Vol. IX. p. 145, & ſeq. 1620. 1621.

the ſtates, in an aſſembly they held two years before his death, repreſented as falling to the ground, he laviſhed them upon the affairs of *Germany* and *Italy*, which were of no benefit to the *Spaniſh* monarchy, and the ſums he expended in diſputing with the *French* and *Griſons*, the poſſeſſion of the *Valteline*, were thrown away. Upon his death-bed, he is ſaid to have entertained great horrors of conſcience, when he reflected upon his inhuman, as well as impolitic, treatment of his *Moori/h* ſubjects. Of four ſons and three daughters he had by his wife, *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, none ſurvived him but his ſucceſſor, *Philip*, the infants *Carlos* and *Ferdinand*, and the queen of *France*.

During the long illneſs of *Philip* the IIId, ſome efforts were made for reinveſting the duke of *Lerma* in his place of firſt miniſter; but they were diſappointed by the count *de Olivares*, favourite of the new king, *Philip* the IVth. It ſoon appeared that this prince was deeply infected with that indolence which had been the family failing of his father and grandfather, for though he was not deſtitute of natural accompliſhments, he gave himſelf entirely up to the guidance of *Olivares*, who baniſhed the duke of *Uzeda*, and the late king's confeſſor, from the court, and brought *Calderona* to the ſcaffold, where, by his noble behaviour, under an unmerited charge of being acceſſary to the death of two *Spaniſh* gentlemen, he effaced the popular odium he had contracted during his lifetime. The late king had ordered the *Valteline* to be reſtored to the *Griſons*, but the duke of *Feria* found means to evade the reſtitution, and after *Olivares* had, in a manner, proſcribed all the late miniſters and their dependents, and fixed his own creatures about his maſter's perſon, he entered upon a new ſyſtem of government, which proved deluſive, however flattering at firſt it appeared to the glory of *Spain*. This was no other than to protect the people of the *Valteline* in their revolt, to embroil *France*, to amuſe *England*, and in the mean while to renew the war againſt the *Dutch*, whoſe improved territory and acquiſitions in the *Eaſt Indies*, were to become acceſſions to *Spain*. *Olivares*, from an affectation of modeſty, placed his uncle, don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, at the head of his maſter's councils, and though *Zuniga* was a man of parts, he joined with his nephew in renewing the war againſt the *Dutch*, the truce between them and *Spain* being on the point of expiring. This meaſure was vigorouſly oppoſed by archduke *Albert*, but *Philip* patronized his miniſter, and we have already ſeen, in the hiſtory of the *Low Countries*, the events that ſucceeded upon the renewal of the war. *Olivares*, at firſt, had reaſon to applaud his projects. The emperor gave to *Philip* the inveſtiture of *Milan*, and all his ſmaller fiefs in *Italy*, and the diviſions that happened between prince *Maurice* and the *States General*, gave the *Spaniards* great advantages in the commencement of the war. All this could not have happened, but by the hopes which the *Spaniſh* court gave to *James*, of the

The prince of *Wales* viſits *Spain*.

Vol. IX. p. 353, & *ſeq.*

the marriage between the prince of *Wales* and the infanta taking place. Thoſe were ſo ſanguine as to prevail with *Charles* (who thought every thing had been as good as concluded at the court of *Spain*) to undertake the hazardous journey which he performed to *Madrid*, attended by his favourite *Buckingham*.

Negotiation with *England* broken off.

The reception of *Charles* by *Philip*, was polite beyond expreſſion, and reſpectful even to a degree of affectation. Nothing ſincere however was meant. The infanta herſelf, hearing of their arrival, proteſted to the miniſter, that ſhe rather would go into a convent than conſent to the marriage, and *Philip* had ſworn that he never would give his ſiſter's hand to a heretic. Notwithſtanding this, both of them behaved, to outward appearance, as if the marriage was on the point of being concluded, till *Charles* and *Buckingham* found that the whole was a piece of ceremonious deceit, and *Buckingham* upbraided *Olivares* to his face with diſſimulation and treachery. The prince was ſcarcely ſuffered to ſpeak to his miſtreſs, and they never had been left alone together. *Olivares* perceiving his maſter and himſelf at a loſs for farther excuſes, when preſſed by *Charles*, either to ſuffer him to depart, or to deliver up to him his bride, charged *Buckingham* with having promiſed that the prince ſhould declare himſelf a *Roman* catholic, to which *Buckingham* gave the other the lie. After this, *Buckingham*, in a manner, made his eſcape to St. *Andero*, where the *Engliſh* ſquadron waited, and was in a few days followed by *Charles* himſelf. Thus ended that famous negotiation, which was carried on with unparalleled diſſimulation on the part of the *Spaniards*, and *Olivares* received thanks from his holineſs for having defeated the match.

Misfortunes attending the *Spaniſh* arms.

It muſt be acknowledged that the *Spaniſh* court made, at this time, a capital figure in *Europe*. The emperor of *Germany* was entirely dependent upon the will of *Philip*, and rendered him the umpire of the diſtreſt elector palatine's fate, which *James* alledged as an excuſe for his negotiations with *Spain*. Affairs in the *Low Countries* continued to be unfavourable, both to the *French* and the *Dutch*, though the latter diſtreſſed the *Spaniards* in the *Eaſt Indies*, and the *Spaniards* had ſucceeded in raiſing cardinal *Barberini* to the papacy. But the haughtineſs of *Philip* was inexpreſſible, and the ambition of his miniſters ſuch, that the *Engliſh*, the *French*, the *Dutch*, and the *Italian* princes, united againſt *Spain*. The *Engliſh* actually landed at *Cadiz*, but were diſappointed in taking the plate fleet, and forced to return home without doing any thing worthy the expence of the expedition. In the *Low Countries*, *Spinola*, the *Spaniſh* general, took *Breda*; and in *America*, don *Frederic de Toledo* diſpoſſeſſed the *Dutch* of *Braſil*; but the *Spaniards* were obliged to give up the *Valteline*, to the great diſpleaſure of the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Savoy*. *Olivares* continued his miniſtry with luſtre till the year 1627, when, upon the death of *Vincent* the IId, duke of *Mantua*, he ad- 1627.

viſed his maſter to ſtrip the duke of *Nevers*, the lawful heir, of that ſucceſſion. This war proved unfortunate for *Spain*. Her fleets and armies were every where beat, the *Dutch* plundered them in *America*, where their admirals, *Adrianſon* and *Heyn*, carried off eight millions of florins in ſilver, with a booty of a ſtill greater value, beſides deſtroying their ſhipping. They employed the famous *Spinola* to retrieve their affairs in *Italy*, but the inhabitants of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* made ſuch complaints upon their being abandoned, that the *Conde* duke (as *Olivares* was pleaſed to ſtile himſelf, from a dukedom he had acquired in *Italy*) was in danger of being torn in pieces, when the queen was delivered of the prince, don *Balthazar*, which prevented all diſputes and intrigues concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown of *Spain*.

Vol. X. p. 324.

Bad policy of *Olivares*.

The *German* and *Spaniſh* branches of the houſe of *Auſtria* continued all this while united, and *Olivares* impoliticly aggrandized the *German* emperor ſo much, that the reduction of that houſe became now the great object of the reſt of all *Europe*, as well as of *France*. The reader, in the preceding parts of this hiſtory, will find the particulars of the progreſs of the *French*, under cardinal *Richelieu*, in *Italy*, where all the ſchemes of the *Spaniards* were blaſted, together with the motives that prevailed on *Guſtavus Adolphus*, king of *Sweden*, to put himſelf at the head of the *Northern* confederacy, which reduced the *German* branch of *Auſtria* to the brink of ruin, and laid the foundation of that greatneſs that rendered the houſe of *Bourbon*, inſtead of that of *Auſtria*, the object of jealouſy to the reſt of *Europe*. In 1630, the *Spaniards* loſt their great general, *Spinola*, the rival of the prince of *Parma*'s martial fame. The emperor *Ferdinand* made the peace of *Ratiſbon* with the *French*, and *Olivares* was diſappointed in all his attempts to renew the war in *Italy*, which was finiſhed by the treaty of *Queraſque*, which ſecured the independency of the *Italian* ſtates. In 1631, the infant don *Carlos*, brother to the king, was ſent viceroy to *Portugal*, and his other brother, the cardinal infant, was appointed governor of the *Low Countries*, where the marquis of *Santa Croce* commanded the army, and where the *Spaniſh* marine was in a manner ruined by the *Dutch*, though the *Spaniſh* admiral, *Oequendo*, obtained ſome advantages over them in *America*. It is to the honour of *Olivares*, that at this time he received and protected the queen-mother of *France*, and her ſon, the duke of *Orleans*, againſt the perſecutions of *Richelieu*. The ill fortune of the houſe of *Auſtria* did not end with the life of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, who was killed in 1632, for the arms of *Sweden*, *France* and *Holland* prevailed for ſome years after. All was laid to the charge of the *Conde* duke, whoſe unpopularity was encreaſed, by ſome new taxes laid upon the people; and the infant, don *Carlos*, dying about this time, it was thought that he removed him by poiſon. The war ſtill continuing to the diſadvantage of the houſe of *Auſtria*, in all quarters, the treaſures of *Spain*

Vols. IX, X and XI.

Vol. XI. p. 477, & ſeq.

1632.

were

were ſunk in *Germany*. The cardinal infant, inſtead of going to his government of the *Low Countries*, was obliged to remain in *Italy*, which was actually in danger from the combined arms of *France* and *Sweden*. All means for recalling the court of *Savoy* to its connections with *Spain*, proved ineffectual, though *Olivares* brought off prince *Thomas* and cardinal *Maurice* of *Savoy*; the former taking ſervice under the crown of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*. The republic of *Genoa*, out of hatred to the cardinal infant, ſhook off her connections with *Spain*, in favour of *France*, and by the advice of the *Spaniſh* embaſſador at the imperial court, the famous *German* general, *Wallenſtein*, baſely fell, by the hands of *Scotch* and *Iriſh* aſſaſſins. When the moſt independent of the *Spaniſh* nobility offered to reaſon at the council board, upon the ruinous meaſures purſued by *Olivares*, he defended himſelf by ſaying, that by enabling the emperor of *Germany* to ſubdue the proteſtants, he would ſoon be in a condition to aſſiſt his catholic majeſty in reducing the *Dutch*.

The diſſatisfaction at the court ſtill continuing in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, the duke of *Aremberg* was ſent by the malecontents to repreſent their caſe to the king and his miniſter, but they put him under a cloſe arreſt. Upon the arrival of the cardinal infant, he ſurprized *Treves*, and ſent that elector priſoner to *Vienna*, for preſuming to admit of a *French* garriſon; and this, with other provocations in 1635, produced a formal declaration of war between *France* and the cardinal infant, don *Ferdinand*. The *Spaniſh* fleet, which was then conſiderable, beat the *French* on the coaſt of *Provence*, and reduced the iſlands of *Hieres*, but were refuſed admittance into *Genoa*. 1635.

In 1636, all parties ſeemed tired of war, and inclined to peace; but ſuch was the pride of the houſe of *Auſtria*, that when the city of *Cologne* was appointed for the conferences, the emperor refuſed to give paſſports for the miniſters of the proteſtant princes, whom he termed his vaſſals, and his catholic majeſty to thoſe of the *Dutch*, whom he called his rebels. In *Italy*, the duke of *Parma* threw himſelf under the protection of the *Spaniards*, as did the *Griſons*, who recovered the *Valteline*, from whence they drove the *French* duke of *Rohan*; but the *Spaniards* loſt the iſland of *Hieres*, and the prince of *Orange* took *Breda*, while the *Spaniſh* army was defeated in *Languedoc*, by duke *Schomberg*. Count *Piccolomini*, at this time, received pay from the *Spaniards*, and by a ſtrange concurrence of *Italian* levity and *French* inſolence, the balance of power in *Italy* became once more favourable to the *Spaniards*. Their general, the marquis *de Leganez*, was victorious in *Savoy*, as the infant don *Ferdinand* was in the *Low Countries*, and the admiral of *Caſtile* beat the *French* under the prince of *Condé*, who had beſieged *Fontarabia*. In *Portugal*, the people inclined to the duke of *Braganza*, and in ſome places he was actually proclaimed king; but the court of *Madrid* was overjoyed that he was ſo unambitious as to with- 1636. Farther conduct of the war

draw from the public eye, and decline the honour. In *Savoy*, prince *Thomas*, who continued in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, and undoubtedly was an accompliſhed general, took *Turin*, and might have ruined the *French* intereſt in that duchy, had he not become jealous of the marquis of *Leganez*, and in a manner obliged him to conſent to a four months truce, without attempting to take *Caſal*. In the *Engliſh* channel, the *Dutch* attacked the *Spaniſh* fleet under *Oequendo*, though it had a nominal protection from the court of *England*, and deſtroyed many of their ſmaller ſhips, but their largeſt, with a great ſum of money on board, eſcaped into the harbour of *Dunkirk*, while *Picolomini* forced the *French* lines at *Thionville*.

in *Savoy*. The *Conde* duke made it a capital principle with him to reduce *Caſal*, which, from the circumſtances of the place, he thought eaſy; but the *Spaniards* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege by the count *de Harcourt*, after loſing three thouſand of their beſt troops, after which the count reduced *Turin*, though defended by prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*. The reſt of the moſt important operations of this campaign, may be ſeen in the preceding parts of this hiſtory. On the frontiers of *Spain*, the *Spaniards* recovered *Salſes*, and ſeveral places in *Rouſſillon*, which had been taken by the *French*.

The *Catalans* revolt. The *Conde* duke preſumed too much upon thoſe advantages, which were merely the reſult of accident, or the application of money, and inſtead of conſulting the internal tranquillity and intereſt of his maſter's dominions, he breathed nothing but deſtruction to the ſtates of *Spain*, the *Catalans* particularly, on account of the few remains of liberty they ſtill enjoyed. By his advice, *Philip* had diſobliged the *Catalans*, who are ſaid to have ſhewn too great a contempt of his power, and, in a manner, openly proclaimed war againſt the *Conde* duke. This brought upon them that miniſter's reſentment, and after the *Spaniards* had recovered *Salſes*, their army was permitted to live at free quarters in *Catalonia*. This produced the moſt horrid enormities, and the complaints of the *Catalans* were not only treated with contempt, but their oppreſſions were aggravated by their viceroy, the count *de San Coloma*, whom the populace murdered. The pope's nuntio endeavoured, in vain, to reduce them by perſuaſions, and by offering them pardon, but they were deaf to all his admonitions, ſeized upon *Barcelona*, and the revolt became general over all the province.

Riſe of the revolution in *Portugal*. *Olivares* appeared to be glad of that opportunity, that he might have a handle for exterminating the liberties and the chiefs of the *Catalans*. The marquis *de los Velos* was put at the head of thirty thouſand men, and inſtructed to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt ſeverity. The *Catalans* called in the *French* to their aſſiſtance. The ſuccours they received, were very inconſiderable; but though the jealouſy of the court had long deprived them of the uſe of arms, they forced *los Velos* to raiſe the ſiege of *Barcelona*. *Olivares*, inſtead of ſoothing the *Catalans*, continued the war againſt them with the

greateſt

greateſt fury, but chiefly employed the *Portugueſe* in reducing them, becauſe he hated them as much as he did the *Catalans*. The *Portugueſe* ſaw through his intention, which was to drain their country of her beſt troops, that they might fight the cauſe of the miniſter, who oppreſſed them in various other ſhapes, till at laſt he brought both the nobles and commons to a determined reſolution of throwing off the *Spaniſh* yoke.

Olivares had ſome ſuſpicion of their deſign, and did all he could to ſurprize the duke of *Braganza*'s perſon, but in vain. *Portugal* was then governed by a vice queen, who was the infanta donna *Maria* of *Savoy*, ducheſs dowager of *Mantua*, and grand-daughter to *Philip* the IId, but ſhe could do nothing but by the advice of her ſecretary, *Vaſconcellos*, the creature of *Olivares*. In order to inveigle the duke of *Braganza*, he was complimented with the nominal title of general of the *Portugueſe* army; but his friends put him ſo much on his guard, that when the chief nobility of *Portugal* offered him their crown, he thought it ſafer to accept of it, and to put himſelf at the head of an open revolt, than to be continually expoſed to inſidious treachery. The diſpoſitions made for the revolution, though ſecret, were ſuſpected by the queen regent, and had they not been anticipated, they probably would have been defeated. The revolution that followed is ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory, for the vigour and ſecrecy with which it was executed. The ducheſs of *Braganza*, ſiſter to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, the *Spaniſh* general on the frontiers of *Portugal*, was the ſoul of the whole. On the 1ſt of *December* 1640, the duke was proclaimed king of *Portugal*, under the name of *John* the IVth, and the vice queen was made a priſoner, and all the dominions of *Portugal* quietly ſubmitted to his government, with the loſs of not above three lives. *Olivares*, who always affected ſingularity, conſcious that his own miſconduct and oppreſſions had brought about the revolution, gave his maſter joy of the forfeiture of the duke of *Braganza*'s great eſtate, which he had incurred by his rebellion, and endeavoured to repair the loſs by plots againſt the life of the new king, which were all of them defeated.

Portugal throws off the *Spaniſh* yoke.

1640.

Olivares was equally imprudent in all his other attempts. He forced the *Catalans* to connect themſelves more cloſely than ever with the *French*; ſo that the marquis *de los Velos*, the *Spaniſh* general, failed in all his operations, but that of reducing *Terragona*. As uſual, he had recourſe to plots and aſſaſſinations, in hopes of removing *Richelieu* out of the world; and the reader has ſeen, in the hiſtory of *France*, how they were defeated. In the *Low Countries*, the cardinal infant reduced *Aire*; but died ſoon after in the flower of his age, and his ſucceſſor, don *Franciſco de Mello*, took poſſeſſion of the place. The loſs of the cardinal infant was irretrievable to the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and their misfortunes every day encreaſed. The duke of *Medina Sidonia*, did nothing againſt the *Portugueſe*, and was ſuſpected of tampering with

Vol. II. p. 490, & ſeq.

Ibid. 496, & ſeq.

Imprudence of *Olivares*,

the *Andaluſians*, but *Olivares* durſt not attack him. The latter found his credit daily ſinking, and that he upheld it with the king, by being the miniſter of his pleaſures, rather than of his government. He had prevailed with the conſtable of *Caſtile* to give his daughter in marriage to his eldeſt ſon, to whom he was to reſign his title and duchy of St. *Lucar*; and when he quarrelled with don *Balthazar de Zuniga*, he recovered the king's affections by the moſt infamous compliances. The fruits of thoſe, at this time, appeared in the perſon of don *John* of *Auſtria*, a youth of fourteen years of age, *Philip*'s ſon, by an actreſs, and who was placed at the head of an army ſerving againſt *Portugal*. In this diſtracted ſtate of affairs, *Philip* took a reſolution of marching in perſon againſt the *Catalans*; and the reader, in the hiſtory of *France*, will ſee the reaſons that prevented *Richelieu* from carrying the revolt of that country to its utmoſt extent. When *Richelieu* brought *Lewis* to the frontiers of *Spain*, and laid ſiege to *Perpignan*, *Olivares*, againſt the opinion of the beſt *Spaniſh* generals, ſent a body of three thouſand horſe to relieve the place; but the difficulties of their march were ſo unſurmountable, that they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, and *Perpignan* was reduced.

Vol. II. p. 499, *& ſeq.*

In the *Low Countries*, don *Francis de Mello* beat the *French*, under the marſhal *de Grammont* and the count *de Harcourt*, and might have marched to the gates of *Paris*, the *French* having no army in the field in thoſe parts to reſiſt him, had not *Olivares* been ſo much infatuated by the hopes he had formed of his conſpiracies with the duke of *Orleans*, *de Thou*, *Cinq Mars* and *Richelieu*'s other enemies at the *French* court, that he ordered *de Mello* to ſtop his march. His ſchemes proved again ſucceſsleſs. The reader has already ſeen that the two laſt loſt their lives on a ſcaffold, and the duke of *Orleans* made his peace with *Richelieu*. All the reſources of *Olivares* now failed him, and he fell at his maſter's knees, bewailing their mutual misfortunes. *Philip* endeavoured to give him comfort, but upon his return to *Madrid*, he found a gloom on every countenance, and his court abandoned by his greateſt and moſt independent nobility. The queen had the courage to inform him, that all was owing to the influence which *Olivares* had in his councils, and ſhe was ſeconded in a memorial from the emperor, preſented by the imperial embaſſador, accuſing the favourite of having, by his pernicious conduct, tarniſhed the glory of the houſe of *Auſtria*. To exaſperate him the more againſt *Olivares*, donna *Margaret* of *Savoy*, whom, though ſo nearly related to the crown, *Olivares* had ordered to be brought up in a private ſtation, was produced at court, and made a moving relation to *Philip* of her treatment, and even the queen's nurſe was employed in exciting with her tears his pity for his people ruined by *Olivares*. *Philip*'s pride was ſubdued, and he ordered his favourite to retire to *Loches*, to which he eſcaped in diſguiſe. He there recovered his ſpirit, and

who is diſgraced.

and drew up a ſtrong, but turbulent memorial, in his own defence, which occaſioned his baniſhment to *Toro*.

The baniſhment of *Olivares* removed the diſgrace, but not the diſtreſſes of *Philip*. He and his miniſters were novices in the affairs of government. *La Mothe*, the *French* viceroy of *Catalonia*, gained footing there, and as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *France*, *de Mello*, the beſt general *Spain* had, was beaten by the duke of *Enguien*, who was ſcarcely of age, at the battle of *Rocroy*. In *Germany* and *Italy*, every thing went unfortunately for the *Spaniards* and imperialiſts; and in the *Low Countries*, they loſt *Graveline* to the *French*, and *Sas van Ghent* to the *Dutch*. In *Portugal*, the *Spaniſh* army under the marquis of *Torrecuſa*, was entirely routed by the duke of *Albuquerque*, at *Badajoz*; and the *French* admiral, *de Breze*, defeated the *Spaniſh* fleet off *Carthagena*. The ſtate of affairs in *France*, during the minority of *Lewis* the XIVth, did not ſuffer that miniſtry to ſupport the *Catalans* properly, and the *Spaniards* there recovered *Lerida*. In *Milan*, the marquis *de Serra*, the *Spaniſh* general, was too weak to do any thing of importance; and the *Italian* princes ſet all conſiderations of treaties and engagements aſide, for the pleaſure of ſeeing the *French* and *Spaniards* deſtroy one another there. In this ſtate ſtood the affairs of *Spain* in 1644, and 1645, when the armies made a ſucceſsful ſtand in the *Low Countries*, under the marquis of *Caſtel Rodrigo*; but this happened chiefly through the miſunderſtandings that prevailed between the prince of *Orange* and the *French*. In *Catalonia*, the count of *Harcourt* and the marquis *de Pleſſis Praſlin* took *Roſes*, and gained other conſiderable advantages. A conſpiracy had been formed for betraying *Barcelona* to the *Spaniards*, but it being diſcovered, and its heads puniſhed, diſconcerted all the ſchemes of *Cantelmo*, the *Spaniſh* general, nor did the marquis of *Leganez* make any progreſs on the ſide of *Portugal*, while the count *de Harcourt* took *Balaguer*.

Foreign affairs in *Spain*.

1644. 1645.

Philip was now a widower, and the nephew of *Olivares*, don *Lewis de Haro*, who had been recommended by his queen, was his firſt miniſter. It is allowed, that if he was leſs able, he was a more practicable man than his uncle, who about this time died in the place of his confinement. But while the fame and fortune of *Spain* ſeemed to be at the loweſt ebb, they were ſuddenly relieved by the civil diſſentions which continued to prevail in *France*. That power became every day more and more the object of jealouſy among the princes of *Europe*. The pope, and a great party among the *Dutch* themſelves, employed every art to thwart the meaſures of *Mazarine*, and omitted no opportunity of ſtrengthening the oppoſition againſt him. He had given orders to beſiege *Orbitello*, but the duke *de Breze* was killed in an engagement he had with the *Spaniſh* admiral, *Pimentel*, who endeavoured to relieve it; ſo that prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* was forced, with ſome diſcredit to himſelf, to raiſe the ſiege. Had it not been for

The growing greatneſs of *France*.

for the lethargy which prevailed at the court of *Spain*, the miniſter might have improved this juncture; for her armies in the *Low Countries* were commanded by the duke of *Lorrain*, *Picolomini*, and other able generals, but they were ſo ill ſupported that they could only act on the defenſive. In *Catalonia*, the *French* viceroy, *Harcourt*, beſieged *Lerida*, but was outgenerall'd by *Leganez*, who forced him to abandon his enterprize. We have already mentioned the famous inſurrection of *Naples*, under *Maſſaniello*, with the ſtate of the *Spaniſh* government there, and ſhall not reſume either here, but obſerve that, had the duke of *Guiſe* been properly ſupported by *Mazarine*, the *Spaniards*, in all probability, muſt then have loſt *Naples*. The peace agreed upon between them and the *Dutch*, was likewiſe of ſingular uſe to them on this occaſion, as it left the archduke *Leopold*, who ſucceeded to the government of the *Low Countries*, at liberty to act againſt the *French* alone.

Vol. X. p. 316, & ſeq.

1647. In the beginning of the year 1647, the prince of *Condé*, who had ſucceeded to the duke of *Harcourt*'s command, reſumed the ſiege of *Lerida*, but was, like his predeceſſor, obliged to abandon it, by its governor don *Auterrio Brito*. We have already ſeen the effects which the peace of *Munſter* had upon the affairs of *Europe* in 1648. It was then that his catholic majeſty clearly and explicitly firſt renounced his ſovereignty over the dominions of the *States General*, and acknowledged them as independent ſovereigns.

Vol. IX. p. 377.

1648.

Marriage of *Philip*. The war however went on in the *Low Countries*, where the prince of *Condé* beat the archduke *Leopold*, while *Schomberg*, who ſucceeded the prince in *Catalonia*, took *Tortoſa*; the biſhop of which, at the head of his clergy, made a gallant defence, and was killed in the ſtorm. In *Italy*, the marquis *de Carracena*, the *Spaniſh* general in the *Milaneſe*, ruined the army of *France*, and forced it to raiſe the ſiege of *Cremona*; but the war ſtill languiſhed on the ſide of *Portugal*. The truth is, a ſtrong party among the *Spaniſh* grandees, headed by the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had, ſince the death of *Philip*'s only ſon, the infant don *Balthazar*, formed a moſt important ſcheme, which was that of joining in marriage the prince of *Braſil*, eldeſt ſon to the king of *Portugal*, with donna *Maria Tereſa*, *Philip*'s preſumptive heir. This project, however plauſible, was dangerous. *Philip* had conceived an averſion to the houſe of *Braganza*, and he was not without hopes of having male heirs of his own body. The duke of *Medina Sidonia*, was diſcovered to have favoured, if not to have formed, this deſign, but he bought his life, by giving up all his acceſſaries. Several perſons loſt their heads by being involved in the affair, and ſome were tortured; but *Philip* reſolved to marry once more, and pitched upon the archduchеſs *Mary Anne* of *Auſtria*, who accordingly became his wife, though ſhe was his own neice.

War with *Portugal* continued. The court of *Spain* ſtill continued the war with *Portugal* and *France*. His *Portugueſe* majeſty had, with great magnanimity, given

given ſhelter in his dominions to the two nephews of the unfortunate *Charles* the Iſt of *England*, and admitted them into his harbours. The *Spaniſh* miniſters meanly made a handle of this, to court the friendſhip of the *Engliſh* republicans, which they obtained, but upon diſhonourable terms. The republic ſent a fleet to *Portugal*, which forced that king to withdraw his friendſhip from the *Engliſh* royaliſts, and to diſpatch embaſſadors to deprecate the wrath of the republic at *Weſtminſter*. Some doubts aroſe concerning their maſter's right to be treated as a ſovereign prince. They refuſed to admit the *Portugueſe* embaſſadour in any other character than that of an inferior miniſter, and obliged him to receive his audience in the *Engliſh* houſe of peers (that of the commons being reſerved for ordinary and extraordinary embaſſadors) where the walls were hung with the ſame tapeſtry that now appears there, and then purpoſely brought from the king's wardrobe, diſplaying the defeat of the *Spaniſh* armada by the *Engliſh*. The latter however were never the hearty friends of the *Spaniards*, and affairs took a very different turn under *Cromwell*.

The growing diſſentions in *France* continued to favour the *Spaniards*. The *Catalans* found themſelves in danger of being ſacrificed by the *French* general, *Marſin*, who was the creature of the prince of *Condé*, and the *Spaniards* made a vaſt progreſs in the province, without meeting with any conſiderable reſiſtance. It was with difficulty that the duke of *Mercœur* could ſecure *Barcelona* to the *French*, and the latter muſt have loſt all *Catalonia*, had not ſome diſturbances broken out at *Valentia*, which employed the *Spaniſh* troops in quelling them. In the *Low Countries*, the viſcount of *Turenne* having (as we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of *France*) taken ſervice under the *Spaniards*, was beaten by the marquis *de Pleſſis Praſlin*. The prince of *Condé*, ſoon after, went over to the ſame intereſt, but *Philip* wanted money, and his miniſter wanted genius, to improve thoſe vaſt advantages. They gave up all they poſſeſſed in the *Piedmonteſe*, for the ſake of the *Milaneſe*, and that they might ſupport the operations of the prince of *Condé* in *Guienne*. At laſt, about the year 1652, don *Lewis de Haro*, by his continual attention to the internal diſſentions of *France*, became maſter of *Caſal*, which was given up to the duke of *Mantua*. The archduke took *Graveline*, and *Dunkirk* itſelf ſurrendered to his arms on the 16th of *September* 1652. Even *Barcelona* itſelf fell into the hands of don *John* of *Auſtria*, and all *Catalonia*, excepting *Roſes*, was recovered from the *French*, which was in a great meaſure owing to the profeſſions the court of *Madrid* made of reinſtating the *Catalans* in all their privileges. The prince of *Condé*'s intereſt dwindled in *Guienne*, where the *French* recovered *Bourdeaux*, and drove the *Spaniards* out of the province. After this, the irreconcilable difference between the manners of the archduke *Leopold* and the prince of *Condé*, entirely diſguſted the latter, and *Spain* loſt all the fruits of his ſervices. In *Catalonia*, don

Diſtreſſes of the *Catalans*.

1652.

Juan

Juan of *Auſtria*, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Roſes*, as the *French* general did that of *Gironne*.

Cromwell joins *France* againſt *Spain*.

We have already ſeen how the duke of *Guiſe*, after his attempt upon *Naples*, had been ſent priſoner to *Spain*, where he was ſet at liberty at the interceſſion of the prince of *Condé*. The latter could not agree ſo well with the duke of *Lorrain*, another ſoldier of fortune, whom the *French* had ſtripped of his dominions, and who, in 1654, was treacherouſly ſent priſoner to *Spain*, where he remained in captivity till the peace of the *Pyrenees*. But neither this complaiſance ſhewed to the prince, nor the other honour paid him by the *Spaniards*, could retain him in their ſervice. He deſpiſed their formality and ſlowneſs, and he foreſaw that they would be unable to protect him, if *Mazarine* ſhould ſucceed (as he afterwards did) in bringing *Cromwell* to declare againſt them. It is now univerſally agreed, that the *Engliſh* uſurper acted very impoliticly in joining *France* againſt *Spain*, and that nothing could have induced him to that meaſure, but the neceſſities of his government at home. He ſaw the armies of *Spain*, it is true, ruined on all hands for want of money, and the hopes of their miniſters, from the diviſions in *France*, daily drawing to a period. Notwithſtanding that, he knew that *Philip* had exhauſted more money upon his new palace of the *Eſcurial*, than could have ſupported the wars he was engaged in for ten years; and that he was hourly receiving prodigious remittances from *America*, which not being protected, might be eaſily intercepted by the *Engliſh* ſquadrons. The *Spaniſh* miniſtry would have made any compliances to have obtained a peace; but all was in vain, for the *French* king had now taken the field in perſon, at the head of an army which carried all oppoſition before him. The archduke ſaw, at the ſame time, that the *Spaniſh* general, the count *de Fuenſaldagna*, was a greater favourite at the court of *Madrid*, than he himſelf. The war was all this while going on in *Catalonia*, where don *John* commanded for the *Spaniards*, and obtained many advantages over the prince of *Conti*, the *French* general.

Vol. IX. p. 185.

Don *John* of *Auſtria*, governor of the *Low Countries*.

The *Spaniards* having now not much to fear on the ſide of *Rouſſillon*, don *John* of *Auſtria* was appointed governor of the *Low Countries*, as the count de *Fuenſaldagna* was of the *Milaneſe*, where he found both the finances and troops of *Spain* in a moſt miſerable ſituation, and loſt *Valenza* to the *French* duke of *Mercœur*. The marine of *Spain* was, at this time, dwindled ſo low, that it could not furniſh out a ſufficient eſcort for don *John* to protect him from the privateers, from whom he eſcaped with the greateſt difficulty. On his arrival, he and the prince of *Condé* gained great credit, by obliging the *French* to raiſe the ſiege of *Valenciennes*, and their great *Turenne* to retire under the cannon of *Queſnoy*. But we have already deſcribed the operations of this campaign. *Mazarine*, to obſerve a ſhew of moderation, offered terms to his catholic majeſty, but they ſtuck at the indemnity required for the prince of

of *Condé*, and at ſome hints which *Lionne*, the *French* miniſter, dropt of a match between his young maſter and *Philip*'s daughter. In 1657, the prince of *Condé* reduced St. *Guiſlain* in the *Low Countries*. The *French* took *Montmedi*, St. *Venant*, and *Mardike*, but the prince of *Condé* acquired immortal honour by forcing *Turenne* to raiſe the ſiege of *Cambray*. But this and other advantages gained by the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, as well as in *Catalonia*, did not compenſate for the blows which their commerce ſuffered from the *Engliſh* in *America*, where they loſt *Jamaica*, and the admirals, *Blake* and *Montagu*, deſtroyed and took five of their richeſt galleons. In *Portugal*, that king acted on the defenſive, and at the time of his death, he left a minor ſon, but his ſubjects were all united in their hatred of the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniſh* general, the duke de St. *Germain*, took *Olivenza* and *Moron*; but *Blake* gave a freſh blow to the *Spaniſh* trade, by deſtroying and burning a fleet of their galleons richly laden, in the iſland of *Teneriffe*. 1657.

The long continuance of the war, diſpoſed the court of *Spain* at laſt to peace, and *Mazarine*, who affected moderation, diſpatched *de Lionne*, with full powers to treat of it at *Madrid*. The negotiation proved ineffectual, becauſe the court of *France* refuſed to agree to the demands of the *Spaniards*, in favour of the prince of *Condé*; and *de Lionne* found that *Philip* was irreconcilable to the true end of the conferences, which was a marriage between the infanta and *Lewis* the XIVth. This year *Turenne* regained the advantages the *Spaniards* had obtained in the *Low Countries*, for he took St. *Venant* and *Mardike*, which laſt place was delivered up to general *Morgan*, who commanded a body of *Engliſh* auxiliaries in the *French* army. In *Italy*, the duke of *Mantua* left the *French* intereſt, and the count *de Fuenſaldagna* had great difficulty in keeping his footing in the *Milaneſe*. *Charles*, king of *England*, had thrown all his intereſt into the *Spaniſh* ſcale; and his two brothers, the dukes of *York* and *Glouceſter*, ſerved under don *John* and the prince of *Condé* in the *Low Countries*. *Charles* had but little credit with either party, but had ſuch excellent intelligence from *England*, that he informed the *Spaniſh* miniſters and generals, that *Cromwell* threatened to withdraw his troops from the *French* army, if they did not immediately beſiege *Dunkirk*. The *Spaniards* were then elevated by having baffled an attempt made by the *French*, under marſhal *D'Aumont*, whom they took priſoner, for ſurprizing *Oſtend*, and treated *Charles*'s information with neglect, imagining that *Turenne*'s object was *Cambray*; but they were ſtrangers to the ſpirit of the *Engliſh* uſurper, who was reſolved to be obeyed, and who forced both *Turenne* and *Mazarine* to ſubmit to his dictates. *Dunkirk* was inveſted; don *John* flew to its relief, but without artillery, and was completely defeated by *Turenne*, or rather by the *Engliſh* auxiliaries who ſerved under him, though the prince of *Condé*, and the two *Engliſh* princes (who behaved remarkably well) ſerved in the *Spaniſh* army. Continuance of the war there.

Dunkirk

Dunkirk was taken ſoon after, and it was thought that the *Spaniards* received more blows during this campaign in the *Low Countries* than they had in any of the preceding.

Preliminaries ſettled for the *Pyrenean* peace between *France* and *Spain*. 1658.

The war with *Portugal* was, however, the capital object of the court of *Madrid*, who conſidered all others as little elſe than diverſions. The *Portugueſe* under *Vaſconcellos* beſieged *Badajoz*, and don *Lewis de Haro*, ſtung by the reproaches of the public, put himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men, raiſed the ſiege of *Badajoz*, and inveſted *Elvas*, the ſtrongeſt place in *Portugal*. His army was attacked by the count *de Caſtagneda*, the *Portugueſe* general, and defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, on the 3d of *July* 1658. Through the great efforts made on the ſide of *Portugal*, the war languiſhed in other quarters, but the *Spaniſh* general *Mortara* obtained ſome advantages over the duke *de Mercœur* in *Catalonia*. Thoſe were but temporary events, and the beſt miniſters of *Spain*, particularly the duke *de Fuenſaldagna*, repreſented to *Philip* the danger his monarchy was in, if not ſaved by a peace. He had now two ſons, and he liſtened to the advice of his miniſters and allies, eſpecially the dutcheſs of *Savoy*, who trembled for that dutchy in caſe the *French* ſhould become maſters of *Milan*, and who ſecretly intended her own daughter, the princeſs *Margaret*, as a match for the *French* king. *Pimentel*, a *Spaniſh* miniſter, went incognito to *Lyons*, where the *French* court was, and informed *Mazarine* that his catholic majeſty had no farther objection to the match between his daughter and *Lewis*, and that he ſaw no capital objection to ſettling preliminaries for peace. *Mazarine* agreed, and preliminaries were ſigned.

Lewis XIV. married to the infanta of *Spain*.

The *Spaniards* gave up the intereſt of the prince of *Condé*, and the *Portugueſe* were left to defend themſelves alone againſt the power of *Spain*. Theſe preliminaries, as we have already ſeen, produced the interview between the miniſters of the two crowns in the iſle of *Pheaſants*, where the *Pyrenean* treaty was ſettled. In conſequence of that, the marſhal *Grammont* demanded the infanta for his maſter, and the different renunciations were executed with ſome difficulty.

The *Spaniards* yield the precedency at *France*.

Philip and his miniſters imagined now the reduction of *Portugal* to be certain; but though don *John* of *Auſtria* was recalled to *Spain* for that purpoſe, the campaign continued to languiſh, waiting for the old *Spaniſh* regiments from the *Low Countries*. In the mean while, *Philip* had an interview with the *French* king at *Fontarabia*, where all parties behaved in the moſt affectionate manner; and the prince of *Condé*, who had ſecretly made his own terms, left the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, where his troops had behaved very licentiouſly. Don *John*, at laſt, took the field againſt the *Portugueſe* with a very fine army, and took *Aronches*, with ſome other places, but could not force the *Portugueſe* to a battle. Notwithſtanding the *Pyrenean* peace, the duke of *Schomberg*, one of the moſt accompliſhed generals in *Europe*, at the head of ſix hundred *French* volunteers, continued in the *Portugueſe* ſervice, and had brought their army

into excellent diſcipline. Don *John* felt this, and complained that he was ill ſupported; but the *Portugueſe* received a vaſt acceſſion of ſtrength and credit, by a match ſet on foot between that king's ſiſter, and *Charles* II. of *England*, ſoon after his reſtoration. This nettled the court of *Spain* ſo much, that they ſent a miniſter, *de Batteville*, to the court of *London*, who entered into dangerous meaſures with the malecontents there, and whoſe behaviour produced the famous medal ſtruck by the court of *France*, in which the precedency of the *French* over the *Spaniards* was expreſsly aſſerted; and about that time, don *Lewis de Haro* died.

Don *John* ſucceeded the miniſter in his credit with his father, and he began the campaign againſt *Portugal* in 1662, with ſuch ſucceſs, that it was thought he might have taken *Liſbon* ſword in hand, had it not been for his too great caution. He became maſter however of many important places, and treated their commandants as rebels, to ſtrike the greater terror into the people. In the ſucceeding campaign, don *John* took *Ebora*, and *Liſbon* muſt have fallen into his hands, had it not been for the excellent diſpoſitions made by *Schomberg*, who, by the help of ſome *Engliſh* regiments, defeated don *John* in his retreat, with the loſs of above three thouſand men, and thereby ſecured the crown of *Portugal* to the houſe of *Braganza*. The catholic king was much diſcouraged by this defeat, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf, by forming freſh connections with the *German* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria*. He gave his daughter in marriage to the emperor *Leopold*; but this was far from relieving him, and the *Portugueſe* in the campaign of 1664, recovered almoſt all they had loſt in the preceding ones. The *Spaniſh* miniſtry was diſguſted with don *John*, and ſent for the marquis of *Carracena*, their governor in the *Netherlands*, to command againſt *Portugal*; but, till he could arrive, the *French* count *Marſin* was their general. The latter reſigned his commiſſion upon the arrival of *Carracena*, who was fraught with the moſt extravagant prepoſſeſſions, and promiſed to put the *Spaniards* in poſſeſſion of *Liſbon* in one campaign. He was at the head of a numerous well appointed army, with which he beſieged *Villavicioſa*; but he was defeated in the plain of *Montes Claros*, with the loſs of four thouſand men killed, and four thouſand made priſoners; don *Diego Corrior*, his ſecond in command, being among the latter. The ſtoic gravity of *Philip* forſook him on his receiving intelligence of this defeat. The letter dropt from his hand, and he fell into a ſwoon, ſaying only, "it is the will of God." After all, the *Portugueſe* having loſt three thouſand men in the late battle, made no farther progreſs on that ſide during the campaign, but *Schomberg* made an irruption into *Andaluſia* to revenge the ravages of the *Spaniſh* fleet on the *Portugueſe* coaſts.

1662. Adminiſtration of don *John* in *Spain*.

1664. Defeat of the *Spaniards* by the *Portugueſe*.

On the 17th of *September* 1665, *Philip* IV. of *Spain* died, with the character of having good natural parts, of being wedded to the glory of the houſe of *Auſtria*, but of being ruined

1665. Death of *Philip* IV.

Acceſſion of *Charles* II.

ruined in his education. He left a will regulating his ſucceſſion, though no part of it was carried into execution, but that of his being ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſurviving ſon *Charles* II. He left his queen regent of the kingdom, with a council during the minority of his ſon *Charles*, who was no more than four years of age. She was like her huſband, devoted to her own houſe, that of *Auſtria*, headſtrong and intractable. She had gained her huſband's affections ſo much, that ſhe had prevailed with him to exclude his natural ſon don *John* of *Auſtria* from all concern in the government, and ſhe had introduced one father *Nitard*, her favourite and confeſſor, but a poor groveling wretch, into the council of regency, by procuring for him the place of inquiſitor general. The *French* made a treaty with the *Portugueſe*, who continued to be ſupported by *Charles* II. and this forced the government of *Spain*, at laſt, to make a definitive treaty with *Alonſo*, his *Portugueſe* majeſty, under the mediation of *England*, by which the right of the houſe of *Braganza* to the crown of *Portugal*, was amply acknowledged on the 13th of *February* 1668. During the dependence of this treaty, the *French* king entered his claim to the dutchy of *Brabant*, in right of his mother, who had renounced it, and not meeting with a ſatisfactory anſwer, he took *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Douay*, *Oudenarde* and *Charleroy*, in right of what he called his devolution. His progreſs alarmed the people of *England*, and the *Dutch*, who were then at war with each other; but they ſoon accommodated matters, and formed the triple league in which *Sweden* was the third party, and ſaved the remainder of the *Spaniſh Low Countries*. That league, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *France*, produced the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in which the *Spaniards* made vaſt conceſſions to the *French*, but without acknowledging *Lewis*'s right of devolution.

Philip governed by his queen.

1668.

Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*.

Sicily revolts from *Spain*.

Don *John* of *Auſtria*, ever ſince he had been recalled from his command in *Portugal*, had lived in retirement; but the affairs of *Spain* were now in ſuch a miſerable condition, that all the grandees threw their eyes upon him, as the only man who could retrieve them. The queen did all ſhe could to prevent his being reſtored to credit, by promiſing him the unlimited government of the *Low Countries*; but he eaſily diſcovered ſhe only wanted to get rid of him, that ſhe and *Nitard* might govern more abſolutely than ever. Don *John*, who was really a man of abilities, finding the ſtrong ſupport he was like to have againſt *Nitard*'s unpopularity, threatened that if the queen did not baniſh him from court, he would employ force for that purpoſe. She endeavoured to maintain her authority, but finding it too weak, *Nitard* retired to *Rome*, where ſhe procured him a cardinal's hat, and don *John* was made lieutenant-governor of *Arragon*, that he might reſide at a diſtance from court. The conſtable of *Caſtile* was made governor of the *Low Countries*, and was ſucceeded by don *Juan de Haro*, count of *Montenay*, ſecond ſon to the miniſter don *Lewis*. He proved a brave and an active governor, and had it not been for

a ſeries of misfortunes, the prince of *Orange* and he would have ſtript the *French* of their chief poſſeſſions in the *Spaniſh Netherlands*. About the year 1672, *Spain* co-operated with *Germany* to ſave *Holland*, as we have ſeen in various parts of the preceding hiſtory, but they were deſerted by *England*, though *Lewis* was obliged to evacuate the *Dutch* provinces he held. In 1674, *Meſſina* in *Sicily* revolted from the *Spaniards*, and demanded protection from *France*, which ſent a ſtrong ſquadron againſt the *Spaniards*. The revolters were, at that time, in a moſt dreadful ſituation, and before they were thoroughly relieved by the *Spaniards*, they were forced to conſent to admit the *French* duke of *Vivonne* as their viceroy. He employed his power in enriching himſelf; and this gave the *Spaniards* an opportunity of ſecuring the unrevolted places of the iſland.

1672. Vol. IX. p. 418. 1674.

Hitherto the queen had maintained herſelf in the regency, by the reſpect which the *Spaniards* paid to the mother of their king; but on the 9th of *November* 1675, the king declared himſelf of age, and put himſelf under the counſel of the biſhop of *Malaga*. The queen endeavoured to retain her power, by being continued at the head of the regency; but the king, who then diſcovered pregnant parts, declared that he was reſolved to govern without one. It was obſerved after this, that his majeſty's ſpirit and capacity gradually abated, which ſome imputed to the practices of the queen mother upon his health, becauſe ſhe could not brook a diminution of her authority. It is allowed, however, that the council of *Spain*, at this time, had right notions as to foreign affairs, and entered into all ſchemes for reducing *France*. The *Dutch* admiral *de Ruyter*, was ſent with a ſquadron to the relief of the *Spaniards* in *Sicily*; but he was killed in an engagement with the *French* admiral *du Queſne*, and the united fleets of *Spain* and *Holland* were defeated and deſtroyed afterwards at the entrance of the port of *Palermo* in 1676.

1675. The king declares himſelf of age. 1676.

The queen mother, in conſequence of the advice ſent her from the court of *Vienna*, employed every rapacious method of encreaſing her riches, and for that purpoſe ſhe made uſe of don *Hernando de Valenzuela* as her agent. According to a diſpatch from Sir *W. Godolphin*, then embaſſador of *Madrid*, to Mr. ſecretary *Coventry*, this perſon, whoſe extraction was very mean, had been employed by the queen as her ſecretary in a private correſpondence ſhe kept up with *Nitard*, and finding him a man of parts and addreſs, ſhe had advanced him through moſt of the great offices of ſtate, in which he behaved ſo well, that he incurred no perſonal envy. According to the authority which we have juſt now cited, and which is preferable to that of the *Spaniſh* hiſtorians, the queen endeavoured to bribe don *John* by giving him an unlimited commiſſion to be vicar-general of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Sicily*, and all the *Spaniſh* dominions in *Italy*. His intereſt with the king was ſtrongly ſupported by the marchioneſs *de los Velos*, and other perſons who had the charge of his education and conſcience, and they

Dated *Nov.* 10, 21, 1675. Miſmanagement of the queen mother,

prevailed so far, that just as don *John* was setting out for his government, he received two letters from the king recalling his commission, and commanding his attendance at court, to take upon him the administration. Don *John* obeyed, and without being discovered, appeared in the king's bed chamber. *Charles* received him well, but left him to go into his mother's apartment, hoping he might prevail with her to give him an audience. Instead of that, she employed her ascendency over her son so effectually, that don *John* received three letters from his majesty, peremptorily commanding him to leave the court, and all who were found to be any way accessary to his journey, were removed from their employments, banished or imprisoned.

who loses her power.

Upon don *John*'s retiring to *Saragossa*, *Valenzuela* was made marquis of *Villa Sierra*, and declared first minister of state, upon which the principal grandees resigned their seats at the council board. This did not daunt the marquis, who applied himself with great vigour to the affairs of state, to which, however, he was very unequal. The grandees unanimously now had recourse to don *John*, who accepted of their invitation to assist them in removing the queen mother and her favourite from the king's person, and he accordingly set out from *Saragossa* for *Madrid* with above six thousand attendants, besides those of the grandees in his party. *Charles* summoned the counsellors together who remained with him, and it was resolved to make don *John* colonel of the royal guards, as a mark of his being entirely in his majesty's favour. The nobility then demanded that the person of *Valenzuela* should be secured, and presented a memorial for that and other purposes. Not being sure that he was proof against his mother's influence, he was persuaded to escape privately in the duke of *Medina*'s equipages from *Madrid* to *Retiro*; and thus he got rid of his mother's presence. She was however treated with the greatest tenderness and respect, and the marquis of *Villa Sierra*, with his family, retired to the monastery of St. *Laurence* in the *Escurial*, which was surrounded by four hundred gentlemen under the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and don *Antonio de Leyva*, the duke of *Alva*'s eldest son. Their vigilance was such, that the marquis was discovered, and the treasures which he had amassed there to an immense sum, were sequestrated to the king. As to himself, he was degraded from his marquisate, and his grandeeship; but nothing treasonable could be found in his conduct. He bore his misfortunes with great intrepidity, and was banished to the *Philippine* islands, from whence he was afterwards suffered to return to *Spain*. The vast treasures he possessed either for himself or in trust for the queen mother, seem to have formed the chief articles of accusation against him.

Administration of don *John*.

Nothing but an absolute insanity in the king can justify his grandees for having put him by force under the tutelage of don *John*, and raising troops to be the interpreters of his will.

The

The party in the oppoſition to the queen went ſo far, that ſhe was not ſuffered even to take leave of him, when ſhe left *Madrid* to go to *Aranjuez*; and notwithſtanding her high rank, and the numerous creatures ſhe had raiſed, her court there was a deſart, though it was remarkable that the king not only ſent one of his chief domeſtics to viſit her, but dropt ſome expreſſions as if he intended to ſurprize her with a viſit when ſhe removed to *Toledo*; and to divert him, don *John* carried him to *Arragon*, on pretence of ſwearing to the obſervance of the laws of that kingdom. According to Sir *William Godolphin*'s account, the king diſcovered, while upon his journey, great uneaſineſs when a ſimple woman called out in the crowd, "Where is the queen his mother." While don *John* was thus intent upon re-eſtabliſhing the internal affairs of *Spain*, the conferences for peace were going on at *Nimeguen*; but during the ſittings, every thing went againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and the count *de Monterey*, who was the beſt general they had, was unſucceſsful in *Italy* and *Catalonia*. This procured his diſgrace with don *John*, who is ſaid to have been jealous of the count's great credit with the king on account of his general good character, and his patriotic, as well as military, virtues. The inſolence of the *French* in *Sicily*, diſguſted the inhabitants of that iſland, and the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* preparing to recover it for the *Spaniards*, the *French* court took a ſudden reſolution to recall their troops from thence, and to leave the *Meſſinians* to the mercy of their former maſters, who puniſhed them with an impolitic ſeverity. The *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* were now ſo intimately united in intereſt, that the *Dutch* ſteadily perſiſted to refuſe ſigning the treaty of *Nimeguen*, till a reſtitution ſtipulated by it for the *Spaniards* was executed. We have already given the particulars of thoſe reſtitutions. It is well known that by the treaty of *Nimeguen*, *France* in reality meant only to gain a breathing time.

Letters from Sir *Wm. Godolphin* to the lord chamberlain. *Madrid*, *Feb.* 17, 27, 1676.

As the return of peace gave ſome leiſure to don *John*, he took meaſures for eſtabliſhing his power, and for preventing his being called to an account for the manner in which he had obtained it. He was conſcious of many irregularities of conduct towards the queen mother, and alarmed at the tenderneſs her ſon ſtill poſſeſſed for her. He therefore eſtabliſhed a commiſſion of enquiry into her management and behaviour, in order to plead ſome excuſe for keeping her at a diſtance from the court. She had propoſed the emperor *Leopold*'s daughter, though in her cradle, as a match for her ſon; but *Charles* enclined to *Maria Lauiſa*, daughter to the duke of *Orleans*, and niece to *Charles* II. of *England*, don *John*'s favourite ally. The princeſs was accordingly demanded at the court of *France*, but don *John* unfortunately for himſelf, by inſiſting upon ſome previous ſtipulations in favour of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, had almoſt diſappointed the match, a conduct which proved ſo much to his prejudice, that it loſt him the king's countenance, upon which he was abandoned by all the friends which his

Don *John* is diſgraced and dies.

greatneſs had made. His diſgrace touched him ſo much, that it affected his health, and he died ſome ſay of poiſon, and others of heart break. He is eſteemed to be the laſt prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*, who inherited all the virtues and abilities of *Charles* V. with few of his failings. No perſonal conſideration could make him loſe ſight of his country's good, and before his diſgrace, he reſtored the count *de Monterey* to his former power and luſtre. He was viſited by the king his brother, who wept over him while he was expiring; but ſoon forgot his loſs, though he was bewailed by the whole nation.

The queen mother regains her power.

Never was there a more divided poor and deſpicable kingdom than that of *Spain*, when *Charles* conſummated his nuptials with his young queen. Giving way to his natural affection for his mother, he brought her back in triumph to his court, where ſhe wreaked her vengeance on the friends of don *John*, and on all who had been inſtrumental in her diſgrace. The finances of the public were ſo low, that the king's domeſtics were obliged to leave the court for want of the common neceſſaries of life, and the *French* who attended the young queen, particularly their embaſſador *Villars*, inſulted *Charles* ſo groſsly, that he wiſhed for a war, that he might get rid of his perſon. The moſt exorbitant demands were every day made by the *French* court, and *Charles* was obliged to comply with them all, becauſe he was in no condition to diſpute them. The natural conſequence of this was, that *Spain* became more deſpicable, if poſſible, in the ſight of her allies than of her enemies. The duke of *Medina Celi*, a man of virtue, was then firſt miniſter; but his capacity was unequal to the taſk of remedying the diſtreſſes and diſgraces of his country, which was inſulted by every power in *Europe*. His defects might have been amply ſupplied by the count *de Monterey*, but he was hated by the queen mother, and both he and his brother were kept at a diſtance from court. The duke of *Medina Celi* reſigned his place of firſt miniſter. The *French* continued their conqueſts, and the *Dutch* ſubmitted. *Spain* found her ſafety in the ambition of *France*, which diſdained all bounds, and united *Europe* againſt *Lewis*. No tye was ſo ſacred as to check his arms, and while the *Dutch* and *Germans* looked on, his marſhal *Crequi* bombarbed *Luxembourg*, and other *French* generals invaded *Navarre*. They were oppoſed by the *Spaniſh* duke of *Bournonville*, and to break the force of the gathering ſtorm, a truce was concluded at *Ratiſbon*, by which the *Spaniards* gave up *Luxembourg*, but recovered *Courtray* and *Dixmuyde*.

The king exerts himſelf for the good of his people.

In this diſtreſt ſtate of *Spain*, her king, who had hitherto been thought incapable of buſineſs, exerted himſelf to a ſurpriſing degree in giving eaſe to his people. It was found that this could be done only by ſtriking off the unbounded penſions and appointments of his great men, who thereby became as clamorous as the vulgar had been before. The count *de Oropeſa* was then firſt miniſter to *Charles*, whoſe vigorous meaſures,

sures, though they seemed to be confined to *Spain*, sensibly operated upon all *Europe*. He was well served by his embassadors abroad, and they, without demanding any favour for their master, answered all his ends by representing the progress of the *French* power. This renewed the connections between the two branches of the house of *Austria*; and on the 20th of *June* 1686, the league of *Augsbourg* was signed by the *Spanish*, imperial, *Swedish*, *Bavarian*, and other *German* ministers, for defending their respective dominions, and making good the treaty of *Nimeguen*. Had not *James* II. of *England* been at this time infatuated by *Lewis*, this league might have had great effects, but the prevalence of the *French* faction among the states general, rendered it insignificant. *Lewis* sent *d'Etrees* with a squadron into the *Mediterranean*, where he took two galleons, and insulted *Cadiz*. In short, the *French* omitted no kind of violation either of public justice or decency, that could persuade the other powers of *Europe* of the necessityof a general confederacy against them. 1686. Vol. IX. p. 197.

The situation of *Charles* at this time, was very particular. He had executed his plan of reformation with such steadiness and success, that *Spain* began to regain her public credit. He loved his queen, but was devoted to his mother, whose politics at last fell in with the interests of his country, by connecting him with the imperial court. She had so much influence, that she even prevailed with him to recall *Valenzuela*; but upon second thoughts, he sent a countermand to his own order. By this time, the court of *Madrid* as well as that of *Vienna* was in the secret of the prince of *Orange*'s invasion of *Great Britain*, to which *Charles* largely contributed, as the only means of improving the league of *Augsbourg* into a general confederacy against *France*, which afterwards happened. It is certain, that the designs of *Spain* at this time, were conducted with the greatest wisdom and secrecy, and contributed greatly to the revolution in *England*. While *Charles* was thus recovering his influence, he fell ill, and during his sickness, the power of the queen mother was such, as to exclude his consort from having access to his chamber. She even entered into some intrigues for procuring a divorce between her son and his queen, on account of her sterility, that *Charles* might be at liberty to marry an infanta of *Portugal*; but this scheme proved abortive upon his recovery. A plate fleet, which arrived safe in *Spain* in the year 1688, gave him fresh weight and credit with the enemies of *France*. About the same time, *Charles* lost his queen, as the *French* alledge, by poison, and in two months after he was married to *Mary Anne*, a beautiful young princess, daughter to the duke of *Newburgh*, afterwards elector palatine, and sister to her imperial majesty and the queen of *Portugal*. The reader, by the hasty conclusion of that match, may perceive that the queen mother had now no rival at court, and soon after a war was declared with *Lewis*, who had now begun to feel the effects of the *Spanish* councils by the defeat of his

Progress of the confederacy against *France*.

1688. Death of the queen consort.

armies in *Catalonia*, and the defection of the duke of *Savoy* from his intereſt. *Lewis*, however, was much better ſerved than the confederates were in the field, as the reader may ſee
p. 42, & *ſeq.* in conſulting the hiſtory of *France*. The marquis of *Gaſtanaga* was then governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, and checked the progreſs of the *French* arms there by the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers*, while the *French* marſhal *d'Humieres* was beaten by prince *Waldeck*. During thoſe intereſting events in *Europe*, ſome relating to *Spain* happened in *Africa*. There, the *Moors* beſieged *Oran*, but the ſiege was gallantly raiſed by a body of *Spaniſh* noble volunteers. *Muley Iſhmael*, emperor of *Morocco*, had better fortune, for he took *Larach* after an obſtinate ſiege, and deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* garriſon there of a thouſand men.

Poverty of *Spain*, and riches of its grandees.

In *Catalonia*, the people rebelled againſt their governor, the marquis *de Leganez*, and he was recalled, but the duke of *Villahermoſa* would eaſily have reduced them, had they not been ſupported by the *French*. The king received his bride with raptures of joy, and the court of *Madrid* ſoon after publiſhed a very ſtrong manifeſto, to ſhew the neceſſity of a general confederacy againſt *France*. By this time, *Spain* had raiſed a conſiderable marine, which enabled *Charles* to act offenſively on the *French* coaſts, and every operation in the field demonſtrated the decay of the *French* power. The ſeaſonable arrival of another plate fleet, enabled *Charles* to continue his operations with ſucceſs in *Italy* and the *Low Countries*; but a dangerous illneſs, into which he fell, alarmed not only *Spain*, but all *Europe*, concerning his ſucceſſion. Upon his recovery, *Barcelona* and *Alicant* were bombarded by the *French* fleet, and his generals loſt ground in *Catalonia*, through a diſagreement that happened between the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, commander in chief, and his lieutenant-general count *Pignatelli*. To heighten the conſternation of the *Spaniards*, *Mons* was taken by the *French*, upon which *Charles* gave the government of the *Low Countries* to the elector of *Bavaria*, who had married his niece, and with powers that were next to independent.

1692. In the year 1692, upon the arrival of a new fleet from the *Weſt Indies* with prodigious treaſures, *Charles* placed the count of *Monterey* at the head of his finances. This was the more expedient, as it was found upon enquiry that prodigious embezzlements had been lately made, not only in *Spain*, but in the government of the *Netherlands*. The marquis *de Gaſtanaga* was, upon his arrival from *Flanders*, ſent priſoner to *Burgos*; and it is agreed on all hands, that while the king was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for money, his nobility were the richeſt of any in *Europe*; but without contributing a farthing to the public expence. In *Flanders*, the *French* took *Namur*, and beat the allies at *Steenkirk*, but could not conceal their exhauſted ſtate, which forced them to apply to the court of *Madrid* for peace. The *Spaniſh* miniſters encouraged by this, executed a project
See p. 46. which they had long formed of raiſing money upon the eſtates

of

of the grandees and the great officers of the crown. This ſcheme ſucceeded, and even cities and corporations contributed their quotas. Upon the diſappointment of the hopes once conceived of the queen's pregnancy, the right of ſucceſſion came to be agitated in the councils of *Spain*. Different opinions prevailed, but the ſon of *Lewis* XIV. as deſcending from the elder ſiſter, undoubtedly had the right of blood; tho' it was barred, not only by the renunciation of *Maria Tereſa* the mother, but by the jealouſy which all *Europe* muſt entertain on ſeeing the crowns of *France* and *Spain* united. The emperor, who was married to the ſecond ſiſter, claimed the whole, becauſe his wife had never made any ſuch renunciation. The electoral prince of *Bavaria* had a third claim, as being the grandſon of the emperor's wife. Each had their partizans, but the king himſelf inclined to the electoral prince, whoſe intereſt was likewiſe ſupported by the queen mother, and her favourite, the count *de Orapeſa*. Cardinal *Portocarrero* was at the head of a party for archduke *Charles*, ſecond ſon to the emperor; but the partizans of *France*, at this time, made very little ſtir for the princes of *Bourbon*, though they were far from being idle. On the ſide of *Catalonia*, their operations were ſucceſsful, for they took *Roſes*, and their admiral *Tourville* deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* commerce. In the *Low Countries*, *Spain* loſt *Charleroy*; but the galleons in 1695, arrived ſafe at *Cadiz*, to the great conſolation of the court; ſo that during the next two campaigns, *Spain* began to recover her luſtre on all hands, as may be ſeen in the hiſtories of *France* and *Germany*.

Care of the ſucceſſion to that crown.

p. 48.

1695.

About this time, the queen mother of *Spain*, who had ever ſince the death of don *John* of *Auſtria*, directed the affairs of that monarchy, and influenced thoſe of *Europe*, died after having prevailed with the king her ſon to declare the prince of *Bavaria*, who was not above four years of age, his ſucceſſor. This was the more extraordinary, as ſhe had always violently diſtinguiſhed herſelf for the houſe of *Auſtria*; but ſhe is ſaid to have had a quarrel with the court of *Vienna* before her death. We have already given a detail of the peace of *Ryſwick*, which was made after the *French* had taken *Barcelona*, and plundered *Carthagena* in the *Weſt Indies* of twelve millions of crowns. By that peace, which amazed all *Europe*, the *Spaniards* reentered into peaceable poſſeſſion of *Barcelona*, and all the places they had loſt, not only in *Catalonia* but the *Low Countries* during the courſe of the war. Though by this peace, *Spain* appeared with great luſtre, yet it was no more than a ſtratagem employed by the *French* for diſordering the great confederacy againſt them. It had that effect, and *Lewis* had the addreſs to bring over king *William* to conſent to the partition treaties, which we have more than once mentioned. Upon the death of the queen mother, *Charles*, who was now in a declining ſtate both in body and mind, was entirely governed by his queen. The prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, who had bravely defended *Barcelona*, and done other important

The king makes the electoral prince of *Bavaria* his heir.

p. 47. Vol. IX. p. 203.

p. 49, and Vol. IX. p. 204.

ſervices to the crown in *Catalonia*, was her favourite, and had ſo much credit at court, that it gave umbrage to the grandees. Every day threatened to be the laſt of the king's life, and conſequently the affairs of the ſucceſſion became every day more and more intereſting. A party was formed againſt the queen conſort, who was entirely in the *German* intereſt, and a concurrence of circumſtances in a few months aboliſhed the differences that for many ages ſubſiſted between the monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, and for ever diſunited the two branches of the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Parties at court concerning the ſucceſſion.

Charles could never, with any degree of patience, hear mention made of his ſucceſſor; but when he underſtood that the emperor, *England* and *Holland*, had partitioned out his territories before his death, he was provoked beyond meaſure. It is not our province to enter into the dark intrigues of ſo inacceſſible a court as that of *Spain*, nor could any relation of them, however certain, convey much hiſtorical information. *Lewis* XIV. had formed ſuch intrigues at the court of *Rome*, that he was ſure of obtaining a diſpenſation for his mother's and his wife's renunciations. He knew that the ſlowneſs of the court of *Vienna*, and its haughty manners had diſguſted *Charles*, and he ſent the marquis *de Harcourt* as his embaſſador to *Madrid*. No man could behave better than the marquis and his wife did while they were in that ſtation, and they ſucceeded ſo well, that neither the queen nor the count *de Harrache*, the imperial miniſter, could prevent their forming a ſtrong party in favour of *Maria Tereſa*'s deſcendents. When more ſubſtantial proofs than mere compliments and profeſſions were wanting, the marquis opened his purſe liberally to relieve the neceſſities of the old *Caſtilian* families, which had fallen into indigence; and in his maſter's name he offered a ſtrong ſquadron to ſerve *Charles* on the coaſt of *Africa*, where *Ceuta* was again beſieged by the *Moors*. Add to this, he was the favourite of the clergy, who preached up the indefeazible right of the houſe of *Bourbon*. The death of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, introduced new arrangements into the affairs of *Spain*, and multiplied the king's difficulties. The extortions and rapaciouſneſs of the court, occaſioned a dangerous inſurrection on account of the dearneſs of proviſions, and the king's eyes were ſo far opened, that he removed and baniſhed the count *de Oropeſa*, and the admiral of *Caſtile*; but the queen's favourite, the counteſs of *Berlips*, who was very deep in their guilt, ſtood her ground, and procured the diſgrace of the count *de Monterey*, the avowed enemy of the *German* adminiſtration in *Spain*. The reſentment of *Charles* at the treaty of partition, went ſo far, that his embaſſador was ſent out of *England* by king *William*'s order, and a ſecond partition took place, in which *France* was a party. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, was then a favourite with *Charles*, and entirely in the *French* intereſt. He had the addreſs to perſuade the king to ſend the counteſs of *Berlips* out of *Spain*, and that *Lewis* had conſented

p. 49.

to the second treaty of partition, only that he might demonstrate his regard for the peace of *Spain*, by preventing any violent measures from taking place, during *Charles*'s life time. The second treaty of partition was rejected by the emperor, and the *French* king gratified the court of *Spain* in all its demands, however unreasonable they might have appeared at another juncture.

By this time, the health of *Charles* was to appearance past recovery, and he still retained so much affection for the *Austrian* blood, that he invited the archduke *Charles* to repair to his court. *Blecourt*, who had the charge of the *French* affairs at *Madrid*, suspected this, and presented a strong memorial on the subject; and upon the emperor refusing to send the archduke into *Spain*, cardinal *Portocarrero* proposed to *Charles* the settling the succession by will upon the duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin. Whatever warm writers may have said concerning this destination, it certainly was calculated for reconciling the principles of succession to those of general policy, because it prevented the union of the two crowns in one person, and gave the kingdom to the prince who was the next hereditary heir after that precaution was attained. The king consented, and made his will accordingly, with great formality. Soon after he grew better, but he died on the 1st of *November* 1700, in the 39th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign. He was the last prince of the house of *Austria* who sate on the throne of *Spain*, and had the same indolent disposition as his father and grandfather possessed, though when he exerted himself, he discovered abundance of resolution and abilities. *Spain*, ever since the time of *Philip* the IId, had been no other than a province for rapacious ministers and favourites. They persuaded their kings, that they were an order of men superior to the rest of humankind, and that it was beneath them to undergo the fatigues of government, while they enjoyed all the state and adoration belonging to it. They were flattered in those ideas by the vast revenues that came from *Mexico* and *Peru*; but *Spain*, at the time it fell to the house of *Bourbon*, was the worst peopled country comparatively in *Europe*, and its inhabitants, though naturally brave, were insolent, proud and indolent.

Which is settled on the duke of *Anjou* by *Charles*.

SECTION V.

From the accession of the house of Bourbon *to the crown of* Spain *to the present time.*

THERE is little room to doubt that the information which the *French* king received concerning the will of *Charles* II. of *Spain*, did not surprize him. He affected however

Wise dispositions for the ac-

ceſſion of *Philip*,

ever an incertitude, but after the form of a debate had paſſed in his council, the will was accepted of, and the duke of *Anjou* received all the honours due to a crowned head, not only from the *French* court and the foreign embaſſadors, but from his grandfather, father, and elder brother. The affair of the ſucceſſion was managed with great ſpirit and ſecreſy. *Philip* was carried to *Spain*, where he was proclaimed king, and *Lewis* XIV. though the emperor and the pope proteſted againſt *Philip*'s acceſſion, took poſſeſſion of *Milan*, *Naples*, and the *Netherlands*, which was ſurrendered to him by the duke of *Bavaria*. When the will was opened, it appeared, that in caſe of *Philip*'s death, he was to be ſucceeded in the throne of *Spain* by the duke of *Berry*, his brother; and if neither of thoſe princes had iſſue, the crown was to go to *Charles* archduke of *Auſtria*, ſecond ſon to the emperor *Leopold*; and after him, to the duke of *Savoy*.

whoſe title is acknowledged by the confederates.

The wiſe meaſures taken by *Lewis* XIV. entirely diſconcerted the members of the great confederacy. They had depended on an inſurrection in *Spain*; but *Philip*, though the queen dowager was left with a caſting vote in the council, ſent her an order with the names of a certain number of places, one of which ſhe was to chuſe for the place of her retirement; and ſhe fixed upon *Toledo*. The inquiſitor-general, and the confeſſor to the late king, were confined to their reſpective cures; and *England*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*, formally acknowledged *Philip*'s right to the *Spaniſh* monarchy. The duke of *Savoy*, flattered with the hopes of what ſoon after happened, that *Philip* would marry his daughter, followed their example. The indolence of the imperial court during thoſe tranſactions was ſo amazing, and its ſecrecy ſo impenetrable, that the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, governor of *Catalonia*, and prince *Vaudemont*, governor of the *Milaneſe*, though devoted to the houſe of *Auſtria*, readily ſubmitted to *Philip*. We have already ſeen the intrigues and diſpoſitions made by the court of *Vienna*, to place the archduke *Charles* on the throne of *Spain*; but we ſhall for the ſake of connection recapitulate ſome of the principal events.

Vol. IX. p. 204. & ſeq. and p. 56.

Makes a campaign in *Italy*.

Though the *French* troops had taken poſſeſſion of all the paſſes between *Italy* and *Germany*, yet prince *Eugene* paſſed the *Alps*, and having with incredible labour carried his artillery and baggage over thoſe mountains, he defeated their army under *Catinat*, at *Carpi*, and obliged it to retreat towards the *Mantuan*, whoſe duke had declared for *Philip*. Prince *Eugene* then paſſed the *Mincio*, and attacked and defeated marſhal *Villeroy*, who was at the head of the united armies of *France* and *Spain*, near *Chiari*. His progreſs there and in the *Mantuan*, encouraged the *Neopolitans* in the *Auſtrian* intereſt, to form a conſpiracy againſt *Philip*, but it was diſcovered and puniſhed by the duke of *Medina*, governor of *Naples*. *Philip* was all this while ſtrengthening his party in *Spain*, and forming alliances with *Portugal* and *Savoy*; but receiving intelligence of

of *Eugene*'s progreſs in *Italy*, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his moſt *Chriſtian* majeſty's miniſters, to head his armies there in perſon, which he was the better enabled to do by the arrival of a plate fleet in the port of *Cadiz*, of immenſe value. Before he ſet out, he yielded to all the demands of the *Catalans*. Leaving his queen, to whom he had been but a few weeks before married, in *Spain*, he arrived on the 16th of *April* 1702, at *Naples*, where he found every thing quiet, and having confirmed the government there, by gratifying his ſubjects in all they deſired, he went to *Milan*, by the way of *Leghorn*, *Savona*, and *Final*. Leaving *Milan*, he put himſelf at the head of his army; but the duke of *Savoy* declined acting either with him or under him, having, notwithſtanding all his family connections, made his terms with the allies. *Vendoſme* was then the *French* general in *Italy*, where it was ſaid that the army of the two crowns amounted to fifty thouſand men, while prince *Eugene* was in the *Mantuan*, the capital of which he blocked up; but he was too weak to force the *French* and *Spaniards*. 1702.

On the 15th of *Auguſt*, neceſſity obliged the prince to attack his enemies, who, in the intermediate time, had obtained ſeveral advantages at *Luzzara*, where a deſperate battle was fought, which continued after midnight. *Philip* expoſed himſelf to the hotteſt of the fire, and the *French* marſhal, *Crequi*, was killed in the diviſion in which he engaged. The advantage, however, fell to *Philip*, who reduced *Luzzara* and *Gueſtalla*, before the armies went into winter quarters.

This campaign did *Philip* great honour, on account of the perſonal courage he diſplayed; and the adminiſtration of his queen in *Spain*, during his abſence in *Italy*, was equally applauded. The confederacy, in favour of the archduke *Charles*, was now formed. Upon the death of king *William* (who had diſobliged his parliament by the partition treaty) his ſucceſſor, queen *Anne*, purſued the meaſures which he left unfiniſhed, and a fleet was ſent to *Cadiz*, for the ſervice of the archduke, who took upon himſelf the title of *Charles* the IIId. The queen behaved on this emergency with a heroic magnanimity, under the moſt diſcouraging circumſtances; for though the fleet of the allies did not ſucceed in ſurprizing *Cadiz*, yet they deſtroyed the galleons at *Vigo*, where the *Engliſh* made ſome plunder. Cardinal *Portocarrero*, and the biſhop of *Cordova*, ſeconded the queen's heroiſm, by raiſing troops at their own expence; but their party was deſerted by the admiral of *Caſtile*, who retired to *Liſbon*, after he had undertaken the embaſſy to *France*. Every day producing freſh events that demanded *Philip*'s return to *Spain*, he arrived at *Barcelona* on the 20th of *September*, and immediately ſet on foot the means of defending himſelf againſt the ſtorm impending over his head, from the grand alliance. This could not be done without making free with ſome private property that had arrived in the galloons, and many of the grandees were diſguſted at ſeeing Succeſs of the *Engliſh* at *Vigo*.

ing *French* meaſures alone prevail, and the treaſures of their *Indies* ſquandered in ſupport of his moſt *Chriſtian* majeſty's ambition. The *French* inſolence at laſt incenſed *Philip*'s beſt friend, cardinal *Portocarrero*, into a requeſt for liberty to reſign his employments, from which *Philip*, with ſome difficulty, diſſuaded him. Nothing is more certain, than that the influence of the court of *Verſailles* at that of *Madrid*, was the great ſource of *Philip*'s misfortunes, and formed the party in favour of the archduke *Charles*.

He is deſerted by the duke of *Savoy*. Vol. IX. p. 51. & *ſeq.*

The conſtable of *Caſtile* remained ſtill in *Portugal*, and that king declared himſelf in favour of the allies, and adopted all the ſchemes propoſed by the conſtable in favour of the archduke. The queen had the mortification to ſee her father, the duke of *Savoy*, embrace the ſame party. The *French* king ſupported his grandſon's intereſt with amazing vigour. His moſt ſucceſsful general was the duke of *Vendoſme*, who commanded in *Italy*, and preſerved the intereſt of *Philip* there from being deſperate; but the vaſt efforts of *France* were directed againſt the duke of *Savoy*. The emperor, and the king of the *Romans*, having reſigned all their pretenſions to the crown of *Spain* in favour of the archduke, that prince was carried to *Portugal* by an *Engliſh* fleet; but in 1704, the duke of *Berwick* arrived in *Spain*, to command under *Philip*. The generals under *Charles*, were the duke *Schomberg* and baron *Fagel*; but both of them quarrelled with the *Portugueſe*, and *Philip* obtained many advantages in that quarter, through the pride and poverty of the court of *Vienna*. At laſt the earl of *Galway*, who had been a favourite with king *William*, and was a man of a ſound, but limited underſtanding, was appointed to command under *Charles*. It is hard to ſay whether *Charles* or *Philip* was worſt ſerved. Prince *Eugene*, who commanded for the former in *Italy*, was forced to repair to *Vienna*, to ſolicit for ſupplies, and the inſolence of the *French* damped the zeal of *Philip*'s beſt friends among the *Spaniards*. The duke of *Berwick* deſired to be recalled; cardinal *Portocarrero* reſigned all concern in the government; Sir *George Rooke*, the *Engliſh* admiral, and the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt*, took *Gibraltar*, which ſtill remains in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*; and on the 24th of *Auguſt*, a drawn ſea fight happened between Sir *George Rooke* and the count *de Tholouſe*. Marſhal *Teſſe* was ſent to replace the duke of *Berwick* in *Spain*, and the exceſſive profuſion of honours and employments heaped upon him by *Philip*, encreaſed the number of malecontents there to ſuch a degree as to threaten a total revolution.

1704.

War in *Portugal*.

Happily for *Philip*, the *Portugueſe* hated the *Engliſh*, and the army of *Charles* was every day viſibly waſting, without performing any ſervice. At this time *Philip* was fruitleſsly beſieging *Gibraltar*, and the admiral of *Caſtile* took upon himſelf the conduct of the war on the ſide of *Portugal*, where he reduced ſeveral places, but the principal ſervice he performed to *Charles*, conſiſted in his debauching *Philip*'s grandees, and multiplying

multiplying conſpiracies againſt his perſon and that of his queen, to ſuch a degree, as to render his abode at *Madrid* unſafe. The marquis *de Leganez*, one of the greateſt, as well as the worthieſt man in *Spain*, being ſuſpected of correſponding with the admiral, was ſent priſoner to *France*, but in the mean while the admiral died of heart-break, at ſeeing all his ſchemes blaſted. In him, the archduke loſt the beſt friend he had in *Spain*; but his place was more than ſupplied by the friendſhip of the *Engliſh*. Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* was their admiral, and the earl of *Peterborough*, a nobleman who would have done honour to the ages of romance, their general. They carried *Charles* into *Catalonia*, where the prince of *Heſſe Darmſtadt* was killed in beſieging *Barcelona*; but that city, with all the province, *Roſes* excepted, was reduced by the earl of *Peterborough* to the allegiance of *Charles*. The greateſt part of the kingdom of *Valentia* ſhared in the ſame fate, but the *Portugueſe* general, *Las Minas*, and the earl of *Galway*, were compelled, by marſhal *Teſſe*, to raiſe the ſiege of *Badajoz*.

Hitherto, the perſonal virtue of *Philip* had recommended him to the affections of the *Spaniards*, but they were ſhocked by the aſcendency which the princeſs of *Urſins*, an *Italian* lady, had over him and his queen. It was ſuch as diſguſted even the court of *France*, and *Philip* was compelled to ſend her to *Italy*. Perhaps her chief crime was her having too great a zeal for *Philip*'s intereſt, and giving him advice that was diſagreeable to *Lewis*. Upon her retreat to *Italy*, the affairs of *Philip* took ſo unfavourable a turn, that ſhe was recalled with the conſent of the *French* court, which now ſeemed to double its efforts for ſupporting *Philip*. His troops beſieged *Barcelona*, and the *French* fleet blocked it up by ſea. The *French* duke, *de Noailles*, overawed the *Catalans*, as the duke of *Berwick*, who was now returned to *Spain*, did the *Portugueſe*. The immenſe ſums which *Philip* furniſhed to his grandfather, ruined his affairs, becauſe he was diſabled from appearing early in the field, nor was the ſiege of *Barcelona* formed before the 6th of *April*. It was defended by the archduke *Charles* in perſon, with great valour and perſeverance. Both princes ſtaked their reputation on the fate of the place, but by the taking of *Fort Montjoy*, it muſt have fallen into the hands of *Philip*, had not the arrival of the *Engliſh* fleet, with a ſtrong reinforcement of troops, obliged the count of *Tholouſe* to leave the coaſt with his ſquadron. *Philip*, even after his departure, preſſed the ſiege, but was at laſt forced to give it over, and to abandon his artillery, magazines, ſick and wounded, to the humanity of the earl of *Peterborough*, who treated his enemies with that unparalleled generoſity, that diſtinguiſhed all the other actions of his life.

The princeſs of *Urſins* baniſhed.

The raiſing the ſiege of *Barcelona*, ſeemed to give a mortal blow to the intereſt of *Philip*. He had entirely failed in his attempts to retake *Gibraltar*. His enemies were in poſſeſſion of *Valentia*, *Alcantara*, and *Albuquerque*. The *Catalans*, by means

Philip forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Barcelona*.

means of the earl of *Peterborough*, had ſubmitted to *Charles*, and almoſt all *Arragon* was reduced to his allegiance. On the 7th of *June*, the allies took poſſeſſion of *Salamanca*. Prince *Eugene* conducted the imperial army over the mountains of the *Breſſan*, and paſſed the *Oglio*, but received a check near *Caſſano*, upon which the duke of *Vendoſme* beſieged *Turin*. The affairs of *Philip*, notwithſtanding this, ſeemed ſo deſperate in *Spain*, that *Amelot*, the *French* embaſſador at *Madrid*, in a manner threatened the grandees with *Philip*'s retirement out of *Spain*, by which they muſt be left to the mercy of *Charles*, but the duke of *Medina Sidonia* undertook it for the loyalty of *Philip*'s party. They were too weak to reſiſt the progreſs of the allies, who, after the ſiege of *Barcelona* was raiſed, took poſſeſſion of *Madrid* itſelf, and obliged *Philip*, with his army, to fall back upon *Navarre*.

He is favoured by the miſconduct of his rival,

Nothing could have now prevented the ruin of *Philip*'s affairs, but the indolence and pride of the *Auſtrians*. *Charles* trifled away his time at *Saragoſſa*, and in receiving idle compliments, when he ought to have been ſtrengthening his party at *Madrid*. On the other hand, *Philip*, though he loſt *Carthagena*, *Toledo*, *Alicant*, and many other places, declared that he never would abandon his party, but with his life. His ſpirited conduct revived his cauſe, while the rapaciouſneſs and tyranny of the *Auſtrians* loſt *Charles* the affections of the *Spaniards*. It was in vain for count *Cifuento*, one of his beſt friends, to preſs upon him the neceſſity of his repairing to *Madrid*, and there muſtering all his force, for he ſtill trifled away the time, on pretence of receiving the homage of the ſtates of *Arragon*. The duke of *Berwick* was all this while ſtrengthening *Philip*'s army, and before the allies could unite their force, he drove them from *Madrid* to *Guadalaxara*. *Philip* made a public entry into that capital on the 22d of *September*. The earl of *Peterborough* had foreſeen and foretold all that happened to the prejudice of *Charles*; and at laſt a junction of the allies, when it was too late, was effected, for the duke of *Berwick* had penetrated into *Valentia*. The queen dowager was ſent to *Bayonne*, and *Philip* recovered *Alicant* and *Carthagena*.

and adopts a new plan of government.

We have, in other parts of this work, given a detail of what happened by the allies gaining the battles of *Blenheim*, *Ramilies*, and *Turin*, by which *Philip* loſt *Milan*, and likewiſe the iſlands of *Majorca* and *Ivica*, with almoſt all the *Low Countries*. It muſt be acknowledged, that his conduct did not deſerve the loſſes and diſgraces he met with. By cardinal *Portocarrero*'s advice, he ſtruck into a frugal plan, and treated all the adherents of *Charles* as ſo many rebels. The confiſcations of their eſtates augmented his revenue. His clergy opened their purſes for his ſupport, and he caſually received large ſupplies from *America*. The pregnancy of his queen, which was declared about this time, was likewiſe of ſervice to his affairs, and in a viſit paid him by the duke of *Orleans*, he treated

treated him as an infant of *Spain*. It afterwards appeared, that the duke's journey into *Spain* was in order to form a party for the ſucceſſion to that crown in favour of his own houſe, the princes of which, as he pretended, had never agreed to any renunciation.

The command of the *French* troops in *Spain* had been given, by *Lewis*, to the duke of *Orleans*, who was popular and well beloved in the army, and it was thought that he intended to make uſe of them as occaſion ſhould offer. Marſhal *Berwick*, in the mean while, did wonders at their head, and covered *Caſtile*, againſt all the efforts of the earl of *Galway* and *Las Minas*. The two latter at laſt beſieged *Villuna*, after deſtroying ſeveral *Spaniſh* magazines; and the duke of *Berwick* making a feint to relieve it, drew the confederates into the plain of *Almanza*, where he could fight with great advantages. On the 25th of *April*, a battle was fought, which is well known by the name of that of *Almanza*. The *Spaniſh* cavalry broke that of *Portugal*, which behaved in an infamous manner, and left the *Engliſh* infantry expoſed to the enemy, whoſe ranks they had actually broken. They were, however, unable to ſtand the dreadful fire of the *French*, who flanked them, and the impreſſion made by the old *Spaniſh* regiments; ſo that being ſurrounded in their retreat under colonel *Hill*, they were obliged to throw down their arms, and left the *French* and *Spaniards* in poſſeſſion of a moſt complete victory. Eight thouſand of the allies were killed on the ſpot; two thouſand were taken priſoners; their two generals were wounded, and they loſt their artillery, with almoſt all their baggage. The army of the two crowns is ſaid to have loſt four thouſand men.

The confederates are defeated at *Almanza*.

The conſequences of this victory were more fatal to the affairs of the allies, than even the loſſes they ſuſtained, great as they were in the battle, ſeemed to promiſe. Their beſt regiments were entirely ruined; no unanimity ſubſiſted among their generals; the archduke *Charles* was in a manner abandoned, that the imperialiſts might purſue the reduction of *Naples*, and a ridiculous plan they had formed for taking *Toulon*, and which miſcarried. Perhaps after ages may ſee more clearly than the preſent can, into the reaſons why *Charles* was ſo ill ſupported. All we know at preſent is, that the whig miniſtry in *England*, who formed the ſoul of the grand alliance, was upon the point of breaking with the imperialiſts for their backwardneſs; nor is it improbable, that the heads of the tories of *England* were not diſpleaſed at ſeeing the whole burden of the war thrown upon their antagoniſts. The duke of *Berwick* loſt no time in improving his victory, and was in a few days joined by the duke of *Orleans*. All *Valentia* and *Arragon* ſubmitted to *Philip*, and by way of puniſhment for their diſaffection, their privileges were aboliſhed, and themſelves rendered dependent on the crown of *Caſtile*. The town of *Xativa* was, for its reſiſtance, razed to the ground, and

Conſequences of the defeat.

and a pillar of infamy erected on part of the ground where it ſtood. The *French* duke, *de Noailles*, took *Lira* and *Puicerda*, as the duke of *Orleans* did *Merida*; and, during the progreſs of their victories, *Philip*'s queen was delivered of a prince, who was immediately recognized as heir to the crown of *Spain*. *Philip* made no immoderate uſe of his ſucceſſes, for he releaſed many of the grandees whom he had ordered to be impriſoned, and performed many other popular acts of generoſity, which endeared him to his ſubjects.

Vol. X. p. 372, 375, & ſeq.

But while matters were thus ſmiling upon *Philip* in *Spain*, he was loſing ground in *Italy*, as we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of that country, where the imperial general, *Thaun*, became maſter of the city and kingdom of *Naples*, and was guilty of many exceſſes. The vaſt efforts made by the *Engliſh*, enabled the *French*, in the year 1708, to make a ſtand on the ſide of *Portugal*. The marquis of *Santa Cruz* abandoned *Philip*, by which the *Moors* became poſſeſſed of the long diſputed fortreſs of *Oran*, in *Africa*. By this time *Philip* and his queen, through the inſinuations of their favourite, the princeſs of *Urſins*, began to look with as unfavourable an eye upon the duke of *Orleans*, as they did upon the archduke *Charles*, who had been lately married to the princeſs of *Wolfenbuttel*, and continued to keep his court at *Barcelona*. Upon the duke's return from *Paris*, from whence he carried a large ſum to *Spain*, he found the army he had left in a very indifferent ſituation, through the vigilance of the *Engliſh* fleet, which had intercepted their convoys. The marquis *de Baye*, one of *Philip*'s generals, had been beaten on the frontiers of *Portugal*; and the *Engliſh* admiral, *Leake*, reduced *Minorca* and *Sardinia* to the obedience of *Charles*. Count *Staremberg*, who, next to prince *Eugene*, was thought the ableſt of all the imperial generals, landed at *Barcelona*, where he took upon him the command of *Charles*'s army, while the duke of *Orleans* was making diſpoſitions for beſieging *Tortoſa*, which he actually took, as *Aſfeldt*, a *French* general, did *Denia* and *Alicant*.

Ibid. p. 377.

Staremburgh lands in *Spain*.

Diſtreſſes of *Philip*.

The archduke, who ſtill went by the name of *Charles* the IIId of *Spain*, diſcovered more firmneſs than he did activity in his ſituation; but he was ill ſerved by his miniſters and officers, who were intolerably bigotted and rapacious. The immenſe loſſes of the *French* in the *Netherlands*, created ſuch demands of money upon *Philip*, as all his returns from *America* could not anſwer. In ſhort, *Lewis*, his grandfather, was obliged to conſent to negotiations, on the footing of abandoning his intereſt, and withdrawing his troops from *Spain*. We have already given a detail of thoſe negotiations for peace, in which *Lewis* made every conceſſion that reaſon could require, or nature could admit of, but all was to no purpoſe, unleſs he would conſent to employ his troops in dethroning his grandſon. We are under no difficulty in ſaying, that theſe barbarous demands ſaved the crown of *Spain* upon *Philip*'s head; and however

Vol. X. p. 55. & ſeq.

ever appearances might be to the contrary, it is more than probable that *Lewis* and his grandſon acted in concert together. After the conferences miſcarried at *Gertruydenberg*, *Philip* publiſhed the ſubject of them to the world in a manifeſto, which was attended by a moſt amazing turn in his favour.

Even ſince the birth of the prince of *Aſturia*, the grandees of *Philip*'s party had been very generous in ſupporting him. They had made him preſents of large ſums in ready money, and even coined their plate for his ſervice; but no ſooner did his manifeſto appear, than their loyalty roſe even to enthuſiaſm, which *Philip*, by cardinal *Portocarrero*'s advice, wiſely improved. He declared, that from thenceforth, he would employ no ſervants, and purſue no meaſures but what were truly *Spaniſh*. He appointed the duke *de Medina Celi* to be his firſt miniſter, and the marquis *de Bedmar*, to be his ſecretary at war. The *French* were very coldly looked upon at court, and the friends of the duke of *Orleans* were treated with harſhneſs. *Philip* renewed his proteſtations to his people, that he never would abandon them but with his life, and took every opportunity of informing the public of the ſecret partition which had been made by the allies of the *Spaniſh* monarchy, to gratify the houſe of *Auſtria*, the king of *Portugal* and the duke of *Savoy*. It was about this time that the famous cardinal *Portocarrero*, who had ſerved *Philip* ſo faithfully, died at the age of 74, and the archbiſhop of *Saragoſſa*, inquiſitor general of *Spain*, ſucceeded him in the archbiſhopric of *Toledo*. It happened luckily for *Philip*, that count *Staremburgh* was ſo indifferently ſupplied by the imperialiſts and the archduke, that he was forced to act upon the defenſive, as was *Philip*'s general, marſhal *Berzons*. *Philip* ſeemed to take this inactivity amiſs, and threatened to deprive the marſhal of his command, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Caſtilians*. In ſhort, whatever *Philip*'s private ſentiments might be, he found the only way to be popular with his ſubjects, was to diſcountenance the *French*. *Asfeldt* ſtill maintained his ground, and the marquis *de Baye* beat the earl of *Galway* in *Portugal*. *Charles* poſſeſſed little more in *Catalonia* than *Barcelona*, *Gironne* and *Terragona*. Upon the arrival of the *Spaniſh* galleons in 1710, with vaſt treaſures, *Philip*, without being very delicate with regard to that part of them that were *French* property, appropriated very conſiderable ſums to his own uſe, and took upon himſelf the command of his army in *Catalonia*, which conſiſted of twenty three thouſand men, the marquis *de Villadarias* ſerving under him. Before the opening of the campaign, it is ſaid, *Philip* diſcovered that his firſt miniſter, the duke *de Medina Celi*, kept up a private correſpondence with the *Auſtrian* party; but all that is known with certainty is, that that nobleman was put under a ſtrict arreſt, and carried to the caſtle of *Segovia*, and that afterwards he was condemned to ſuffer death, but his ſentence was commuted, by the king's order, into impriſonment. This important affair

who is betrayed by his miniſters.

1710.

being finiſhed, *Philip* repaired to his army, but was ſo much diſſatisfied with the marquis *de Villadarias*'s military talents, that he ſent for the marquis *de Baye*, out of *Portugal*, to command the army under him. The ſucceſſes of the imperialiſts in *Italy* had enabled them to reinforce *Starembergh*, who had a very able coadjutor, in the perſon of the *Engliſh* general *Stanhope*. Through the incapacity of the marquis *de Villadarias*, *Philip* found himſelf under the neceſſity of removing, for ſubſiſtence, towards *Saragoſſa*; and a large detachment of his troops were defeated by *Stanhope* at *Almenara*. *Staremburgh* paſſed the *Segre*, in ſight of his enemies, and took *Balaguer*, while *Philip* was ſeized by a fever, which confined him to his bed. His affairs were then in a moſt deſperate ſituation. The *Spaniards* had a wonderful opinion of their cavalry, which the *Engliſh* had beat at *Alcantara*, and when they retired to *Saragoſſa*, they fortified themſelves in ſuch a manner, that they had no idea of being attacked by *Starembergh*. They were however deceived, for a general battle was fought on the 20th of *Auguſt*, in which the troops of the two crowns were entirely defeated, with the loſs of ſome thouſands of their beſt men; and all that the marquis *de Baye* could do, was to retire towards *Lerida*, with about nine thouſand men.

He is defeated at *Almenara* and *Saragoſſa*.

The events that happened in *Spain*, at this time, were particularly rapid; for while the battle was fighting, *Saragoſſa* declared for *Charles*, who, though he was not preſent in the engagement, entered it that night. *Philip* was ſo well recovered, that he returned, but almoſt unattended, to *Madrid*, to which he was purſued by *Charles*, at the head of the allied army. Though victorious, it was, if poſſible, in a more deplorable condition than that of *Philip*, who ſeems to have fallen only that he might riſe with the greater velocity. He was obliged to leave *Madrid*, with his queen, and the prince of *Aſturia* in her arms, on the 9th of *September*. The grandees of his party, forgetting all former animoſities, beſought *Lewis* the XIVth to ſend the duke of *Vendoſme*, the moſt fortunate and the moſt amiable of his generals, to head them; and it was no ſooner known that the duke was upon his march, than the fortune of *Philip* revived, and his army, though not compoſed of ſuch experienced troops, became in a few days more numerous than ever. It then lay on the frontiers of *Navarre*, and the duke of *Vendoſme* aſſembled them at *Valladolid*.

The duke of *Vendoſme* arrives in *Spain*,

But *Philip* was favoured, unknown to himſelf, by the conduct of his enemies. The motions of *Charles* were dilatory, and his party was ſo much hated, that the native *Spaniards*, to deprive his troops of ſubſiſtence, had burnt their corn, and had rendered all the country between *Saragoſſa* and *Madrid* a deſert. *Stanhope*, a man of greater fire and ſpirit than *Starembergh* himſelf, depended upon a junction with the *Portugueſe*, and preſſed *Charles* to loſe no time in taking poſſeſſion of *Madrid*; but he had not foreſeen that the *Portugueſe* miniſtry would

and retrieves the affairs of *Philip*.

would disagree to the junction, which they actually did; and thus *Charles* and his victorious army were left to starve in *Madrid* and its neighbourhood. They were obliged even to remove from thence for subsistence, upon the approach of *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme*, whose troops were plentifully supplied by the affections of the inhabitants. It was the 11th of *November* before *Charles* left *Madrid*, on his return to *Catalonia*, which was threatened by the duke *de Noailles*. *Philip* took possession of *Madrid*, while the allies were obliged to divide their army into two bodies; one under *Stanhope* retired to *Brihuega*, where they were attacked by *Philip*, and bravely defending themselves for twenty eight hours, they were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war. *Starembergh* was upon his march to relieve *Stanhope*, but he was attacked at *Villaviciosa* by *Philip* and the duke of *Vendosme*, who were superior to him in numbers. His behaviour was answerable to the great reputation he had acquired; and though his right wing was entirely defeated by *Philip* in person, he made so noble a defence, at the head of the left, that the enemy lost above six thousand men; and he continued his march to *Catalonia*, without being pursued. Though the allies affected to give the action at *Villaviciosa* the air of a victory, yet it certainly proved fatal to the affairs of *Charles*, for *Starembergh* did not carry back with him above seven thousand men to *Catalonia*.

Great revolutions in his favour.

It was the 23d of *December*, when the duke *de Noailles* took *Gironne*, and *Philip* re-established his court at *Saragossa*, where the duke of *Vendosme* attended him. Upon their reviewing the troops, *Philip* made a present to the duke of fifty thousand pieces of eight, for his equipage, but the duke gallantly distributed the money among the soldiers. The affairs of *Europe* now took a surprizing turn. The *English* ministry inclined to put an end to a war, which though foreign to their interest, they were obliged to support at an extravagant expence. The emperor *Joseph* died, and his brother, *Charles* the IIId of *Spain*, became head of the house of *Austria*, which all *Europe* understood disqualified him from wearing the crown of *Spain*. Before he left *Barcelona*, he put his secretary of state, the duke of *Molas*, a *Spaniard*, under arrest, and shrewdly hinted, that he thought he had been betrayed by his *Spanish* ministers. He declared *Starembergh* his viceroy, and left his queen at *Barcelona*, under his protection. It was expected that the campaign of the year 1711, would have been bloody on the side of *Catalonia*, where *Philip*'s army outnumbered that of *Charles*; but the courts of *Europe* were so busied in negotiating, that they only sought a colourable pretence to avoid fighting. *Starembergh* failed in a design he laid for burning the *Spanish* magazines, and recovering *Tortosa*, and when winter drew on, not only the proposed conferences for peace at *Utrecht*, but the needy circumstances of both parties kept them quiet in their quarters. We have

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already ſeen the various circumſtances that operated towards the peace of *Utrecht*, to which we may add the critical arrival of a plate fleet at *Cadiz*, which repleniſhed *Philip*'s finances. Upon its arrival, the operations of war were renewed in *Catalonia*, but *Philip* ſuffered a vaſt loſs in being, in a manner, obliged to diſgrace the conde *d'Aguilar*, the ableſt of his *Spaniſh* generals, becauſe he differed with the duke of *Vendoſme*. Count *Staremberg*, at the head of twenty-eight thouſand men, was forced to raiſe the ſiege of *Gironne*; but as the negotiations at *Utrecht* for a general peace were at that time almoſt finiſhed, the court of *England* privately hinted to the *French* and *Spaniſh* miniſters, that the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* would ſeparate themſelves from the imperialiſts, and leave *Staremberg* to carry on the war by himſelf in *Catalonia*. In the mean while, the duke of *Vendoſme*, who loved the pleaſures of the table, died ſuddenly, as was thought, of a ſurfeit at *Vignaros*, and was buried with royal honours in the *Eſcurial*.

He is ſettled on the throne by the treaty of *Utrecht*.

In *November* following, lord *Lexington*, the *Britiſh* embaſſador, received at *Madrid*, *Philip*'s renunciation for himſelf and his heirs, of all right to the ſucceſſion of the crown of *France*, in favour of his brother the duke of *Berry*, and the princes of the *Orleans* and *Bourbon* families. This renunciation was ratified in an aſſembly of the ſtates, who, at the ſame time, eſtabliſhed the ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Savoy* to the crown of *Spain*, failing the heirs of *Philip*'s body, and excluded the houſe of *Auſtria* for ever; but they limited likewiſe the ſucceſſion to the *Spaniſh* monarchy to heirs male. Thoſe regulations opened a fair proſpect for *Philip*, but the *Catalans*, though abandoned by the *Engliſh*, refuſed to lay down their arms, though *Philip* offered them an abſolute pardon. This was a trying point, and when *Philip* perceived that they could not be reduced without arms, and that the houſe of *Auſtria* was obſtinate in continuing the war, he, by the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Orry*, the *French* miniſter, put the army and finances of *Spain* under a better regulation than they had ever been before. He then juſtly conſidered himſelf, perhaps for the firſt time, as king of *Spain*, and reſolved to treat the *Catalans* as rebels. He was encouraged, by the grateful ſenſe which his people had of the returning grandeur and proſperity of their country. He publiſhed declarations, in which he made a merit of his having ſacrificed, even againſt the ſenſe of his grandfather, all his right to the crown of *France*, that he might reſtore tranquillity to *Spain*; but it muſt be acknowledged, that he owed it to the friendſhip of *Great Britain*. In a few days it was known, that by the treaty with that crown, he had yielded up *Gibraltar*, *Minorca* and *Port Mahon*, and had granted to the *Engliſh* the *Aſſiento* trade for thirty years, with other privileges; but in fact, the *Spaniards* thought they could not purchaſe the return of peace at too dear a rate. By the mediation of queen *Anne*, *Philip* at the ſame time gave up the iſland of *Sicily* to the duke of *Savoy*, but with a right

of

of reverſion to the crown of *Spain*, failing that duke's heirs. The miniſters of *Philip*, who ſigned this treaty, were the duke of *Oſſuna*, and the marquis of *Monteleon*; thoſe of *Great Britain*, were Dr. *Robinſon*, who was lord privy-ſeal and biſhop of *Briſtol*, and the earl of *Stafford*. A treaty was, at the ſame time, entered into between *Philip* and the duke of *Savoy*, regulating their family ſucceſſions.

Obſtinacy of the *Catalans*,

It is not to be wondered at, if ſome exceptions were found in *Spain*, of men who diſtruſted the continuance of the peace, eſpecially as *Catalonia* remained ſtill in a ſtate of rebellion, and the *Portugueſe* had yet agreed to no terms. *Philip* had not only agreed to an unreſerved pardon of the *Catalans*, but to their being entitled to all the privileges of *Caſtilians*. The empreſs of *Germany* was ſtill at *Barcelona*, where ſhe had been left by her huſband, *Charles* the IIId, who now ſent for her. Before ſhe departed, ſhe received a promiſe of the *Catalans*, that they never would depart from their allegiance to *Charles*; and ſhe aſſured them, in his name, that he was reſolved to keep up his claim to the *Spaniſh* monarchy. Notwithſtanding thoſe reciprocal declarations, *Charles* found himſelf in ſuch a ſituation, that he agreed to a convention for evacuating *Catalonia*, and that *Starembergh*, with his troops, ſhould embark on board the *Engliſh* fleet. This convention was very looſely worded, and very imperfectly complied with. The marquis *de Lede*, a *Spaniſh* general, took poſſeſſion of *Terragona*, where he was well received, but the inhabitants of *Barcelona* obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit to *Philip*'s government. He pretended that their obſtinacy had freed him from obſerving the terms he had already offered them, and they, on the other hand, depended for protection on *England* and *Holland*. Both thoſe powers interceded in their favour, and would have prevailed with *Philip* to have ſtood by his former terms, had they not again rejected them. This gave the *Engliſh* embaſſador a pretext for cooling in his interceſſions in favour of the *Catalans*; and at laſt, the tory miniſtry ſpoke of them as no better than rebels. We are, however, to obſerve, that queen *Anne* thought herſelf in honour bound not to abandon the *Catalans*; but the treaties being now ſigned, without a farther proviſion being made in their favour, her interceſſion hung long in ſuſpenſe, and without any effect, farther than that a general amneſty ſhould be granted them, and that they ſhould be entitled to all the rights and privileges of the *Caſtilians*, the moſt favoured of his catholic majeſty's ſubjects.

The *Catalans*, on the other hand, complained that thoſe offers were fallacious and deluſive, unleſs *Philip* would reſtore them to their antient privileges, which entitled them to the power of the purſe and the ſword. This was a demand highly diſagreeable to the tory party in *England*, who pretended that it rendered them independent of their lawful ſovereign, who offered them the more ſubſtantial privileges of trading to the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*, and of being entitled in common with the

Caſtilians, to hold lucrative employments in *America*. Such was the ſhort ſtate of the queſtion between the court of *Spain* and the *Catalans*, which we have been the more ſollicitous to explain, as it has been generally miſunderſtood.

who are reduced.

When the imperialiſts evacuated *Catalonia*, the *Catalans* formed themſelves into a kind of ſeparate government, and raiſed an army of the *Spaniards* who had ſerved with the imperialiſts. It is a matter of doubt what were their real intentions. Probably they ſtill depended on the friendſhip of *England* and *Holland*, and that a public ſpirit might riſe, which would enable them to become a republic. It is true, they ſtill profeſſed themſelves to be ſubjects to *Charles* the IIId; but it was well known, that at that time he had renounced all thoughts of the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, and that if the *Catalans* meant any thing, it was that, in the end, he ſhould guaranty their liberties and privileges. Be this as it will, they rejected the ſummons of the duke *de Popoli*, who commanded for *Philip* in *Catalonia*, to admit his troops, and hoſtilities immediately commenced, after the *Catalans* had formally declared war both againſt *Philip* and *Lewis* the XIVth. The ſpirit they diſcovered made ſo great a noiſe in *England*, that the queen ordered lord *Lexington* to make freſh repreſentations in their favour; but they were ſo far from prevailing, that he adviſed the *Catalans* to accept of *Philip*'s terms. The houſe of peers in *England*, notwithſtanding that, preſſed the queen ſo warmly in their favour, that lord *Bingley* was appointed embaſſador to *Spain*, (though never ſent) with freſh repreſentations, and inſtructions were ſent to countermand the operations of the *Engliſh* fleet under *Wiſhart*, who had been ordered to act hoſtilely againſt them. Thoſe proceedings diſobliged *Philip* and his court, and they diſregarded the *Britiſh* mediation ſo much, that they employed *Orry* to treat with the *Catalans*, but they

1714. ſtill continued obſtinate. At laſt, on the 1ſt of *July* 1714, the duke of *Berwick*, the *French* general, opened the trenches before *Barcelona*; and the influence of his court was ſo ſtrong at *London*, that *Wiſhart* was again ordered to threaten the *Catalans*. All *Catalonia* was now unmercifully plundered by the *French*, and the duke of *Berwick* was preparing to ſtorm *Barcelona*. In vain the inhabitants appealed to Heaven, and to the honour of the *Britiſh* miniſtry for relief. Being at laſt obliged to capitulate, they could obtain no other terms than that they ſhould not, upon certain conditions, be put to the ſword, nor plundered. No fewer than fourteen thouſand bombs are ſaid to have been thrown into the city during the ſiege, which laſted for two months, and reduced the place to a heap of ruins. The capitulation was ill obſerved; for many of the brave *Catalans*, who ſurvived their countrymen who periſhed during the ſiege, in which their miſeries were inconceivable, were perſecuted by the unrelenting reſentment of *Philip*'s government, either ſuffered death by the forms of juſtice, or by their confinement in dungeons.

The

The fate of the *Catalans* exhibited an uncommon ſpectacle to *Europe*, and ſuch as deſpotic princes can form no idea of. Even the Tory miniſtry of *England* thought that the privileges they claimed, though obtained at the price of their blood, and confirmed by the moſt ſolemn ſanctions, were incompatible with a ſtate of ſubjection. Thoſe ideas were ſtill ſtronger in the minds of *Philip* and *Lewis*, and other abſolute princes; ſo that the conſtitutional reſiſtance they made was interpreted into acts of rebellion and deſpair, and ſecretly condemned by *Charles* himſelf, who, notwithſtanding all his profeſſions to the contrary, abandoned them in reality.

The emperor remained ſtill diſcontented, but unable to redreſs himſelf, as he was ſeverely preſſed by the *Turks*, and abandoned by his allies. He was in poſſeſſion of *Sardinia*, *Naples*, *Milan*, and the other dominions that had formerly belonged to *Spain* in *Italy*, and the *Netherlands*. At the time of ſtipulating the evacuation of *Catalonia*, he had agreed to that of *Majorca*; but he ſtill kept poſſeſſion of that iſland, on pretence that the *Spaniards* had broken the capitulation of *Barcelona*. Matters were in this ſituation, when on the 14th of *February* 1714, *Philip*'s queen died; and a few weeks after he made propoſals of marriage to *Elizabeth*, who was daughter to *Edward* prince of *Parma*, and heireſs to other poſſeſſions in *Italy*. The marriage was celebrated by proxy on the 16th of *September* following, and gave riſe to the amazing alteration in the ſyſtem of *Europe*, which has ſince taken place. The chief agent in the match, was an *Italian* eccleſiaſtic, one *Alberoni*, who had followed the duke of *Vendoſme* into *Spain*, and was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and by being made *Philip*'s firſt miniſter. The progreſs of the *Turks* in the *Morea*, happened to be very favourable to *Philip*'s affairs, as it produced a kind of a cruſade, in which he obtained great ſums by the indulgence of the court of *Rome* from his eccleſiaſtics, on condition of his employing his fleets againſt them. A powerful marine was accordingly equipped, and the genius of *Alberoni* ſeemed more than equal to his great poſt, for *Spain* ſoon became ſo powerful both by ſea and land, that ſhe ſtruck terror into the reſt of *Europe*. Her naval armaments, inſtead of ſerving againſt the *Turks*, carried fifteen thouſand men to *Majorca*, which the imperialiſts were obliged to evacuate; and ſoon after *Corfu* and all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, except thoſe diſpoſed of by the peace of *Utrecht*, reverted to *Spain*. The pope, and other powers, complained that the money granted to *Philip* upon his clergy, had been miſapplied. He continued his naval preparations, and promiſed to amend for the future; but in the year 1717, the marquis *de Lede*, landed with ten or twelve thouſand men at *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*, which city and iſland he ſoon reduced. At laſt, *Philip*, by his embaſſadors, made no ſecret that he would lay hold of the non-performance of the evacuations to drive the imperialiſts out of *Italy*.

The emperor continues the war.

Second marriage of *Philip*.

Alberoni firſt miniſter of *Spain*.

1717.

The *Spaniſh* marine ruined by the *Engliſh* at *Cape Paſſaro.*

His threats produced the quadruple alliance which was formed by *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and the *States General.* When this alliance was firſt ſet on foot, *Philip*'s miniſters affected a ſhew of moderation, but without diſcontinuing their preparations. *George* I. who was at the head of the quadruple alliance, endeavoured to obtain from the emperor, a renunciation of his right to the crown of *Spain*, and likewiſe to ſecure the queen of *Spain* and her ſon don *Carlos*, who was then in his cradle, to the ſucceſſion not only of her family eſtates in *Italy*, but to that of *Tuſcany*, in caſe of the great duke's dying without iſſue. The *Spaniards* rejected thoſe propoſals, and king *George* gave orders for equipping a powerful armament to be ſent under Sir *George Byng* to the *Mediterranean*, for maintaining the tranquillity of *Italy*. By this time the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Barcelona* had ſailed for *Sicily*, with thirty ſix battalions, ſix regiments of horſe, four of dragoons, a thouſand matroſſes, and an incredible quantity of naval and military ſtores, with a proportionable number of mechanics of every kind. The duke of *Savoy*, who then was in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*, had about this time agreed to exchange it with the emperor for *Sardinia*, when it ſhould be conquered. Without regard to this, the marquis *de Lede*, the *Spaniſh* general in *Sicily*, reduced *Palermo*, and was beſieging *Meſſina* when the *Engliſh* fleet, having touched at *Naples*, proceeded with two thouſand imperialiſts on board, to relieve the citadel of *Naples*. In his way, he fell in with the grand *Spaniſh* fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſeven ſail of the line, beſides frigates and fireſhips, under admiral *Caſtanata*. It is to this day uncertain which ſide began the engagement that followed, at about ſix leagues diſtance from *Cape Paſſaro*; but the event was, that the *Spaniſh* fleet was totally defeated, their beſt ſhips being either taken or deſtroyed. This blow ruined the marine of *Spain*; but did not abate the pride and reſentment of that court. They accuſed the *Engliſh* of the moſt atrocious breach of faith, which the latter retorted upon the *Spaniards*, on account of their infractions of the treaty of *Utrecht*. The *Engliſh* trade with *Spain*, at that time, was almoſt ruined; one of the great objects which *Alberoni* had in view, being to raiſe the pretender to the throne of *Great Britain*. This was the moſt exceptionable part of his miniſtry, becauſe it made the *Engliſh* his enemies, the only power in *Europe* whom he had to fear. The ſpirit of *Alberoni* continued ſtill undaunted; he accuſed the *Engliſh* of having begun the engagement, and pretended that their guaranty for the neutrality of *Italy* had been long at an end; he formed connections with the enemies of the *Orleans* family in *France*, for depoſing that duke from the regency; he laid a plan for a partition of the *German* empire, between the king of *Sweden* and the czar of *Muſcovy*, and thoſe two powers aſſiſted by *Spain*, were to invade *Great Britain*, in favour of the pretender. All his ſchemes were blaſted while there was the moſt probable grounds for carrying them into

into execution. The prince *de Cellamare*, the *Spaniſh* embaſſador at *Paris*, to whoſe management the *French* conſpiracy was committed, was put under arreſt, partly upon ſome diſcoveries that had been caſually made, and partly on account of intelligence given to the regent by *George* I. The king of *Sweden* was killed at the ſiege of *Frederickſhall*, and *Alberoni*'s character was blaſted by the defeat of the *Spaniſh* fleet. The regent raiſed an army of thirty-ſix thouſand men. The fleet that was to have made the deſcent from *Spain* upon *Great Britain*, was diſabled from proceeding by a ſtorm, and king *George* had leiſure to provide powerfully againſt all attempts upon his crown, either at home or from abroad. About three hundred *Spaniſh* troops, who had been ſent to make a diverſion in the north of *Scotland*, landed there, but were forced to lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the *Engliſh* general.

Sir *George Byng* ſtill continued to be ſucceſsful againſt the *Spaniards* in the *Mediterranean*, where the indolence of the imperialiſts gave *Patinho*, that able *Spaniſh* miniſter, vaſt advantages. Count *Merci*, the imperial general, arrived from *Vienna* at *Naples*, and put himſelf at the head of ten thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe, which were tranſported to *Sicily*; upon which the marquis *de Lede*, who continued to command for the *Spaniards* there, retired from *Melazzo* to *Francavilla*. *Merci*, who was a brave but hot-headed man, miſtaking this retreat for cowardice, attacked *de Lede* under vaſt diſadvantages, and was defeated; but the imperialiſts took *Meſſina*, and deſtroyed the remainder of the *Spaniſh* marine in its harbour. The conduct of the imperialiſts, however, was ſo improvident and unadviſed, that they muſt have ſtarved for want of aſſiſtance, had they not been relieved by the *Britiſh* fleet, and even in the midſt of their ſucceſſes they loſt five thouſand men. The war continues in *Sicily*.

The court of *Spain* never could forgive the regent of *France* for aſpiring to that crown during *Philip*'s misfortunes, and the regent was equally exaſperated at the late attempts made by *Philip* to ruin him. The duke of *Berwick*, who had ſo often ſaved *Philip*, took the command of the *French* army againſt him, and invaded *Spain*; where he made himſelf maſter of *Fontarabia* and St. *Sebaſtian*, and deſtroyed all the ſhips of war that were on the ſtocks at *Port Antonio*, or elſewhere on that coaſt. About the ſame time, the *Engliſh* under lord *Cobham*, had formed a deſign to take *Corunna*, but after taking *Vigo* and *Pontavedra*, returned without making any farther attempt. The court of *London* likewiſe laid aſide an expedition which had been formed againſt *Peru* itſelf. This was probably owing to the *French* jealouſy of the *Engliſh* making ſuch an acquiſition; but in fact, all the belligerent powers now ſhewed a diſpoſition for peace, provided *Alberoni* was diſmiſſed from the councils of *Spain*. The *French* embaſſador at the *Hague*, the marquis *de Beretti Landi*, informed his court of their diſpoſi- *Philip* diſgraces *Alberoni*.

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tions, but he was inſtructed to inſiſt upon terms, that none but an abſolute conqueror could propoſe. They were rejected by the confederates; *Philip*'s ſpirit fell, and *Alberoni*, who had been ungrateful to the queen of *Spain*, was diſgraced at that court, and baniſhed out of the kingdom. Upon his removal, the queen got the abſolute poſſeſſion of her huſband's inclinations, and purſued the ſchemes of *Alberoni*, who had certainly chalked out the foundation of her family's preſent greatneſs. Her councils led *Philip* to make a peace with *England*, upon the footing of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but all the ſhips taken from the *Spaniards* by Sir *George Byng* were to be reſtored, and the undecided differences were to be left to a congreſs to be held at *Cambray*. This treaty, which was ſigned at *Madrid*, broke the good underſtanding that had hitherto ſubſiſted between the courts of *London* and *Vienna*, and it was plain that her catholic majeſty's councils had gained an aſcendency with the mediating powers at *Cambray*.

Double marriages between *France* and *Spain*.

The intereſts of *England* were undoubtedly ſacrificed at this time to foreign conſiderations. The imperial court's obſtinacy now became wiſdom, for *George* I. did not chuſe to execute his engagements with *France* and *Spain*, who were then intimately united, leſt the emperor ſhould refuſe him the inveſtiture of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The congreſs at *Cambray*, broke up without any effect, the emperor refuſed to grant to don *Carlos* the inveſtiture of his family duchies, and inſiſted upon that of *Parma* being a fief of the empire, while the court of *Spain*, encouraged by the ſituation of affairs in *England*, to the amazement of all *Europe*, demanded the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. They were encouraged to this by
p. 67. their cloſe connections with *France*. The regent laying aſide all former reſentments, agreed to a marriage between his pupil king, *Lewis* XV. and the infanta *Maria* of *Spain*, though ſhe was not then four years of age, and the prince of *Aſturia* was to marry mademoiſelle *de Montpenſier*, the regent's daughter; and another of his daughters was to be given to don *Carlos*. The exchanges for the two firſt marriages were executed; but in *December* 1722, the regent duke of *Orleans* died.

Philip reſigns and reſumes his crown.

Philip was not inſenſible of the ſcandal he lay under, for having laid his clergy under contributions without doing any thing againſt the infidels. With a view of continuing thoſe exactions, he ſent in the year 1720, an army to drive the *Moors*
1720. from *Ceuta*; but after a few ſkirmiſhes which were exalted into victories, they returned next year without doing any thing of importance. The death of the regent of *France* in *December*
1723. 1723, gave a new turn to the affairs of *Spain*, and inſpired *Philip* with a reſolution of abdicating his crown, which he actually did in favour of his eldeſt ſon don *Lewis*. The public eaſily perceived that he took this ſtep with a view of mounting as a private man the throne of *France*, in caſe of that king's death, which he could not do as a monarch on account of his renunciations. The duke of *Bourbon* was then firſt miniſter

miniſter of *France*, and was far from being in the *Spaniſh* intereſt. In the mean while, the king, don *Lewis*, died, and *Philip* re-aſcended the throne, after living, during the ſhort time of his abdication, in a retired ſtate at *S. Ildefonſo*, upon a penſion of about a hundred and fifty thouſand pounds a year. It was a doubtful point, whether by ſo formal a reſignation as he had made, he had not precluded himſelf from re-aſcending the throne; and whether the crown of *Spain* did not of courſe deſcend upon his ſecond ſon, don *Ferdinand*. Thoſe difficulties were ſoon cleared up by *Philip* reſuming his crown, upon a petition from the council of *Caſtile* for that purpoſe. When he remounted the throne, his queen prevailed upon him to exert himſelf in the affairs of his government, and eſpecially in the regulation of his finances and the payment of his army, which was then on an excellent footing; but the ſending back their daughter, the infanta, who had been betrothed to the king of *France*, and his marrying the daughter of king *Staniſlaus*, for the reaſons mentioned in our hiſtory of *France*, exaſperated them beyond meaſure. The congreſs of *Cambray* was then renewed, and her catholic majeſty prevailed with her huſband to recall his plenipotentiaries from thence, and to offer to remove the mediation of the differences between the *Spaniſh* and imperial courts, from his moſt *Chriſtian*, to his *Britannic*, majeſty. Mademoiſelle *de Beaujolois*, who had been contracted to don *Carlos*, was ſent back to *France*, as was the queen dowager of *Spain*, who had been married to the late king *Lewis*.

p. 68 and 69.

p. 69.

King *George* I. declined the ſole mediation that had been offered him, for wiſe and prudent reaſons; and this drove the court of *Madrid* into a reſolution of reducing all its differences with the emperor, who was then on bad terms with *George* I. without any mediation. The negotiation was managed by the famous duke *de Riparda*, then firſt miniſter in *Spain*, and terminated in what is called the firſt treaty of *Vienna*, by which the emperor confirmed the treaty of *Utrecht* in every article relating to *Philip*. The latter, on the other hand, confirmed the ceſſion of his dominions in *Italy* and the *Netherlands*, which had been ſtipulated in the treaty of *London* 1722, by the contracting powers in the quadruple alliance. His imperial majeſty granted to *Philip* the eventual inveſtiture of the duchies of *Tuſcany*, *Parma*, and *Placentia*, and *Philip* guaranteed the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the emperor's heirs, either male or female. *Philip* promiſed to guaranty the *New Oſtend* company trading to the *Eaſt Indies*, and to grant privileges to the imperial merchants in *Spain*, which were incompatible with the *European* ſyſtem of commerce, and after all he was to pay to the emperor four million of pieces of eight annually.

The firſt treaty of *Vienna*,

Nothing but the moſt furious reſentment againſt the courts of *France* and *England*, could have driven the queen of *Spain* into the terms of this treaty; but whether any compromiſe between her and the imperial court, for placing the pretender upon

and the firſt treaty of *Hanover*

upon the throne of *Great Britain*, was entered into at this time, is ſtill a ſecret to the world, though it is certain that king *George* I. moſt ſolemnly affirmed it to his parliament. Neither does it clearly appear that ſecret articles were agreed upon for the marriage of the two *Auſtrian* archducheſſes. It is certain, however, that her catholic majeſty built too much upon the imperial power over the electorate of *Hanover*, and the demands for the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon* to the crown of *Spain*, were renewed. Her ſchemes, at this time, ſeem to have been formed upon *Alberoni*'s plan; but they were even farther extended. She made no ſecret of her engagements with the pretender, who received an invitation to the court of *Madrid*, where all his adherents (the duke of *Wharton* among others) found ſhelter and ſupport. She co-operated in the diſgrace and diſmiſſion of the duke of *Bourbon* in *France*, and contracted with the empreſs of *Ruſſia* for thirty thouſand men to carry the treaty of *Vienna* into execution. The plan of a general hiſtory like this, does not admit of entering into the private intrigues of a court; but it is certain that the *Engliſh* miniſters had ſo good intelligence of every meaſure formed to their prejudice by her catholic majeſty, that they were early and vigorous in their preparations to oppoſe her. Powerful fleets were fitted out, and the firſt treaty of *Hanover* was concluded between *George* I. and their moſt *Chriſtian* and *Pruſſian* majeſties.

concluded.

Diſgrace of the duke of *Riperda*.

The duke *de Riperda*, who was a warm but weak man, was a fit inſtrument for ſerving her catholic majeſty's revenge; but ſhe continued to truſt him till ſhe diſcovered his foible, which was, that either through vanity, or corruption, or both, he diſcovered the ſecrets of his office to the *Britiſh* miniſters. This diſcovery, at firſt, was little better than ſurmiſe, and therefore he was no farther cenſured, than being diſmiſſed from his office with a penſion of three thouſand piſtoles a year. He looked upon this as a prelude to his utter ruin; he took refuge under the roof, firſt of the *Dutch*, and then of the *Engliſh*, embaſſador; but the *Spaniſh* guards carried him priſoner by force to the caſtle of *Segovia*. Great complaints were made by colonel *Stanhope*, afterwards earl of *Harrington*, then the *Britiſh* miniſter at *Madrid*, upon this proceeding, and the *Spaniſh* embaſſador left the court of *London* full of indignation and menaces. Great preparations were made by the *Spaniards* for beſieging *Gibraltar*, and a camp of twenty thouſand men was actually formed at St. *Roche*, under the marquis *de Torres*, who on the 11th of *February* 1727, formed the ſiege of *Gibraltar*. They had no kind of pretext for this but an indefinite promiſe, which they produced under the hand of *George* I. for reſtoring that fortreſs as well as *Port Mahon*. Promiſes like theſe in arbitrary courts, are looked upon as abſolute, becauſe they think that a king is to be bound by no conditions. This was not the caſe with the king of *England*, who could not make the reſtitution without the conſent of parliament.

parliament. An *Engliſh* ſquadron under admiral *Hoſier*, was then blocking up the *Spaniſh* galleons in *America*; and another under Sir *John Jennings*, was upon the coaſt of *Spain*: but ſuch were the diviſions in the *Britiſh* councils, that neither of thoſe admirals durſt act with vigour, and the tameneſs of their behaviour ſerved only to encourage the *Spaniards* in their undertakings. They failed in their attempt upon *Gibraltar*, which was weak and ridiculous, though carried on at a vaſt expence. Her catholic majeſty found herſelf diſappointed as to the vaſt projects ſhe had formed in *Germany*, and the north, and ſhe was tired in furniſhing the emperor with ſubſidies, which ſince the commencement of the treaty of *Madrid*, amounted to a vaſt ſum. *Fleury*, the pacific miniſter of *France*, undertook a general pacification, in which he was ſeconded by *England* and *Holland*. The emperor endeavoured to oppoſe it; but twelve preliminary articles relating to it, were ſigned at *Paris*, on the laſt of *May* 1727. The moſt material part of this pacification regarded the re-eſtabliſhment of former treaties, and the ceſſation of hoſtilities between *England* and *Spain*, both in *Europe* and *America*, with the ſuſpenſion of the *Oſtend* company, for ſeven years. Preliminaries of a peace ſigned.

This accommodation effectually overturned all the vindictive views of her catholic majeſty againſt *Great Britain*; but her pride did not ſuffer her to carry the preliminaries into execution with the court of *England*, without ſtarting a thouſand objections equally frivolous as unjuſt. *George* I. at this time was dead, but the *Spaniards* could not truſt to cardinal *Fleury*, and the preliminaries were ratified at *Madrid*, on the 6th of *March* 1728. 1728.

Her catholic majeſty, from the date of thoſe preliminaries, altered the whole plan of her political conduct; for inſtead of ſetting the north in a blaze, and projecting revolutions in *England*, ſhe applied herſelf intenſely, and indeed wiſely, to the meaſures for eſtabliſhing her family in *Italy*. She had left the chief differences between *England* and *Spain* to a future congreſs, which *Fleury* had the art to fix at *Soiſſons*; but ſhe was ſecretly determined that it ſhould be as ineffectual as that of *Cambray* had been, and that ſhe would make the pacific diſpoſition of the *Engliſh* miniſtry, which were equal to thoſe of *Fleury*, ſubſervient to her great deſign. It happened fortunately for her, that the affairs of *Germany* were then in ſuch an unſettled ſituation, as to put king *George* II. under ſome apprehenſions for his electoral dominions, and to render him deſirous to continue, or rather to purchaſe, peace at any rate. The duke *de Bournonville*, the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, and don *Ignatio de Bernachea*, the *Spaniſh* plenipotentiaries at the congreſs of *Soiſſons*, laid hold of the looſe wording of the preliminaries to talk in very high terms, and they peremptorily inſiſted upon the reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*. The *Engliſh* on the other hand hinted, that though they could not comply with that demand, yet that they were not averſe to The queen of *Spain* alters her views,

to hear what her catholic majeſty had to propoſe concerning her family ſettlement in *Italy*. The *Spaniards* inſiſted on their power of ſearching and confiſcating *Britiſh* ſhips, whom they ſhould ſuſpect to be trading with their ſettlements in *America*, and the *Engliſh* ſeemed diſpoſed to treat even on that head. In ſhort, nothing was done at the treaty of *Soiſſons*, but the forming private intrigues, which terminated in accompliſhing her catholic majeſty's views, and in planting ſeeds of war between *Spain* and the emperor, who had never been ſincere in the conceſſions he had made to her family in *Italy*.

1729. and concludes the treaty of *Seville*.

Cardinal *Fleury* ſecretly wanted to throw the emperor out of the negotiation, which was now transferred to *Seville*, where the marquis *de la Paz* and don *Joſeph Patinho* conferred with colonel *Stanhope* and Mr. *Keene*, the *Engliſh* plenipotentiaries, and the treaty of *Seville* was concluded. It was but at beſt a temporary meaſure, for anſwering the purpoſes of the *Britiſh* miniſtry; for it left their navigation in *America* as precarious as ever. All former treaties between the two crowns were confirmed. Each guarantied the dominions of the other, and each was to furniſh to the other, if attacked, eight thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, or ſhips and money to that amount; but the captures and all the commercial differences between *Spain* and *England*, as well as the reſtitution of the ſhips and artillery taken by the *Engliſh* in 1718, were left to the diſcuſſion of commiſſaries. Her catholic majeſty, however, gained her family point, and *Spaniſh*, inſtead of neutral, troops, ſtipulated by the quadruple alliance, were to be admitted to garriſon *Leghorn*, *Porto Ferraro*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in caſe their ſucceſſion and that of *Tuſcany* ſhould devolve on don *Carlos*. The *French* king was a party in this treaty, and joined with the *Engliſh* in guarantying to don *Carlos* the peaceable poſſeſſion of the above dominions, whenever he ſhould ſucceed to them. It was in vain for the emperor to exclaim againſt this treaty, as being inconſiſtent with the quadruple alliance; but the futility of the whole negotiation was ſoon diſcovered. The *Engliſh* miniſtry durſt not, for fear of *Hanover*, carry the treaty into execution, and the *Britiſh* parliament over-awed them in all their commercial ſtipulations. The *Spaniards* threatened to commence hoſtilities, eſpecially as they perceived that the court of *England* was then actually engaged in a treaty with the emperor for guarantying the pragmatic ſanction.

1730. Affairs of *Italy*.

The death of the duke of *Parma* in 1730, gave a new turn to affairs, and rendered the friendſhip of *Great Britain* of the utmoſt conſequence to her catholic majeſty. On the 16th of *March*, the treaty between his *Britannic* majeſty and the emperor was actually ſigned, under the name of the ſecond treaty of *Vienna*. It was calculated among other things, to facilitate the acceſſion of don *Carlos* to the *Italian* dominions, which had been for ſome time a matter of doubt, becauſe the ducheſs dowager of *Parma*, upon her huſband's death, pretended

tended that she was with child; upon which the emperor had filled that capital with his troops. By the third article of the second treaty of *Vienna*, the emperor consented to the introduction of *Spanish* troops into the duchies in question, and at last the duchess of *Parma* declared herself not to be with child. Her catholic majesty and the court of *Spain*, behaved at this time as the dictators of *Europe*, because they knew that the court of *France* had secretly taken umbrage at his *Britannic* majesty, and the *States General*, for having guarantied the pragmatic sanction. The *British* ministry, however, resolved to fulfil their engagements with the utmost punctuality, and on the 14th of *July* 1731, Sir *Charles Wager* sailed with a noble fleet from *England* to *Cadiz*, to introduce the infant into his new dominions. He had an audience of his catholic majesty at *Seville*, from whence he proceeded to *Leghorn*; but the queen of *Spain* had then altered her views, and had entered into secret connections with the *French*. Those were little more than suspected, when the infant her son, instead of trusting himself on board the *English* fleet, had gone by land through *Languedoc* and *Provence*, and had embarked at *Antibes* for *Italy*, where he took an unmolested possession of his duchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. 1731.

While this great measure was carrying into execution, the count *de Montemar*, the *Spanish* general, retook *Oran*, and the fort of *Mazalquivir* from the *Moors*, at the head of twenty-five thousand men, who were to have been employed in *Italy*, if don *Carlos* had found any difficulty there. The tameness of the *British* court at this time, certainly added to the injustice and insolence of the *Spaniards*, who obstinately stuck to their claim of searching and confiscating *English* ships, and committed the most atrocious depredations on the *American* seas. The *Spanish* ministers, when required to answer the memorials presented to them on that head by Mr. *Keene*, either evaded them, or gave such orders as they knew would not be obeyed, because they were always clogged with the condition that the *English* should not be concerned in trading with their settlements, of which, the *Spanish* governors made themselves the sole judges. During those open infractions of treaties, one *Geraldino*, who was of *Irish* parentage, was minister for the court of *Spain* at that of *London*, and proposed buying off all the stipulations that had been made by the treaty of *Utrecht*, in favour of the *South Sea* company's trade with the *Spanish America*; but the *British* parliament had then taken all those matters out of the hands of the ministry, and were examining into the complaints of the *English* against the *Spaniards*. It was about this time, that the latter opened for themselves a very advantageous trade between *Old Spain* and the *Philippine Islands*, by erecting a new company which had the privilege of trading with their *West Indies*. Expedition to *Africa*.

The death of the king of *Poland* in *February* 1733, gave a new face to the affairs of *Europe*. We shall confine ourselves 1733. p. 72.

A new war in *Europe*,

to its conſequences with regard to *Spain*. The violent proceedings of the *Northern* courts, in driving *Staniſlaus*, the *French* king's father-in-law, from that throne to which he had been elected, gave a fair pretext for *France*, *Spain*, and the king of *Sardinia*, who complained of the imperial court, to form an alliance for maintaining the liberties of *Europe*; but in reality, for giving *Naples* and *Sicily* to don *Carlos*. His *Sardinian* majeſty took the command of the troops raiſed by the confederates, and had under him the *French* marſhal *de Villars*. The war broke out in the *Milaneſe*, where the confederates before the end of the year became maſters of *Pavia*, *Milan*, *Pizzighitone*, *Cremona*, *Novara*, and other ſtrong fortreſſes. The court of *England* offered its mediation, but his catholic majeſty ordered his embaſſador at *London*, to declare his reaſons why he could accept of none, matters having proceeded too far to admit of any. The court accordingly preſented a ſtrong memorial on that ſubject, and the *Spaniards* continued their preparations for vigorouſly carrying on the war. Sixteen thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, ten ſquadrons of dragoons, were carried from *Spain* to *Italy*, and gave don *Carlos* poſſeſſion of *Naples*, of which his father declared him king. The *French* entered the *Modeneſe*, and the *Spaniards* under their general, the count *de Montemar*, beat the imperialiſts under count *Merci*, at *Bitonto*. On the 29th of *June* was fought the battle of *Parma*, in which the imperialiſts were routed with great ſlaughter, and count *Merci* loſt his life; upon which, the ſtrong fortreſs of *Gaeta*, which had been beſieged by the *Spaniards*, and the remaining part of the kingdom of *Naples*, ſubmitted to don *Carlos*. By this time, a detachment of *Spaniſh* troops had landed in *Sicily*, where don *Carlos* found but little reſiſtance. The character of the *Spaniſh* nation at this time, ſeemed to have been changed; never was there a more bloody and active war known than that which they had carried on in *Italy*; but her catholic majeſty reſolved to give a ſtill farther proof of her abilities and ambition.

1734.

reaches *Italy*.

Portugal ſaved by the *Engliſh*.

A trifling incident had happened about the franchiſes of embaſſadors, between thoſe of *Spain* and *Portugal* at their reſpective courts; and this ſerved as a pretext for the *Spaniards* marching a ſtrong army towards the frontiers of *Portugal*, while the *French* and *Spaniſh* fleets put to ſea, as was thought, with a view of intercepting the rich *Braſil Portugueſe* fleet. The court of *Liſbon* knew how much the *Britiſh* was concerned in its preſervation, and repreſented their danger to the court of *London*, who immediately ordered a conſiderable armament to be ſent under Sir *John Norris*, to the protection of the *Portugueſe*. *Patinho* and the *Spaniſh* miniſtry affected great reſentment at this proceeding, and renewed their threats againſt *Portugal*, even to the forbidding their ſubjects, under pain of death, to have any communication with that kingdom. It is hard to ſay, what the conſequences might have been, had not her catholic majeſty perceived a coldneſs

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in *Fleury* towards the war, and all hoſtilities againſt *Portugal* for that time ceaſed. Her diſcovery of *Fleury*'s diſpoſitions led her into connections with the *French* court, and ſhe found a proper perſon in *Chauvelin*, the keeper of the ſeals, but of a very different caſt from *Fleury*. The latter ſuſpected this correſpondence, and *Chauvelin* was ſent into exile. By this time, don *Carlos* had been crowned king in *Sicily*, and *Fleury* being rid of *Chauvelin*, had founded the imperial court, with regard to peace. Several plans of accommodation were propoſed, but at laſt, an armiſtice was agreed upon, and the preliminaries were ſigned for a general peace, but greatly to the diſſatisfaction of her catholic majeſty, who, by refuſing the *Milaneſe* to the king of *Sardinia*, who, in fact, had conquered it, had highly diſobliged that prince. So great was the influence which *Fleury* had in the affairs of *Europe*, that all the propoſitions made by *Great Britain* and the *States General*, were diſregarded, and his plan adopted. By his preliminaries, don *Carlos* was ſecured in all he poſſeſſed in *Italy*; but the crown of *Sicily* was never to revert to the monarchy of *Spain*. A treaty was propoſed between *Spain* and the empire; the *Spaniſh* troops were to evacuate *Tuſcany*, which after the death of the then duke was to be given to the duke of *Lorrain*; but the emperor was to keep the *Mantuan*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, and the *Milaneſe*. Her catholic majeſty bitterly reproached *Fleury* with his inſincerity during the dependence of this negotiation; but he retorted upon her, her own ambition, with her treatment of the king of *Sardinia*; and the peace was actually concluded.

A general peace. p. 75. ibid.

The death of *Gaſton*, duke of *Tuſcany*, in 1737, put the duke of *Lorrain* in poſſeſſion of the dutchy of *Tuſcany*, to the infinite diſquiet of her catholic majeſty; but ſhe never loſt ſight of her favourite view, which was to reſume not only her hereditary dominions of *Parma* and *Placentia*, but the dutchy of *Tuſcany*, from their preſent poſſeſſors. She tried how far the court of *England* would ſecond her, but ſhe there met with nothing but vexation and diſappointment, through the averſion which the *Engliſh* had conceived to the *Spaniards*. She had now no dependence but her multiplying the depredations of the *Spaniards* upon the *Engliſh* in *America*; but this was ſo far from anſwering her views, that they only widened the differences between the two crowns. Her catholic majeſty was too much favoured by the timidity of the *Britiſh* miniſters, who made great conceſſions to avert a war, and ſhe miſtook the genius of the *Engliſh* nation ſo much, that ſhe gave private orders to *Geraldino*, and her other agents at *London*, to foment the differences between the government and its oppoſers there, in hopes of forcing the former to agree to all her demands. At laſt, the *Britiſh* miniſtry had the ſpirit, in *April* 1738, to ſend a ſquadron, under admiral *Haddock*, to the *Mediterranean*, and continued their other preparations with ſo much vigour, that the *Spaniſh* court agreed to a ſet of preliminaries, which were afterwards formed

1737. Hiſtory of the famous conventi-on.

1738.

into the famous convention, which was important in itſelf, and attended with ſuch conſequences, that we ſhall explain the whole tranſaction as ſuccinctly as poſſible.

During the conferences between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* commiſſaries in conſequence of the treaty of *Seville*, the *Engliſh* loſſes, though their liſts were given in for a much larger ſum, were reduced to two hundred thouſand pounds. The *Engliſh*, by the treaties of *Madrid* in 1721, and of *Seville* in 1729, had agreed to indemnify the *Spaniards* for the ſhips taken by Sir *George Byng* in 1718, which the latter valued at a hundred and eighty thouſand pounds; but it was agreed that ſixty thouſand pounds ſhould be accepted of, and it was likewiſe agreed, that forty-five thouſand pounds ſhould be deducted from the whole balance due to the *Engliſh*, for the immediate payment of the remainder, which amounted to ninety-five thouſand pounds. But, beſides this account, there was another between the *South Sea* company of *England* and the court of *Spain*; and the commiſſaries had admitted that ſixty-eight thouſand pounds was due by the former to the latter, which the company, however, denied, and inſiſted that the *Spaniards* were conſiderably in their debt. Such was the ſtate of the pecuniary differences between the two nations, at the time the abovementioned convention was ſigned; but other differences ſubſiſted, for the *Spaniards* pretended that the *Engliſh* ſettlement of *Georgia* belonged to them, and had actually invaded it by force of arms. The convention, inſtead of finally deciding all thoſe matters, but above all of forming preciſe rules for commerce in the *American* ſeas, left every thing undecided. The treaties of the years 1667, 1670, 1715, 1721, 1729, and the aſſiento contract of the year 1716, were made the baſis of the new treaty that was to be concluded. The rights of the *Britiſh* navigation in *America*, were left to a future diſcuſſion; and though the *Spaniards* agreed to pay the ninety-five thouſand pounds, yet at the time of ſigning the agreement, his catholic majeſty ordered a proteſt to be taken, that the ſixty-eight thouſand pounds, which he pretended to be due to him, ſhould be deducted out of it; and in default, his catholic majeſty was to ſuſpend the company's aſſiento of *Negroes*.

Admiral *Vernon* takes *Porto Bello*.

When this proteſt, which was in the name of don *Sebaſtian de la Quadra*, then firſt ſecretary of ſtate to his catholic majeſty, was produced in *England*, the reſentment of the nation was ſo ſtrong, that war was declared againſt *Spain*, and vigorous preparations were made to ſupport it. Her catholic majeſty, and the *Spaniſh* miniſters, had been ſo much miſled by their agents in *England*, that they could not believe the intelligence they received of the declaration, and thought that *Keene* was only endeavouring to intimidate them, by declaring it to be unavoidable if they inſiſted upon ſearching *Britiſh* ſhips on the *American* ſeas. Their only comfort now was, that they would be befriended by *France*, and they were not deceived in their hopes; for beſides the real property which the

French

French had in the *Spaniſh* galleons and *Plate* fleets, they had a proſpect of carrying on the *Spaniſh American* trade in their bottoms, provided they could keep up a tolerable appearance of neutrality. All *Europe* was now filled with manifeſtoes, emitted by the *Spaniſh* court againſt the *Engliſh*; but this did not deter the latter from ſending admiral *Vernon* to ſea, with nine ſhips of the line, and from ordering repriſals to the *Engliſh* officers in the *Weſt Indies*. *Vernon* for ſome time cruized on the coaſts of *Spain*, in hopes of intercepting the rich *Azogue* fleet, which was then on its return home, but it eſcaped his vigilance; upon which, the admiral proceeded to *America*, where he took *Porto Bello*, with ſeven ſhips only, though the *Spaniards* had deemed it to be impregnable.

Admiral *Haddock* continued all this while cruizing between *Gibraltar* and *Cadiz*, where, beſides ſmaller prizes, he took two of immenſe value, the cargo of one of them, the St. *Joſeph*, being eſtimated at a hundred and twenty thouſand pounds ſterling. The court of *Spain* continued as inflexible as ever, even after the taking of *Porto Bello*, and their trade was carried on partly in *French*, and partly in *Dutch*, bottoms, till at laſt, through the preparations made in *Great Britain*, it was plain that the *Engliſh* intended to attack the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*; upon which *France* declared that ſhe could be no longer neutral, and gave orders for her fleet under the marquis *d'Antin*, to ſail for the protection of the *Spaniards* in *America*. He accordingly ſailed, but his fleet, through the precautions taken by the *Engliſh* miniſtry, was moſt miſerably ruined, without his having it in his power to do any material ſervice to his allies. About this time, Sir *John Norris* ſailed with a ſtrong naval armament to deſtroy the *Spaniſh* fleet at *Ferrol*, before it proceeded to *America*; but contrary winds obliged him to lye inactive during the greateſt part of the ſummer off *Torbay*, which defeated that promiſing expedition. In the mean while, Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, the *Britiſh* admiral, ſailed with the grand expedition fleet deſtined againſt the *Spaniards* in *America*; but lord *Cathcart*, who was to command the *Engliſh* land forces, died at *Dominica*, and was ſucceeded in his command by general *Wentworth*, whoſe abilities were not equal to the undertaking. *Ogle* having provided himſelf with wood and water at *Dominica*, diſcovered four large ſhips of war, but upon engaging them, they were diſcovered to be *French*, and having no intelligence of war being proclaimed between *France* and *England*, they were ſuffered to proceed to join *de Torres*, the *Spaniſh* admiral.

Continuance of the war with *England*, p. 76.

Ogle landed in *Jamaica*, where having joined admiral *Vernon*, the *Engliſh* muſtered a fleet and army ſufficient, had it been properly commanded, to have conquered all the *Spaniſh America*. The ſeamen conſiſted of fifteen thouſand, and the land troops of twelve thouſand; but *Vernon*, with great abilities as a ſeaman, was hot-headed and poſitive, and *Ogle* had, by ſome unaccountable conduct of the *Britiſh* miniſtry, been de-

in *America*.

tained too long before he ſailed from *Spithead*. The great object of the *Britiſh* nation, was the reduction of the *Havannah*; but *Vernon* beat up towards *Hiſpaniola*, to obſerve the motions of *d'Antin*, who, before he arrived on that coaſt, had ſailed for *Europe* with the pitiful remains of his ſquadron. Upon this, *Vernon* ſet ſail for *Carthagena*, which had been prepared to receive him by *de Torres*, who had proceeded to the *Havannah* after leaving a ſquadron for the defence of *Carthagena*, under the command of don *Blas de Leſo*. The *Britiſh* fleet and troops deſtroyed the *Spaniſh* ſhips that lay athwart the harbour's mouth, and after conquering incredible difficulties and dangers, entered it, and landed their forces within a mile of *Carthagena*; after forcing ſeven hundred *Spaniards*, who oppoſed their landing, to retire. All thoſe promiſing appearances on the part of the *Engliſh* were blaſted, through the diſſentions that aroſe between *Vernon* and *Wentworth*. The former reproached the latter for not attacking *Fort St. Lazare*, which he attempted, but was repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter, which was not however equal to the mortality that otherwiſe prevailed among the *Britiſh* troops and ſeamen. All parties in the *Engliſh* army and navy, though divided in other reſpects, agreed upon the neceſſity of returning to *Jamaica*, which they did, and from thence they ſailed in *July* to a bay on the ſouth-eaſt part of *Cuba*, where they landed, but conſumed their time in uſeleſs excurſions; and, without attempting any thing memorable againſt the *Spaniards*, they returned to *Jamaica*, where they were reinforced by four ſhips of war, and three thouſand freſh troops; but upon the whole, excepting the taking of *Porto Bello*, and the loſs of ſome ſhips, the *Spaniards* ſuffered very little in *America*, while the *Engliſh* fleet was commanded there by *Vernon*, and their army by *Wentworth*.

The *Engliſh* repulſed at *Carthagena*.

Anſon's expedition.

A great plan for diſtreſſing the *Spaniards* was now laid down by the *Engliſh* miniſtry, who gave the command of a ſquadron of five ſhips, the largeſt carrying ſixty guns, and a ſloop, to captain *Anſon*. His deſtination was for the *South Seas*, to cruize off the coaſts of *Chili* and *Peru*, where he was to act againſt the *Spaniards*, and in caſe of *Vernon*'s ſucceſs, to open a communication with *Porto Bello*, acroſs the iſthmus of *Darien*. The *Spaniards* had ſome intimation of this expedition, which ſtruck at the vitals of their monarchy, and gave don *Joſeph Pizarro* the command of another ſquadron carrying a force far ſuperior to that of *Anſon*, having on board a regiment of old *Spaniſh* foot. *Anſon* eſcaped *Pizarro* at firſt, but while the former lay at *Port St. Julian*, *Pizarro*'s ſquadron appeared in ſight, which obliged *Anſon* to call a council of war, where it was agreed to attack *Baldivia* on the coaſt of *Chili*. The *Engliſh* encountered moſt incredible difficulties and fatigues in paſſing the ſtraights of *Le Maire*. Their ſhips were ſeparated from one another, their crews grew ſickly, and ſo many of them died, that the officers were obliged to do duty with the common

common men. To complete their misfortune, when the commodore arrived at the island of *Juan Fernandez*, the *Severn* and the *Pearl* were missing, together with the *Wager* another ship of the squadron, on board of which was the artillery which was to be employed against *Baldivia*. After a variety of adventures, it was found, that since the squadron left *England*, it had lost six hundred and thirty-six men, and that no more than three hundred and thirty-five men remained alive. The commodore, notwithstanding this great loss, flattered himself with hopes of *Vernon*'s success, and that he should receive such reinforcement as would enable him to attack *Panama*. In this he was disappointed, and all he could do was to cruize in those seas, where he made several prizes, some of them of considerable value. Having intelligence that a considerable treasure was lodged at *Paita*, he attacked and made himself master of that place, where he got a large booty, notwithstanding the vast superiority of the *Spaniards* in numbers, over the small *English* party that landed under lieutenant *Brett*.

On the 28th of *January*, the commodore found himself in the neighbourhood of *Acapulco*; but a rich galleon, which he expected to intercept, had escaped. In the mean while, the *Spanish* admiral *Pizarro* had arrived at the river *Plate* in *South America*, on the 5th of *January* 1740; and from thence he precipitately set sail, in hopes of getting into the *South Seas* before the *English* commodore. In this attempt, the *Spanish* squadron was ruined, with vast variety of miseries. As they had put to sea with no more than four months provisions, their crews were attacked by famine, which brought them into such distress, that four dollars was the common price for a rat. The sailors mutinied against their officers, and at last *Pizarro* bore away for the river *Plate*, after losing the *Guipuscoa* and *Hermione*, whose whole crew, consisting of five hundred men, perished at sea; so that when *Pizarro* arrived at *Monte Vedio*, about the middle of *May*, he found that he had lost in the whole two thousand men, and that his ships were little better than so many wrecks. Notwithstanding those discouragements, he reimbarked the remainder of his crews in the *Asia* and the *Estefan*, which he refitted, and attempted again to double *Cape Horn*; but was obliged to return to the river *Plate* with the loss of his masts. By this time *Anson*, who had likewise the most deplorable difficulties to struggle with, was forced to destroy all his ships but the *Centurion*, and in her he bore away for the river *Canton*, where his ship was sheathed. From thence he sailed for the straits of *Manilla*, where he had the fortune to engage and take the rich *Manilla* galleon, called *Nuestra Seuhora de Cabodonga*, the cargo of which amounted to three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds. It was remarked that the *Spanish* court was so sollicitous to defeat this expedition under *Anson*, that *Pizarro*'s squadron consisted of their best ships, and was manned with the flower of their

1740.

navy; so that the destruction of it proved an irreparable loss to their marine.

Activity of the *Spanish* privateers.

While the national fleets of *England* and *Spain* were watching each other in *America*, the *Spaniards* covered the seas with their privateers, and out-did the *English* themselves in activity, boldness and enterprize. St. *Sebastian*'s was the harbour into which they commonly carried their *English* prizes, which were rich and numerous; so that in a short time the insurance of *English* shipping arose to an amazing height, and even few of their privateers put to sea. The reason of this was soon perceived by the public. Though the *French* were neutral, yet many of their sailors served on board the *Spanish* privateers, and their ports and harbours were always open for their reception: Add to this, that the *English* trade being vastly superior to that of *Spain*, the prizes which the latter made were thereby multiplied. But the capital fault lay in the government and officers of the *English* navy. The former fitted out vast fleets, who sailed in a body, and had appeared under Sir *John Norris* twice on the coast of *Spain*, without either annoying the enemy or serving the nation. Such of the latter, as commanded separate ships, chose those stations in which they were most likely to meet rich *Spanish* prizes; and thus the commerce of *England* was left exposed and unprotected.

1742. War is renewed in *Italy*.

The war soon after became general. The king of *Sardinia* attached himself firmly to the interest of the house of *Austria*; and the subsidies he received from *Great Britain*, kept him steady to its cause. In *May* 1742, the *Spanish* and *Neopolitan* forces which rendezvoused at *Rimini*, under the duke *de Montemar*, amounted to sixty thousand men; and the queen of *Spain* had by this time unfolded her great scheme of providing for her second son don *Philip*, another settlement in *Italy*. The duke of *Modena* having joined the *Spaniards*, was driven out of his dominions by the king of *Sardinia*, and count *Traun*, the *Austrian* general, and remained on the defensive at *Rimini*, till he received intelligence that the *Spanish* general, count *Glimes*, who commanded under don *Philip*, had made an irruption into *Savoy* at the head of thirty thousand men. Most of the *Piedmontese* and *Savoyard* militia were employed in guarding the passes, and the king of *Sardinia* not suspecting such an attempt, had left his country exposed, so that don *Philip* met with little resistance, and not only made himself master of *Chambery*, the capital of *Savoy*, but forced his *Sardinian* majesty's subjects to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Though his *Sardinian* majesty was, at that time, victorious in *Italy* against the *Spaniards*, yet he no sooner heard of this revolution, than he set out for *Piedmont*, upon which don *Philip* abandoned *Savoy*, and retreated into *Dauphiny*. At this time, by the vigilance of the *British* fleet, the duke of *Montemar* had been obliged to retreat to *Rimini*; and the king of *Naples* had been forced by the captain of an *English* ship of war in his

his own capital, to recal his troops from his father's army. The queen of *Spain* grew out of humour with the duke *de Montemar* at ſo many repeated diſgraces, and he was ordered to reſign his command to the count *de Gage*, which he did with the following reflection, "That his maſter, far from wonder-"ing he had done ſo little, ought to wonder he had done ſo "much, with an army ſo ill provided." *Gage* proved to be of a more enterprizing ſpirit than his predeceſſor, and would have taken up his winter quarters in *Tuſcany*, had he not been prevented by the vigilance of count *Traun*. *Matthews* was then the *Engliſh* admiral in the *Mediterranean*, where he had burnt five *Spaniſh* gallies in the bay of St. *Tropez*, and deſtroyed the magazines which had been erected for the *Spaniards* in the territories of *Genoa*, and intercepted a great number of the *Spaniſh* ſhips. After this, he took up his winter ſtation in the road of *Hieres*.

Upon don *Philip* being forced to evacuate *Savoy*, the *Spaniſh* general, count *Glimes*, fell under the diſpleaſure of his court, and the marquis *las Minas* ſucceeded to his command. He took the caſtle of *Apremont*, in *December* 1742, and obliged his *Sardinian* majeſty again to evacuate *Savoy*. The diſtreſs of that prince prevailed with the court of *England* to order *Matthews* to make him a particular object of his attention, ſo that that admiral employed ſo many of his ſhips in his ſervice, that had the *French* and *Spaniſh* fleets (which were then lying in *Toulon*) ſailed, he could have been in no condition to fight them. The king of *Naples* was ſenſible of this, and took that opportunity to ſend ſome regiments to count *Gage*'s army, which he pretended to the court of *London*, was no violation of his neutrality, becauſe they had been lent him by the king his father. Though the *Engliſh* ſeemed to admit of this apology, yet they ſent a ſtrong reinforcement to *Matthews*.

Don *Philip* evacuates *Savoy*.

Early in the year 1743, count *Gage*, with twenty-four thouſand men, advanced to *Campo Santo*, where he fought a battle with count *Traun*, their armies being nearly equal. In this battle the *Spaniards* loſt near four thouſand men; the loſs of the confederates was not ſo great. Both ſides claimed the victory, but *Gage* repaſſed the *Panaro*, and fortified himſelf in the ſtrong camp at *Rimini*, while count *Traun* remained inactive in the *Modeneſe*, and reſigned his command to prince *Lobkowitz*. By this time, the *Spaniſh* army, under count *Gage*, had ſuffered ſo much by deſertion, that it was reduced to ſeven thouſand men, and was forced to retreat before *Lobkowitz* to *Peſaro*. Don *Philip* remained all this while inactive in *Savoy*, probably in hopes that the courts of *Madrid* and *Verſailles* would prevail upon the king of *Sardinia*, to detach himſelf from the *Auſtrian* and *Engliſh* intereſt. Being diſappointed in this, towards the latter end of *Auguſt*, he was joined by the prince of *Conti*, at *Briançon*, with twenty thouſand *French* auxiliaries. The *Piedmonteſe* troops were then within their lines at *Chateau Dauphin*, and though they were ſeveral times

1743. Battle of *Campo Santo*.

attacked by the army of the two crowns, they maintained their ground, and *Philip* was obliged to return to *Savoy* for winter quarters. About the middle of this campaign, admiral *Matthews* forced the *Genoese* to ſequeſter the cargoes of fourteen *Spaniſh* xebecques, that were laden with ſtores and ammunition for count *Gage*'s army. He fortified *Villafranca* with cannon and troops ſent from his fleet, and upon ſome ſtores being landed at *Civita Vecchia* for the *Spaniards*, he would have laid the place, which belongs to the pope, in aſhes, had not the king of *Sardinia*, at the pope's requeſt, prevailed with him to deſiſt. In *America*, the *Spaniards* repulſed commodore *Knowles*, in two attempts which he made upon *la Gueira*, on the coaſt of *Caraccas*, and upon *Porto Cavallo*.

1744. Engagement off *Toulon*.

On the 9th of *February* 1744, the combined fleets of *France* and *Spain*, the latter under the command of admiral *Navarro*, and the former under *de la Court*, ventured out of *Toulon*, and were attacked by the *Engliſh* admirals, *Matthews* and *Rowley*, with great reſolution. The two admirals ſingled out the ſhips of *de Court* and *Navarro*, who was in the *Real*, which mounted a hundred guns; but not being ſupported by admiral *Leſtock*, who commanded the rear diviſion, and ſeveral other captains behaving ſcandalouſly, the whole engagement paſſed in a hurry, without proper orders or ſignals being either given or anſwered. The *Real* was reduced to a wreck, and captain *Hawke* took a *Spaniſh* ſhip of the line. Next morning *Matthews* continued his purſuit of the enemy, whoſe chief aim was to eſcape; but juſt as *Leſtock*, with his diviſion, was come up to ſupport him, *Matthews* gave the ſignal for leaving off the chace, and bore away to *Port Mahon*, while don *Navarro* ſailed into the harbour of *Carthagena*, and *de la Court* anchored in the road of *Alicant*. This miſcarriage (for ſuch it was) of the *Engliſh* fleet, was owing to a ſhameful difference that had long ſubſiſted between *Matthews* and *Leſtock*, by which a fair opportunity was loſt for giving the finiſhing blow to the marine of the two crowns.

Battle of *Velitri*.

Upon the opening the campaign this year, the king of *Naples* publiſhed a manifeſto to juſtify his breaking his neutrality, which he pretended had been undervalued by the courts of *London* and *Vienna*; but the moſt juſtifiable reaſon he publiſhed was, that prince *Lobkowitz* was ordered to be at hand, to ſupport a rebellion which the emiſſaries of the houſe of *Auſtria* were forming againſt him in his capital. Having joined count *Gage*, who was encamped at *Monte Rotondo*, near *Rome*, he took poſſeſſion of *Velitri*, which was ſurprized by the *Auſtrian* troops with ſuch quickneſs, that it was with difficulty his *Neopolitan* majeſty and the duke of *Modena*, eſcaped by a poſtern. The *Spaniſh* army muſt have been ruined on this occaſion, had it not been for the courage and preſence of mind of count *Gage*, who rallied his troops and diſpelled their conſternation; upon which count *Brown*, who had the direction of the attack, made his retreat, after killing three thouſand *Spaniards*,

Spaniards, and making a prodigious booty. This advantage had but ſmall conſequences in prejudice of the *Spaniards*; and *Lobkowitz* perceiving his army daily mouldering away, began to retreat by the way of *Rome*, under ſuch apprehenſions of being overtaken, that he broke down the *Ponte Molle*, the antient *Milvian* bridge, after he had paſſed it. Notwithſtanding that, the *Spaniards* purſued him ſo cloſe, that part of his rear was made priſoners at *Nocera*; and his *Neopolitan* majeſty leaving the command of his troops to *Gage*, paid a viſit to his holineſs at *Rome*.

Succeſs of the *Spaniards*

The *Spaniſh* arms were equally fortunate in *Savoy*, where don *Philip* was again joined by the prince of *Conti*, and paſſing the *Var*, they took poſſeſſion of *Nice*. After this, they attacked and beat the king of *Sardinia*, who was ſtrongly entrenched at *Villafranca*, and they would have paſſed through the *Genoeſe* territories into the *Milaneſe*, had not *Matthews* declared that he would look upon ſuch paſſage as a breach of the *Genoeſe* neutrality. Upon this, at the requeſt of the ſenate, the two princes defiled towards *Piedmont*, and with the loſs of four thouſand men, they drove his *Sardinian* majeſty from his ſtrong poſt at *Chateau Dauphiné*, took the caſtle of *Demont*, laid all *Piedmont* under contribution, and threatened *Turin* itſelf, ſo that the king was forced to take poſt at *Saluces*. Upon this, the army of the two princes laid ſiege to *Coni*, but the king of *Sardinia* was repulſed, in endeavouring to relieve it. The place, however, made a brave reſiſtance, under general *Leutrum*; and though the princes continued the ſiege with aſtoniſhing perſeverance, under the moſt diſcouraging difficulties, yet they were obliged to raiſe it; but at the end of the campaign, the *Spaniards* ſtill maintained their footing in *Savoy*.

1745. in *Italy*.

The campaign of 1745 proved glorious for the *Spaniards* in *Italy*. Count *Gage* paſſed the *Appennines*, and joined don *Philip*'s army in the *Genoeſe* dominions. The united armies were encreaſed, by ten thouſand *Genoeſe* auxiliaries; that republic now thinking itſelf ſafe againſt the threats of *Matthews*. Prince *Lobkowitz* encamped at *Parma*, and being called to ſerve in *Bohemia*, he was ſucceeded in his command by count *Schuylembourg*. The *Spaniards* met with no difficulty in entering the *Milaneſe*, and divided their army into two bodies, the one of thirty thouſand men, commanded by count *Gage*, and another of forty thouſand, under don *Philip*. The king of *Sardinia* and the *Auſtrians* ſaw themſelves obliged to retreat, firſt behind the *Tanaro*, and next behind the *Po*. The progreſs of the *Spaniards* after this, was prodigiouſly rapid. They became maſters of *Acqui*, *Tortona*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, the city of *Milan* (the citadel being ſtill defended by the *Auſtrians*) *Pavia*, and all *Piedmont*, to the very gates of its capital.

from whence they are driven.

This proſperous ſtate of their affairs did not long continue. The ſubſidies of *Great Britain* enabled the king of *Sardinia* to augment

augment his army to thirty-six thousand men, and to act with more vigour than ever; and the *Austrians* having gained a respite in *Germany*, reinforced their army, which was now
1746. commanded by the prince of *Lichtenstein*. In *February* 1746, the *French* general, *Maillebois*, who commanded the army of the two crowns in *Piedmont*, was, by the *Sardinian* general, *Leutrum*, forced to retire to the neighbourhood of *Genoa*, and great part of *Piedmont* reverted to the allegiance of its sovereign. *Maillebois* continued his march to join the *Spaniards* under don *Philip* and count *Gage*, who had been forced to abandon *Milan*, *Pavia* and *Parma*, and to retire to *Placentia*. After the junction with *Maillebois* was effected, don *Philip* found himself at the head of fifty-two thousand men. *Pignatelli*, a *Spanish* general, had beat a large detachment of the *Austrians* at *Codogno*, and the main body of the *Austrian* army lay encamped at *Lazaro*. They were attacked in the night of the 4th of *June*, by don *Philip*, who thought to have surprized them, but he was deceived, for the *Austrians* being prepared, drove the *Spaniards* out of their lines, and attacked them in their turn, defeated them, with the loss of fifteen thousand men, sixty colours, and ten pieces of artillery. Don *Philip* retired behind the *Po*, and entered his quarters in the *Milanese*, where the king of *Sardinia* and the *Austrian* general, *de Botta*, pursued him, and forced him to retreat towards *Tortona*. At *Rotto Freddo*, the *Spaniards* were again beaten by the *Austrians* under *Serbelloni* and *Botta*, with the loss of eight thousand men and eighteen pieces of cannon; upon which the *Spanish* garrison of *Placentia* surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and don *Philip*, after losing half his army during the course of the campaign, retreated to the territories of *Genoa*, and from thence into *Provence*. The queen of *Spain*, as usual, displaced her general, *Gage*, because he was unfortunate, and his place was supplied by the marquis *de las Minas*. The victorious *Austrians* became masters of *Genoa*, upon which they imposed most merciless and mortifying terms, and the king of *Sardinia* was preparing to pursue the *Spaniards* into *Provence*, when he fell ill of the small-pox.

Death of *Philip* the Vth.

In the month of *July* this year, *Philip* the Vth of *Spain* died. No prince of his age was more indebted to fortune than himself, and none, towards the latter end of his reign, deserved it less, being eaten up with bigotry, superstition and indolence. He grew so peevish in his disposition, that it was with the greatest difficulty his queen, notwithstanding her ascendency over him, dissuaded him from resigning his crown a second time. He was succeeded by his eldest son, *Ferdinand*, who was born of the princess *Louisa Gabriela*, sister to the present king of *Sardinia*, and he was married to donna *Maria Magdalena*, an infanta of *Portugal*. The new king's dispositions were very averse to the schemes of his mother-in-law, but he had too much at stake to make a hasty conclusion of the war which she had entailed upon him. The invasion of *Piedmont*, by marshal

marſhal *de Belleiſle*, and the expulſion of the *Auſtrians* out of *Genoa*, altered the ſtate of affairs in favour of the *Spaniards*; but vice admiral *Medley* blocked up their fleet in *Carthagena*, and *Ferdinand*'s ſupplies from his *Spaniſh Weſt Indies* became now very precarious, through the vigilance of the *Britiſh* fleet and cruizers. His ally, the king of *France*, was little better than a bankrupt to his own ſubjects, and had hinted more than once his willingneſs to enter into a negotiation for peace. *Ferdinand* willingly fell in with his views, and privately ſent general *Wall*, a gentleman of *Iriſh* extraction, to *London*, to ſound the diſpoſitions of the *Engliſh* miniſtry, which he found favourable. Upon the meeting of the *Britiſh* parliament, in *November* 1747, the public was informed, by his majeſty, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and ſoon after, the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned at that city, by the miniſters of *Great Britain*, *France* and the *United Provinces*. In the mean while, the *French* duke, *de Richelieu*, commanded the *Spaniſh* and *French* armies in *Italy*, where the war ſtill continued between the *Spaniards* and the *Auſtrians*, and the marſhal *Belleiſle* covered the *Genoeſe* territories with fifty thouſand men. *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*. 1747.

In the *Weſt Indies*, rear admiral *Knowles* made an unſucceſsful attempt upon St. *Jago de Cula*, and engaged, near the *Havannah*, a *Spaniſh* ſquadron, under the command of the admirals *Reggio* and *Spinola*, who loſt two of their ſhips, and retired to the *Havannah*. The plenipotentiaries were ſtill at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, ſettling the terms of the definitive treaty, which was at laſt ſigned on the 7th of *October*. That part of it relating to *Spain* provided that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be mutually releaſed, without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored; that the dutchies of *Parma*, *Placentia*, and *Guaſtalla*, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant don *Philip*, and the heirs male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of *Spain*, or of the two *Sicilies*, or his dying without male iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of *Auſtria*. This great work being finiſhed, *Ferdinand* declared his intention of cultivating an inviolable friendſhip with the court of *Great Britain*, and, at the ſame time, a good underſtanding with all his other neighbours. He entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of *France*, *Sardinia* and the two *Sicilies*, the republic of *Genoa*, and the dukes of *Parma* and *Modena*. Having thus ſecured the tranquillity of his dominions, he applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to their internal intereſts, and ordered his miniſter, don *Juan de Carvajal*, to confer with the *Britiſh* miniſter, *Keene*, upon the moſt effectual method to ſettle all the differences with *Great Britain* that had been left unfiniſhed by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. This was conſidered as a very tender point on the part of the *Spaniards*, eſpecially as the article of ſearching *Britiſh* ſhips on the *American* ſeas, which had occaſioned the late war, remained ſtill undetermined. The *Spaniſh* miniſter refuſed to give His pacific conduct.

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up the point, and to put the people of *Great Britain* in good humour, he agreed to pay a hundred thouſand pounds, to indemnify the *South Sea* company for the claims it had upon the crown of *Spain*, and that the trade between *England* and *Spain* ſhould be continued on the footing of former treaties.

He courts the *Engliſh*.

Ferdinand's great paſſion was to revive a ſpirit of induſtry among his people, and to induce them to purſue the arts and manufactures practiſed in other nations, eſpecially in *Great Britain*. For this purpoſe, he recalled general *Wall* out of *England*, and put him at the head of his miniſtry. This was extremely diſagreeable to the queen mother, who had a ſtrong party at court; but *Ferdinand* protected his miniſter, and every day gave freſh proofs of his intention to ſtrengthen the bonds of friendſhip with *England*. Beſides the queen mother, the marquis of *Enſenada* joined in the intrigues againſt *Wall*, as did moſt of the other miniſters at *Madrid*; but *Enſenada* was arreſted, and his poſts were given to general *Wall*. *Ferdinand* ſent a meſſage, deſiring his mother-in-law to deſiſt from meddling in the affairs of his government; and the *Engliſh* intereſt was ſo prevalent at court, that *Keene* was honoured with a red ribband by his maſter, as being highly inſtrumental in the diſgrace of *Enſenada*.

Obſerves a neutrality.

It was natural for the *French* king, when the war broke out between *France* and *England* in 1755, to endeavour to make *Ferdinand* a principal againſt *Great Britain*; but he ſtuck to his pacific plan, and continued to improve the arts and manufactures of his country, to retrench unneceſſary expences, and to ſtrike off uſeleſs penſions, by which he was enabled to put both his ſea and land forces upon a moſt reſpectable footing; but above all to encourage the building of ſhips, in which he ſpared no encouragement to *Engliſh* artiſts. When the *Engliſh* made prize of the *French* ſhips before their declaring war againſt *France*, the *French* endeavoured to prevail on *Ferdinand* to reſent ſuch proceeding, as a breach of the law of nations, and as a common cauſe among all monarchs. *Boſcawen* had deſtroyed two *French* men of war in *America*, and Sir *Benjamin Keene* preſented a memorial at the court of *Madrid*, vindicating his conduct, which had been rendered neceſſary, by the injuſtice and violence of the *French* towards the *Britiſh* ſubjects in that part of the world. His repreſentation was ſo well received, that *Ferdinand* declared that he would do nothing to break his good correſpondence with *Great Britain*, and his declaration was reported by his *Britannic* majeſty in his next ſpeech to his parliament. An incident that happened ſoon after on the coaſt of *Spain*, gave the *French* new matter of complaint. An *Engliſh* ſquadron under admiral *Oſborne*, had blocked up a *French* ſquadron under *de la Clue*, and the *French* ſent the *Foudroyant*, the largeſt ſhip in their navy, to the aſſiſtance of *de la Clue*. The *Foudroyant* was taken by the *Monmouth*; but the *Oriflamme*, another *French* ſhip, was driven

driven aſhore, under the *Spaniſh* caſtle of *Aiglos*, and the *French* demanded, in pretty high terms, of *Ferdinand*, to reſent this violation of the laws of nations. The *Engliſh*, at the requeſt of the *Spaniſh* miniſters, made an apology for what had happened, with which *Ferdinand* was ſatisfied, and the affair had no farther conſequences. About this time, the court of *London* publiſhed a reward of five hundred pounds for bringing to juſtice certain *Engliſh* pirates, who had plundered the ſhip, which was carrying the effects and money of the *Spaniſh* embaſſador, the marquis *de Pignatelli*, to *Dunkirk*.

In the year 1758, *Ferdinand* received a fatal blow by the death of his queen, of whom he was fond to diſtraction, which threw him into a melancholy, ſo deplorable that we have hardly an inſtance of the like in hiſtory, eſpecially among crowned heads. It was in vain for his beſt beloved ſubjects and friends to offer him comfort; for he ſhut himſelf up in a chamber at *Villaviciosa*, where his melancholy, at laſt, put an end to his life, on the 10th of *Auguſt* 1759. His pacific character, the immenſe ſums he ſpent among his ſubjects, and the eaſy manner in which they lived under him, made him adored by his people, who ſeverely felt his loſs. In other reſpects, he is ſaid to have had no great genius, which, perhaps, was a happineſs to his ſubjects, becauſe it tended to promote their tranquillity. 1758. His death. 1759.

As the laſt will of a king of *Spain* has always been of great conſequence to his ſucceſſor, and reſpected with the deepeſt reverence by his ſubjects, *Ferdinand* made his before his death, and appointed his brother *Charles*, commonly called don *Carlos*, king of the two *Sicilies*, to ſucceed him. *Charles* had never ratified the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*. He conſidered it as of no force to bind him, or to give his brother *Philip* a right to mount his throne. He therefore, without any ceremony, very ſenſibly proceeded, as if no ſuch treaty exiſted; but his chief difficulty was the diſpoſal of his eldeſt ſon, who had in his perſon and behaviour, all the marks of incapacity for government. To get rid of that difficulty, he ordered that the young prince ſhould be inſpected by a committee of phyſicians, who declared him to be unſound in his intellects, and gave their reaſons in writing, which were publiſhed by his majeſty's orders. He therefore publiſhed an act of abdication, and ſettlement of the crown of the two *Sicilies*, in favour of don *Ferdinand*, his third ſon, and declared his ſecond ſon his ſucceſſor to the crown of *Spain*; but left his eldeſt ſon under proper tuition at *Naples*. He at the ſame time declared the order of the ſucceſſion to the crown of the two *Sicilies*, but that they never ſhould be united to the *Spaniſh* monarchy; and that his ſon *Ferdinand*, for whom he appointed a regency during his minority, was entirely independent of him, both as a king and a father. Succeeded by his brother, the king of *Naples*.

By the will of the late king *Ferdinand*, the queen mother of *Spain* was to act as regent, till the arrival of *Charles*, and whoſe mediation is the

rejected by the *Engliſh*.

the firſt act of her government was to command all officers to continue in their reſpective poſts till farther orders. Though the kings of *Spain* are never crowned, yet the proclamation of *Charles* was very ſplendid; and having embarked on board a *Spaniſh* ſquadron, he landed at *Barcelona*, and arrived at *Madrid* in *October*. The queen, his mother, left nothing unattempted to prevail with him to abandon the pacific maxims of the late reign; but his majeſty, notwithſtanding the affection he bore to her, declined taking any part in the war, and contented himſelf with ſending the count *de Fuentes* as his embaſſador to the court of *London*, with an offer of his mediation between *France* and *Great Britain*, and to bring about, if poſſible, a ceſſation of arms in the mean time. In this, however, he failed, though he took a journey to *Paris* to effect it. This diſappointment did not prevent *Charles* from purſuing ſteadily his brother's conduct, and he even exceeded him in the meaſures he took for regulating his finances and relieving his people, for he ordered his father's debts, amounting to ten millions of rials, to be punctually diſcharged.

He takes part with *France*.

This ſteadineſs did not continue long. Beſides the continual teazings of his mother to join *France* in the war againſt *England*, he was alarmed, when he ſaw the *French* ſtript of almoſt all their poſſeſſions in *America* by the *Engliſh* arms, and he grew apprehenſive for the fate of his own *American* dominions. In ſhort, he ſecretly reſolved, not only to become a party in the war againſt *England*, but to enter into a formal family compact with *France*, of which we have already given a full account. Perhaps the haughtineſs with which the *Britiſh* miniſtry treated the family of *Bourbon*, did not a little influence him in this reſolution. To cover his real intention, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out at *Carthagena*, under pretence of chaſtiſing the *Algerines*; but in reality, to act againſt *Great Britain*. The negotiations for peace were then carrying on at *London* between the *French* and the *Engliſh* miniſters, and we have already ſeen the manner in which his catholic majeſty's name was introduced into the conferences, and how warmly the inſolence of *Buſſy*, the *French* miniſter on that occaſion, was reſented by the *Engliſh*. We have, in the hiſtory of *France*, given all the other particulars relating to this negotiation, and ſhall therefore confine ourſelves here entirely to what concerns *Spain*. The family compact was no ſecret, but the particulars of it had not been communicated to the public, and therefore the *Britiſh* miniſtry, in which Mr. *Pitt* now held no part, inſtructed the earl of *Briſtol*, their embaſſador at *Madrid*, peremptorily to demand a ſight of the treaty that had been made with *France*. It is probable the *French* miniſtry had, before this, an intimation of Mr. *Pitt*'s having reſigned the ſeals, becauſe he could not prevail upon his *Britannic* majeſty and his council to declare war againſt *Spain*, and that they concluded from thence, that no war would be declared in any event. Mr. *Wall*, who was then the firſt miniſter

P. 126.

ibid. & *ſeq.*

niſter in *Spain*, all of a ſudden talked in that ſtile to the earl of *Briſtol*, and in the mean time a very rich ſhip arrived from the *Spaniſh Weſt Indies*. The earl, according to his inſtructions, threatened to be gone, and Mr. *Wall*, without any ceremony, told him he might begin his journey when he pleaſed. Mutual recriminations paſſed between the two courts, from whence each recalled its embaſſadors.

On the 2d of *January* 1762, *Great Britain* declared war againſt *Spain*, as *Spain* did againſt *Great Britain* on the 16th of the ſame month. The manner in which the *Spaniſh* miniſtry behaved ſince the concluſion of the family compact, ſufficiently indicated their belief that *Great Britain* durſt not declare war, and their opinion ſeemed to be well founded. The continuance and vaſt extent of the war with *France*, had encreaſed the national debt to an enormous amount. The finances and armies of *Spain* were in excellent order. Their ſhips of war were more numerous than had been known for an age paſt, and they had been providing againſt any attack in their *Weſt Indies*, where alone they were vulnerable, by reinforcing the *Havannah* with thirteen ſhips of the line, a large body of land troops, and additional fortifications; but the great dependence of the court of *Spain*, was upon an invaſion they were meditating againſt *Portugal*, the favourite ally of *Great Britain*, but without the leaſt means of defending herſelf. On the 6th of *March*, the *French* and *Spaniſh* embaſſadors preſented a memorial to his moſt faithful majeſty, which amounted to a demand, that he would immediately declare war againſt the *Engliſh*, who reaped great advantages from the ſituation of *Portugal*, and that he would admit *Spaniſh* garriſons into his chief fortreſſes. This inſolent demand was followed by the arrival of a *Spaniſh* army under the marquis *de Sarria*, upon the frontiers of *Portugal*. His moſt faithful majeſty, without appearing to be intimidated, continued firm to his engagements with *England*, notwithſtanding the repeated declarations of *France* and *Spain*; and though the marquis *de Sarria* had made himſelf maſter of *Miranda*. It is certain, that a party in *Great Britain*, from the defenceleſs ſtate of *Portugal*, and the ſmall oppoſition the *Spaniards* met with, thought that there was a private underſtanding between the courts of *Liſbon* and *Madrid*; and indeed, the greater the danger *Portugal* was in, the greater was the probability that *England* would conſent to a peace.

The *Engliſh* miniſtry acted with the moſt irreproachable good faith. Though they were then plunged in the moſt expenſive and extenſive war that perhaps any nation had ever carried on, they ſent vaſt ſupplies of arms, artillery, ammunition, troops and money to his moſt faithful majeſty; but it has been alledged, that had the *French* and *Spaniards* been in earneſt, *Portugal* muſt have been conquered before thoſe troops could have taken the field, as a *French* army was at that very time on the frontiers of *Portugal*, upon another

1762. War declared between *Spain* and *Great Britain*.

War in *Portugal*, where the *Spaniards* are defeated by the *Engliſh*,

quarter. After the reduction of *Miranda*, *Braganza* and *Moncorvo* fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. Count *O Reilly* reduced *Chaves*, the *Spaniards* were maſters of the greateſt part of the river *Douro*, and almoſt of the whole province of *Tralos Montes*, ſo that nothing ſtood in their way to *Oporto* itſelf, from whence the *Britiſh* merchants removed, with their moſt valuable effects. Among the other requeſts made by the court of *Portugal* to that of *Great Britain*, was that of ſending them an able general to command their troops, and to revive their diſcipline, and the *German* count *la Lippe*, who was thought to be the ableſt engineer in *Europe*, was ſent them. The *Engliſh* officers, however, who had before arrived in *Portugal*, had found means to reanimate the courage of the *Portugueſe*, who gave the *Spaniards* a check at the *Douro*, and gratified their innate hatred of that nation, by the barbarities which they exerciſed upon the priſoners who fell into their hands. Notwithſtanding this, a diviſion of the *Spaniſh* army entered the province of *Beira*, and having joined the troops who had ſubdued *Tralos Montes*, they laid ſiege to *Almeyda*, which capitulated on the 25th of *Auguſt*, and the whole of their army marched towards the *Tayo*, ſeemingly with a deſign to reduce *Liſbon* itſelf. To render this blow more effectual, a third diviſion of the *Spaniſh* army entered *Portugal*, by the way of *Eſtremadura*, and formed magazines at *Alcantara*. Count *de la Lippe* was juſt landed in *Portugal*, when this diviſion prepared to enter the province of *Alentejo*. A ſmall body of *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* was likewiſe in the field, who gave the *Spaniards* great interruption, by intercepting their convoys and cutting off their parties.

under count *de la Lippe*.

Count *la Lippe* ſent brigadier *Burgoyne*, at the head of four hundred of his own regiment, all the *Britiſh* grenadiers, and a party of very ill appointed *Portugueſe* ſoldiers, to ſurprize the *Spaniards* at *Alcantara*. This the brigadier effected, after a moſt aſtoniſhing march. The *Spaniards* imagining themſelves in ſecurity, gave way, upon the very firſt alarm, and the *Engliſh* made themſelves maſters of the town ſword in hand, the braveſt of the *Spaniſh* troops being cut to pieces in defending it. So great was the conſternation of the *Spaniards* at this ſurprize, that an *Engliſh* ſerjeant with no more than ſix men, killed as many of a party of dragoons, conſiſting of twenty-five, commanded by a ſubaltern, and brought in the remainder priſoners, with all their horſes. This expedition, by which one of the beſt regiments in *Spain* was entirely cut off, ſaved *Portugal*, if the *French* and *Spaniards* were really in earneſt to have conquered it. The *Britiſh* officers after this, found the military diſcipline of the *Spaniards* to be as contemptible as that of the *Portugueſe*. A diviſion of them remained at *Caſtel Branco*, and might have cut off the *Engliſh* and *Portugueſe* army, but inſtead of that, they themſelves were defeated. Brigadier *Burgoyne* and colonel *Lee* ſurprized and defeated a large body of their cavalry at *Villa Velha*, and

deſtroyed

deſtroyed their magazines, with ſcarcely any loſs. In ſhort, the whole conduct, both of the *French* and *Spaniards*, in this expedition, was wretched beyond expreſſion; nor is it eaſy to conceive what the views of their reſpective courts could be in ſacrificing their troops to the *Engliſh*, who were undoubtedly in earneſt, whatever colluſions there might be among the courts of *Verſailles*, *Madrid* and *Liſbon*. The *Spaniards*, when the winter came, found the rain ſet in, the roads broken up, their cavalry ſtarving, and themſelves without magazines; nor had they even a fortified place which they could retire to for winter quarters. In this diſtreſs they returned to *Spain*; and thus the valour of a few *Britiſh* ſubjects, diſconcerted the ambitious and unjuſt projects of two of the greateſt powers in *Europe*. But we are now to attend the operations in *Spaniſh America*.

The command of the expedition undertaken by the *Engliſh* againſt the *Havannah*, was committed to the earl of *Albermarle* by land, and to the admiral Sir *George Pocock* by ſea. The excellent diſpoſitions made by the latter, and the careful obſervations that had been made by the officers under him, carried the *Britiſh* fleet through the old ſtraits of *Bahama*, a paſſage that till then had been thought impracticable for a great fleet. On the 6th of *June*, the whole fleet brought to, and Sir *George Pocock*, with twelve ſail of the line, ſome frigates, and all the ſtore ſhips, bore away for the mouth of the harbour, to block up the *Spaniſh* men of war that were there, and next day the army landed between the two forts, *Bacarans* and *Coxemar*, both which they reduced. On the 8th, a ſkirmiſh happened between a body of *Spaniards*, who were ſaid to have been about ſix thouſand in number, and a party of *Engliſh*, to the diſadvantage of the former, and next day the *Engliſh* diſcerned the enemy diſmantling their ſhips in the harbour. The *Moro* caſtle was the principal defence of the city, and the hill on which it ſtood was called the *Cavannos*, where there was a poſt from which colonel *Carleton* drove the *Spaniards*. Preparations were then made for beſieging the fort itſelf, which was very difficult to be reconnoitred, and the operations of the ſiege continued till the 1ſt of *July*, when two batteries of cannon were opened. Don *Lewis de Velaſco*, captain of the *El Bayna* of 70 guns, commanded in the *Moro* caſtle, but his fire, though his guns were more numerous, was inferior to that of the *Engliſh*. About ten o'clock (ſays lord *Albermarle*'s journal) the *Cambridge* of 80 guns, the *Dragon* of 74 guns, and the *Marlborough* of 66, went in and lay againſt the fort; the *Cambridge* lay within grape ſhot. They continued firing for about three hours, which the fort received and returned with great ſteadineſs: At length the ſhips were ordered off. The *Cambridge* and *Dragon* ſuffered much, particularly the former. The attacked front of the fort did not ſeem to ſuffer much from their fire, it was ſo much above them; but they ſtill did us a conſiderable ſervice in taking up

The *Havannah* taken by the earl of *Albermarle*.

the enemy's attention for that time, which gained us a ſuperiority in the number of guns. We ſhall not preſume to judge whether there might not have been a more eaſy and expeditious method than that purſued by the *Britiſh* general, for reducing the *Havannah* after landing his troops; but it is certain that his batteries on the 3d of *July* catched fire, and deſtroyed the ſeventeen days labour of five or ſix hundred men, which was all to do over again. This accident threw a great damp upon the beſiegers, but by the indefatigable labours of the engineers, new batteries were erected; and while the people of *England* were deſpairing of ſeeing this great conqueſt brought about, on the 30th of *September* letters from the earl of *Albermarle* and Sir *George Pocock*, arrived at the ſecretary of ſtate's, and the *Admiralty* office, dated *Auguſt* 21, with an account, that the *Moro* fort was taken by ſtorm, on the 30th of *July*, by his majeſty's troops under major general *Keppel*, who commanded the attack. "Our mines (ſays the earl of *Albermarle*, in his letter to the earl of *Egremont*) were ſprung "about one o'clock, and a breach made juſt practicable for a "file of men in front. The enemy was drawn up on the top "of it in form, with a ſeeming determination to defend it. "The attack was ſo vigorous and impetuous, that the enemy "was inſtantaneouſly drove from the breach, and his majeſty's ſtandard planted upon the baſtion. I did not ſend a "particular expreſs with this good news to your lordſhip, "becauſe I flattered myſelf, that what has happened would "ſoon be the conſequence of our ſucceſs at fort *Moro*. On "the 11th in the morning, by a ſignal from the fort, we "opened our batteries againſt the town and *Punta* fort. "The guns and mortars were ſo well ſerved by the artillery "and ſailors, and their effect ſo great, that in leſs than ſix "hours, all the guns in the fort and north baſtion were ſilenced. The governor hung out the white flag, and beat "a parley, and, at the ſame time, ſent out an officer to propoſe a ceſſation of arms for twenty-four hours, in order to "prepare the articles of capitulation."

P. 129. A peace concluded.

The vaſt loſs which the *Spaniſh* monarchy ſuſtained by the reduction of the *Havannah* was not attended with the conſequences that were expected; and we have already ſeen the terms of the treaty of *Fontainbleau*, which brought back tranquillity to *Europe*. After the concluſion of the peace, the *Havannah* was reſtored to his catholic majeſty. The independency of *Portugal* was ſecured, and his catholic majeſty again applied himſelf to the duties of his government. It was not long before the effects of the family compact were ſeen in the partiality ſhewn at the court of *Madrid*, in favour of the *French*. This was by no means agreeable to the old *Caſtilians*, and the leſs ſo, as the king's firſt miniſter, the marquis *de Squillace*, was an *Italian*, and a profeſſed partizan of the houſe of *Bourbon*. The return of the public tranquillity rather increaſed than leſſened their taxes, and ſome of them were of a

moſt

moſt diſagreeable nature. An order, which was emitted by the court prohibiting the uſe of the old *Spaniſh* hat and cloak, blew the popular diſcontent into a flame; and in *March* 1766, the populace roſe in arms, and ſurrounded the royal palaces. His majeſty is ſaid to have ordered his *Spaniſh* guards to fire upon them, but he was diſobeyed, and calling the *Wallon* or foreign guards to his aſſiſtance, ſeveral were killed on both ſides. We are as yet uncertain of the true ſtate and motives of this inſurrection, farther than we have already mentioned, only it is certain that his catholic majeſty thought proper to fly from his capital, and to diſmiſs his *Italian* miniſter. 1766.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

SECTION I.

1080. State of *Portugal.*

PORTUGAL comprehending the greateſt part of the *Roman Luſitania*, fell early under the *Mooriſh* power. About the year 1080, *Alonſo* VI. king of *Leon*, in an expedition he made againſt the *Moors*, had under him a volunteer officer, called *Henry*, a prince probably of the houſe of *Burgundy*, younger brother to duke *Robert*, and grandſon to *Hugh Capet*, king of *France*. His valour recommended him to *Alonſo*, who gave him his daughter, whether natural or legitimate is uncertain, *Tereſa*, in marriage, together with the title of count, with all that part which belonged to the *Chriſtians*, which comprehended the provinces of *Entro Minho*, *Douro*, and *Tralos Montes*, with part of *Beira*, with permiſſion to conquer for himſelf as much of the remainder as he could, from the *Moors*. The count and his court reſided in the town of *Guimaraez*, and according to the *Portugueſe* hiſtorians he held all his poſſeſſions in abſolute ſovereignty. In thoſe days, this was ſo deſirable a circumſtance, that the *Chriſtians* who had been diſperſed by the *Moors* united under him, and he reduced his tributary the *Mooriſh* king of *Lamego*, who had rebelled. Some writers ſay, that count *Henry* was tributary to the king of *Leon* for all the country beyond the *Guadiana*, and

and that he was obliged to ſerve in his armies with three hundred horſe. It happens unfortunately for the hiſtory of *Portugal*, that the *Moors* and *Chriſtians* were ſo blended together at this time in that country, that literature in a manner was aboliſhed. The *Moors* were not the offſpring of the polite ſubjects of the califate; but a barbarous unlettered race, who had revolted from the califs, and lived under tyrants, who led them to ſeek foreign ſettlements. The *Chriſtians* on the other hand, retained little but the name to entitle them to that denomination, being commonly at war with the infidels, with whom however they intermarried during their ſhort intervals of peace, and the two people mutually adopted part of each other's religion. Thoſe intermixtures encouraged that vein of romance to which the *Moors* are naturally inclined, and which has rendered the hiſtory of *Portugal* ſo very uncertain at this period, late as it is. It is ſaid, with ſome ſhew of probability, that the wife of count *Henry* took the title of queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, as being her father's eldeſt daughter.

Count *Henry* died in an advanced age, in the year 1112, and his memory for his valour and virtues is ſtill dear to the *Portugueſe* nation. His wife, *Tereſa*, entered upon the adminiſtration of the government, her ſon, *Alonſo*, being then but three years of age. Her regency, or rather her reign (for ſhe pretended to be ſovereign by inheritance) proved auſpicious to *Portugal*, as the *Moors* were too much divided among themſelves, to give her any diſturbance. She quarrelled however with her ſiſter *Urraca*, the reigning queen of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, who invaded her territories with a large army; but without any effect, becauſe her troops refuſed to obey her, on account of her ingratitude to the archbiſhop of *Compoſtella*. Queen *Tereſa* had afterwards a variance with the pope, and with her nephew don *Alonſo Raymond*, who ſucceeded his mother *Urraca* in the kingdoms of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. When young *Alonſo* grew up, he was knighted in the church of *Zamora*, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, and being offended at the intimacy between the count of *Traſtamara* and his mother, he took the reins of government into his hands, and defeated her troops, by the aſſiſtance of his governor *Egas Munitz*. *Tereſa* applied for aſſiſtance to her nephew, the king of *Caſtile*, whoſe troops *Alonſo* likewiſe beat; but the *Caſtilian* recruiting his forces, bade fair to ſubdue all *Portugal*, had not *Munitz*, in his pupil's name, prevailed on him to make peace, on condition of *Portugal* becoming tributary to *Caſtile*. *Alonſo* refuſed to ratify the treaty, and the war continued. We have already ſeen in what manner *Alonſo* treated his mother after he had made her priſoner, by putting chains upon her legs, in which condition ſhe lived till her death, which happened in the year 1130. The reſt of *Alonſo*'s reign was diſtinguiſhed by a ſeries of ſucceſſes againſt the *Moors*. He joined in a league with the king of *Navarre*, againſt the emperor *Alonſo*, on pretext that the latter detained from him ſome eſtates in *Galicia*,

1112. Death of count *Henry*,

1130.

that had belonged to his mother. The emperor, on the other hand, conſidered him as his vaſſal, and the war was carried on with various ſucceſs on both ſides. Both of them, however, joined in oppoſing the *Moors*, from whom *Alonſo* recovered a number of places, till the emperor became jealous of his ſucceſſes, though their common danger from the infidels ſoon reunited them about the year 1137. The religious frenzy that raged then among the *European* princes, prevailed with count *Alonſo*, to take the ſhameful meaſure of rendering his crown tributary, by paying four ounces of gold annually to the holy ſee, which was then filled by pope *Lucius* II. About a year after, his dominions were invaded by the united force of all the *Moors* in *Portugal*, who were ſupported by a numerous army from *Africa*. This invaſion threatened the abſolute conqueſt of all *Portugal*, the infidel army being compoſed of about three hundred thouſand men; but it was completely defeated by the count, whoſe army did not exceed thirteen thouſand. This wonderful victory is embelliſhed with ſo many romantic circumſtances, as detract from its merit. It is certain, however, that five *Mooriſh* kings were killed on the ſpot, and *Alonſo* was on that occaſion hailed king of *Portugal* in the plains of *Ourique*, where the battle was fought.

1137. whoſe ſon *Alonſo* defeats the *Moors*,

and is recognized king.

Among the numerous captives made at the battle of *Ourique*, were a thouſand *Mozarabic Chriſtians*, who with their wives and families, ſerved to repeople thoſe parts of *Portugal* which had been depopulated by the *Moors*, and his other captives were reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, and ſent to different parts of his dominions. After *Alonſo* was declared king, he entered into a league with *Raymond*, count of *Barcelona*, whoſe wife was queen of *Arragon*, againſt the emperor *Alonſo*, whoſe territories they invaded in different places at the ſame time. This invaſion proved unfortunate for *Alonſo*, who was defeated and wounded, while the *Moors* in his abſence were buſied in demoliſhing the fortreſs of *Leyria*. Upon his return, he continued the war againſt the *Moors*, from whom he took *Santaren*; and in an aſſembly of his ſtates, which he called at *Lamego*, he was ſolemnly recognized king of *Portugal* in 1145, and inveſted with the enſigns of royalty. This recognition was attended with ſeveral circumſtances which did great honour to the ſpirit and ſagacity of *Alonſo*. *Laurence de Viegas*, one of his chief nobility, and the archbiſhop of *Braga*, were the chief agents in the ceremony, and they managed ſo wiſely, that every ſtep that was taken, was at the deſire and requeſt of the people. The king produced a code of laws, to which they aſſented. They declared the crown hereditary in his family, with certain modifications in the ſucceſſion; and when *Viegas* demanded whether the king ſhould do homage to the king of *Leon*, every man in the aſſembly anſwered in the negative, drew his ſword, and all of them proclaimed their king and themſelves to be free and independent; upon which, the new king ſolemnly declared that any deſcendent of his

1145.

who

who ſhould ſubmit to be tributary, ſhould forfeit his right of ſucceſſion to the crown of *Portugal*. Next year, *Alonſo* married *Matilda*, daughter to the count of *Maurienne*, predeceſſor to the duke of *Savoy*, and laid ſiege to *Liſbon*, which was then in poſſeſſion of the *Moors*. The place being defended by an incredible number of infidels, he was about to have raiſed the ſiege, when fortunately for him, a ſtrong party of cruſaders, moſt of them *Engliſh*, happened to arrive at the mouth of the *Tayo*, and aſſiſted him in reducing the place. *Alonſo* did not fail in his gratitude to his ſeaſonable auxiliaries, and the conqueſt of *Liſbon* raiſed his reputation to ſuch a pitch, that not only his own ſubjects, but foreigners crowded to his ſtandards; ſo that he recovered almoſt all *Portugal* from the *Moors*. *Alonſo* took care to have his title, and all his other proceedings confirmed by the ſee of *Rome*; and approved himſelf in every reſpect a wiſe and magnanimous prince. He waged continual war againſt the infidels. He married his eldeſt daughter, *Matilda*, to the king of *Arragon*; his ſecond, *Urraca*, to the king of *Leon*; and his third, to the earl of *Flanders*. In the hiſtory of *Spain*, we have already mentioned his being taken priſoner by his ſon-in-law, the king of *Leon*, and of his having the misfortune of breaking his leg. Being reſtored to his liberty, he joined the king of *Caſtile* againſt the king of *Leon*, who defeated his ſon don *Sancho*, in the year 1178. He conquers *Liſbon*. 1178.

After this, both he and the infant *Sancho* directed their arms againſt the *Moors*, whom they completely defeated. The infidels were joined by an army from *Africa*, and deſtroyed the *Portugueſe* fleet, after they had been defeated at land. About the year 1180, the *African Moors* renewed their invaſions of *Portugal* with more fury, and in greater numbers than ever; but don *Sancho* had the glory to kill their miramomalin, or head king, with his own hand, and totally to defeat the infidel army at *Santaren*. This was the laſt event of *Alonſo*'s illuſtrious reign. After it, he retired to *Coimbra*, where he ſpent the remainder of his life in providing for the ſafety and happineſs of his people, and died on the 6th of *September*, 1185, having governed *Portugal* fifty-ſeven years as count and king. As to his age, authors differ; but it is probable he was near eighty at the time of his death. He was undoubtedly a prince of vaſt accompliſhments, and of knowledge far ſuperior to the barbarity of the age he lived in. We cannot be ſurprized at the romantic accounts we have of his proweſs and bodily ſtrength, after being told from the beſt authorities that his ſtature exceeded ſeven feet. 1180. 1185. His death.

Alonſo was ſucceeded in the throne of *Portugal* by his ſon don *Sancho*, who had in his father's life-time married *Dulcia*, the count of *Barcelona*'s daughter. *Sancho*, upon his acceſſion to the crown, entirely altered his manners into a moſt pacific conduct, and became the father of his people, by cultivating the arts of peace, repeopling his territories, and rebuilding his cities. His endeavours were ſo ſucceſsful, that he brought *Sancho* king of *Portugal*.

his people from a ſtate of barbarity into happineſs and civilization. He gave his daughter donna *Tereſa* in marriage to the king of *Leon*, and, like his father, he was fortunately aſſiſted by a ſquadron of *Engliſh* and *Flemiſh* cruſaders in reducing *Silves* in *Algarve*. The reſt of his life was chiefly ſpent in his wars with the *Moors*, in which he was aſſiſted by his ſon-in-
1190. law the king of *Leon*; but in 1190, the *Moors* recovered all *Algarve*. Don *Sancho* drew upon himſelf and his kingdom the thunder of the *Vatican*, on account of his daughter *Tereſa*'s marriage with the king of *Leon*, to whom ſhe was related, and *Sancho* was obliged to receive her into his dominions after her divorce. *Sancho*, before his death, recovered *Silves* from
1212. the *Moors*, and reduced *Elvas*. He died in 1212, with the character of a juſt and a wiſe prince, and of never having oppreſſed his ſubjects by taxes, though he left behind him immenſe riches.

Alonſo II. His ſon don *Alonſo* II. at the time of his acceſſion, was twenty-ſeven years of age, and was ſurnamed the Fat. He quarrelled with his brothers and his ſiſters, on account of the large appointments that had been left them by their father; but they appealed to the neighbouring princes, particularly to the king of *Leon*, and to the pope, by whom he was excommunicated; but matters were at laſt compromiſed between them. It is here proper to obſerve, that it was no uncommon thing for ſuch of the cruſaders of thoſe days, as found it inconvenient to go to the *Holy Land*, to commute their ſervice into expeditions againſt the infidels in *Spain* and *Portugal*, and this is the reaſon why we find ſo many ſervices performed by foreigners in that country; not to mention the vaſt plunder which they commonly carried off. *Alonſo* was fortunate in this reſpect, and a fleet of cruſaders putting into the *Tayo*, part of them accepted of *Alonſo*'s invitation to ſerve againſt the *Moors* in the reduction of *Alcaſſar*, which they accordingly took, and defeated an army of fifty thouſand infidels, with miracles, as uſual, attending the victory. After this, a quarrel broke out between the clergy and the king, who wanted to oblige them to contribute towards the expences of the war. This diſpute terminated in the king's excommunication and death, which happened in the twelfth year of his reign, on the 25th of *March*, 1223.

Sancho II. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sancho* II. who was twenty years of age, and at the time of his acceſſion, found himſelf and his dominions under an interdict of the pope, and at variance with his aunts. By his ſubmiſſions to the archbiſhop of *Braga*, the interdict was removed, and he obliged his aunts to do him homage, but with a reſervation of their appointments. He was harraſſed during the reſt of his reign by his clergy on the one hand, and by the *Moors* on the other. He had the good fortune to make head againſt the latter; but his nobility taking advantage of the pope's authority, brought the people into a revolt againſt their king, who was entirely go-

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verned by his wife, donna *Mencia*, daughter of don *Lopes dias de Haro*, and was hurt by the irregular conduct of his ſon, don *Ferdinand*. Notwithſtanding this, his general, don *Pelayo*, was ſucceſsful againſt the *Moors*, till he removed himſelf to the ſervice of the king of *Caſtile*. Upon the departure of that great general, the factions in *Portugal* joining with the clergy, prevailed with pope *Innocent* IV. to ſuſpend don *Sancho* from the exerciſe of the government, and to give the regency of *Portugal* to his brother, don *Alonſo*. After this, *Raymond Portocarrero* murdered or carried away the queen donna *Mencia*; upon which the king, don *Sancho* himſelf, retired into *Caſtile*, where he was hoſpitably received. Notwithſtanding his exile, many of his principal nobility remained firm in their duty, even though the pope by his bulls and fulminations, befriended the regent *Alonſo*. All *Sancho*'s efforts, however, proved ineffectual for his reſtoration, and he died at *Toledo* in *January* 1248. The papal votaries pretend that his holineſs as lord paramount of *Portugal*, depoſed *Sancho* on account of his incapacity for government; but the *Portugueze* hiſtorians ſpeak of him as a brave, juſt, prudent, but, perhaps, too mild a prince. 1248.

He was ſucceeded by his brother *Alonſo* III. count of *Boulogne*, the late regent. He gave, at his acceſſion to his government, a ſpecimen of the ſenſe he had of true loyalty, by neglecting thoſe who had been the inſtruments of his ambition, and preferring thoſe who had continued faithful in the worſt of times to his brother. He took from the *Moors* their two moſt conſiderable towns in *Portugal*, *Faro* and *Loule*, and proved a moſt accompliſhed prince both in peace and war. He kept well with the popes, who accommodated ſome differences between him and the king of *Caſtile*, occaſioned by the latter protecting a *Mooriſh* king, who was his tributary. He married the natural daughter of don *Alonſo*, the famous aſtronomer, king of *Caſtile*; and though he had a wife alive, the marriage was rendered valid by the ſee of *Rome*. The bridegroom was forty-three, and the bride ſcarcely ten years of age; but her father, who doted on her, gave her in dowry all that belonged to him of the kingdom of *Algarve*, and the city of *Silves*. Pope *Alexander* IV. ſucceeding to the holy ſee, pronounced this marriage illegal; but the *Portugueſe* ſtood by their king, who kept his wife, and ſhe bore him a ſon and a daughter. After this, he had ſome quarrels with his clergy, whom he wanted to contribute to the expences of the ſtate, and he gained ſo far upon the affections of the king of *Caſtile*, that he releaſed him from all obligations of homage for *Algarve* and *Silves*. Before his death, the pope threatened to lay him and his kingdom under an interdict, but his nobility continued ſo firm in their allegiance, that his menaces had no effect. He died in friendſhip with the church, on the 16th of *February*, 1279, after living ſixty-nine years, and reigning thirty-one. *Alonſo* III. 1279.

Alonſo III. was ſucceeded by his ſon *Denis*, who obtained the glorious appellation of the Father of his country. His mother *Denis* king.

mother, pretending to a greater ſhare in the government than he was willing to allow her, retired to her father, the king of *Caſtile*, and he married donna *Iſabella*, the king of *Arragon*'s daughter, a princeſs ſo accompliſhed, that the match diffuſed univerſal joy through all *Portugal*. Under him his family differences with the clergy revived, on account of the exemption they pleaded from taxes. He gave refuge to don *Nunez de Lara*, who has been mentioned in the hiſtory of *Caſtile*, and quarrelled with his brother, don *Alonſo*, to whom he thought his father had aſſigned too large appointments, and who pretended to the crown, becauſe his elder brother, the king, was born during the lifetime of *Alonſo* the Third's firſt wife, the counteſs of *Boulogne*. The infant was however obliged to ſubmit, upon his receiving from his brother an annual revenue, equivalent to forty thouſand pounds ſterling. The prudence of *Denis* maintained him againſt all the attacks of his clergy, and he lived at the ſame time in good terms with the court of *Rome*; though he enacted many laws in the nature of the *Engliſh* mortmain, to prevent the eccleſiaſtics from engroſſing lands or property. He was the moſt munificent patron of learning of any prince in *Europe*; and though he took the part of the *de la Cerda* family, againſt *Sancho* king of *Caſtile*, yet he at laſt concluded the double match we have already mentioned, between *Ferdinand*, king of *Caſtile*, and his daughter, the infanta *Conſtantia*, and between his ſon, *Alonſo*, and the infanta *Beatrix* of *Caſtile*. Thoſe matches tended to the crown of *Portugal*'s recovering from the queen dowager, donna *Beatrix*, thoſe places belonging to it, which ſhe continued to poſſeſs. His brother, *Alonſo*, not being in the ſecret of the agreement, took part with his mother *Beatrix*, and a freſh civil war broke out, which terminated entirely in favour of *Denis*, who obtained a large portion of territory in *Galicia*. *Denis*, in imitation of his predeceſſors, joined in all expeditions againſt the *Moors*, even when they were undertaken by princes with whom he was at variance, and though he abandoned the intereſt of the *de la Cerda* family, yet it was not till after he found it impracticable to put its head on the throne of *Spain*, and obtained for them better terms than they had reaſon to expect.

See p. 187.

p. 189. Ibid.

His proſperous reign.

Upon the death of his ſon-in-law, *Ferdinand* king of *Caſtile*, he ſupported his daughter, the queen dowager, and her ſon, againſt the uncle of the latter, and was aſſiſted in his moſt important tranſactions by his queen, to whom the *Portugueſe* hiſtorians have aſcribed a great part of his merit as a king. His ſon, don *Alonſo*, was influenced by his wife *Beatrix*, to form cabals in his court. He was likewiſe inſtigated by his mother-in-law, the queen dowager of *Caſtile*, and notwithſtanding all the prudent meaſures which *Denis* took to reclaim him, a moſt cruel civil war broke out, in which the prince behaved in a moſt ruffian like manner, and though often defeated, was pardoned by the clemency of his father,

father. Queen *Iſabella* interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation, on the prince throwing himſelf at his father's feet, and imploring forgiveneſs. *Denis* ſoon after that, fell ill, and the prince laid hold of that opportunity to renew his practices, but he and his father were again reconciled by the queen. *Denis* however, continuing his kindneſs to his natural ſon, *Alonſo Sanchez*, the prince was ſeconded by ſome of the great lords, demanding that he ſhould be ſtripp'd of his employments, which *Sanchez* voluntarily and magnanimouſly reſigned. *Denis* being again reconciled to his ſon, died on the 30th of *December* 1324, in the forty-fifth year of his reign, and the ſixty-fourth of his age. He was the firſt monarch of *Portugal* who underſtood the true intereſt of that kingdom, by taking advantage of its ſituation, to render it a commercial ſtate, for which purpoſe he maintained a great fleet, which protected the vaſt trade of his ſubjects. His frugality upon himſelf and his court, enabled him to amaſs prodigious riches, which he ſpent ſo liberally, that his generoſity is to this day proverbial in *Portugal*. Beſides a military order, he founded two univerſities; and the ſpirit of commerce which he had introduced among his ſubjects, produced thoſe effects, which entitle the *Portugueſe* to be conſidered as the fathers of modern diſcoveries and navigation. 1324.

Denis was ſucceeded by his ſon, don *Alonſo* the IVth, who, ſoon after his acceſſion, reformed his conduct, and called thoſe who had abuſed the royal authority while he was a prince, to a ſevere account. He could not, however, lay aſide his hatred to his natural brother, *Alonſo Sanchez*, whom he proſcribed and proclaimed a traitor, and who being driven to take up arms in his own defence, defeated the royal troops. The queen dowager interpoſed, and reconciled the two brothers. He wanted to marry his daughter to *Alonſo*, king of *Caſtile*, who had been already contracted to donna *Conſtantia*, and the marriage very irregularly took place. *Alonſo* treated her ill, which produced a moſt bloody war between the two crowns; but their differences were compromiſed, by the infant of *Portugal* marrying *Conſtantia*, and the king of *Portugal* aſſiſted *Alonſo* in the glorious victory he obtained over the *Moors* at *Salſedo*. No ſooner, however, was a good underſtanding eſtabliſhed between the two courts, than a dreadful event broke out in *Portugal*. *Alonſo* the IVth. p. 194.

We have already mentioned donna *Conſtantia*, daughter to don *Juan Emanuel*, and her having for ſome time borne the title of queen of *Caſtile*, upon account of her contract with that king. After her marriage with don *Pedro*, prince of *Portugal*, who behaved to her with great tenderneſs, ſhe ſaw that her huſband entertained a paſſion for a beautiful lady, *Agnes de Caſtro*, and the diſcovery is ſaid to have occaſioned her death. *Agnes* was the daughter of a *Caſtilian* nobleman who lived in exile at the court of *Portugal*, and ſhe expreſſed a true and unfeigned grief for the death of *Conſtantia*. Notwithſtanding this, p. 195. Hiſtory of *Agnes de Caſtro*.

this, *Alonſo* had a ſuſpicion of his ſon's attachment to *Agnes*, and took all the meaſures he could to prevent their being joined together in marriage; but the nuptials were privately performed and conſummated. After this, the infant ſeems to have cohabited publicly with *Agnes*, but without declaring their marriage, and her relations (her brothers eſpecially) had almoſt an abſolute ſway at don *Pedro*'s court. The king and the courtiers of *Portugal*, being ignorant of the match, preſſed don *Pedro* to a ſecond marriage, which he declined, but without having the courage to own his marriage with *Agnes*, though it is ſaid that the king, his father, offered to give her the honours of a princeſs of *Portugal*, if they actually were married. *Alonſo* had three counſellors, *Alvaro Gonſalez*, *Diego Lopez Pacheco*, and *Pedro Coello*, who adviſed him to put *Agnes* to death, for the good (as they ſaid) of his ſubjects, to which, after great heſitation, he unadviſedly conſented. *Pedro* then reſided at *Coimbra*, to which *Alonſo* repaired, when *Pedro* was abſent on a hunting match. *Agnes*, who, during her huſband's abſence, lived in the monaſtery of St. *Clara*, ſuſpected her father-in-law's bloody intention, went out to meet him, threw herſelf, with her three children, at his feet, and implored his compaſſion. *Alonſo* was melted, but his three wicked counſellors wrought ſo effectually upon his pride and paſſion, that he conſented to their executing the horrid deed, which they performed with every circumſtance of barbarity.

Death of *Alonſo*.

Don *Pedro* no ſooner heard of his wife's melancholy murder, than he flew to arms, and a civil war was beginning to deſolate *Portugal*, when the queen and the archbiſhop of *Braga* brought about a reconciliation between the father and the ſon, who ſwore that he would forgive the murder of his wife. In all other reſpects, don *Alonſo* behaved as a good ſovereign, but diſtruſting the ſincerity of his ſon's forgiveneſs, he gave a large ſum of money to each of his three worthleſs favourites, and he died at the age of ſixty-ſeven, in the thirty-ſecond year of his reign, *May* 1357.

1357. *Pedro* king.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon, don *Pedro*, who partook too much of the character of don *Pedro* the Cruel of *Caſtile*. He renewed his treaties with that court, and it was agreed that his ſon, *Ferdinand*, ſhould marry donna *Beatrix*, who was daughter to the king of *Caſtile*, by *Maria de Padilla*, and that her two ſiſters, *Conſtantia* and *Iſabella*, ſhould marry the infants *Juan* and *Denis*, the ſons of his *Portugueſe* majeſty by *Agnes de Caſtro*. The two monarchs of *Portugal* and *Caſtile*, agreed extremely well in their politicks that tended to revenge. *Pedro* of *Caſtile* delivered up the murderers of *Agnes de Caſtro*, who had taken refuge in his dominions, and *Pedro* of *Portugal* did the ſame by ſuch of the *Caſtilians* as were obnoxious to his cruel ally; each of them thereby gratifying his natural thirſt for revenge. The murderers of *Agnes* were put to death at *Santaren*, under the moſt exquiſite tortures; and *Pedro* had

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the meanneſs, not only to be preſent at their execution, but to inſult them. To juſtify his exceſs, on this occaſion, he ſolemnly ſwore that he was married to *Agnes de Caſtro*, by virtue of a diſpenſation he had received from *Rome*, and he ordered her body to be carried from *Coimbra* with the moſt extravagant pomp, and to be interred in the ſepulchre of the royal family. After this, he legitimated the children he had by *Agnes*, and detached himſelf as much as he could from his connections with *Caſtile*. He then applied himſelf to a ſtrict, perhaps a too ſevere adminiſtration of juſtice; but it was the more defenſible on account of his people's degeneracy, and of the king's obſerving no reſpect to perſons, but he behaved affably and mildly to all, even in the exerciſe of his ſevereſt acts, which in another prince would have been deemed cruelty.

Upon the revolution which happened in *Caſtile*, in favour of the count of *Tranſtemara*, *Pedro* the Cruel ſought for refuge in *Portugal*. Don *Pedro* was ſo far from granting it, that he ſent home the *Caſtilian* monarch's daughter, who was affianced to his ſon, don *Ferdinand*, with all her fortune, which was very conſiderable. He behaved, however, with great decorum towards the *Caſtilian*, by granting him a ſafe conduct to *Galicia*, which ſtill adhered to him. Don *Pedro*, who is by ſome named the Juſticiary, and with great reaſon, died in 1367, in the tenth year of his reign, and the forty-ſeventh of his age. p. 202. 1367.

Ferdinand, *Pedro*'s eldeſt ſon by his firſt marriage, ſucceeded him when he was twenty-ſeven years of age, but proved in every reſpect the reverſe of his father, who may be conſidered as the great pattern and reformer of his people. At his acceſſion to the throne he was immenſely rich, but he ſoon diſſipated his treaſures. His levity led him to befriend ſometimes don *Pedro* the Cruel, and ſometimes his rival the count of *Tranſtemara*, and ſometimes he even laid claim to the crown of *Caſtile* himſelf; ſo that he opened his court as an aſylum to all the diſcontented *Caſtilians* of either party. He formed a league with the kings of *Arragon* and *Granada*, againſt *Henry* count of *Tranſtemara*, who was then king of *Caſtile*, and who took *Braga*, in revenge of an unſucceſsful attempt that *Ferdinand* had made upon his dominions. While *Henry* was employed in that expedition, *Caſtile* was invaded by the king of *Granada*, who was repulſed by him. *Ferdinand* was then in treaty for marrying the infanta *Leonora*, daughter to the king of *Arragon*, and he had actually remitted to that court a vaſt ſum of money by way of ſubſidy for carrying on the war againſt *Caſtile*. But when every thing was ready for the marriage, even to the equipment of ſix magnificent gallies for carrying his bride to *Portugal*, the unſteady *Ferdinand* abandoned all his connections, and concluded a peace with *Henry* of *Caſtile*. *Ferdinand* having ſent all his ready money to *Arragon*, where it was ſeized by that king, became in a manner a beggar, and though he had, by a ſecond engagement, promiſed to marry the

Ferdinand King.

p. 202.

His inconſtant character and conduct.

the infanta *Leonora* of *Caſtile*, yet he fell deſperately in love with donna *Leonora Tellez*, wife to don *Juan Lorenzo da Cunha*, one of his principal nobility. It was in vain for the lady's ſiſter to endeavour to diſſuade him from the proſecution of his amour, for the king obtained a divorce, on pretence of conſanguinity, of the lady from her huſband, and privately married her. The match was ſo diſtaſteful to his ſubjects, that *Ferdinand* was obliged to diſown it, in order to appeaſe an inſurrection which happened at *Liſbon*, headed by a tailor, whom he afterwards put to death. He then publicly married *Leonora*, with vaſt pomp, and being apprehenſive of the reigning king of *Caſtile*'s reſentment, he entered into an alliance with the *Engliſh* duke of *Lancaſter*, who had aſſumed the title of king
p. 202. of *Caſtile*. Upon this, don *Henry* invaded his dominions, and penetrating as far as *Liſbon*, he became maſter of all the *Portugueſe* fleet, excepting four gallies. *Henry*, however, was unable to reduce *Liſbon*, and upon the arrival of the pope's nuncio, both parties accepted of his mediation, which took effect. *Ferdinand* obliged himſelf to force the *Caſtilian* exiles to leave *Portugal*, and to aſſiſt the *French* and the *Caſtilians*
A peace. againſt the *Engliſh*. *Henry*'s brother, don *Sancho*, married the king of *Portugal*'s ſiſter, as the natural ſon of *Henry* did the natural daughter of *Ferdinand*. This ruinous war being finiſhed, by thoſe and other family alliances, *Ferdinand*'s queen, *Leonora*, became as much miſtreſs of her huſband's court and revenues, as of his affections. Don *Juan*, *Ferdinand*'s brother, had ſecretly married her ſiſter, donna *Maria*, the widow of *Alvaro dias de Suza*, with whom he was deſperately in love. Queen *Leonora* was provoked at this marriage, and gave the infant ſo ill an opinion of his wife's virtue, that he murdered her, and took refuge in *Caſtile*, with his ſiſter
p. 178. *Beatrix*, don *Sancho*'s widow. Don *Juan*, king of *Caſtile*, who had ſucceeded his father *Henry*, concluded a marriage between his ſon and heir, and donna *Beatrix*, *Ferdinand*'s only
p. 203. child, and the marriage was agreed to by the ſtates of both kingdoms, with the ſingular circumſtance, that failing iſſue of the marriage, the ſurvivor was to enjoy both kingdoms. Queen *Leonora*, who diſapproved of this match, found means to break it, in the manner we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Caſtile*. It is ſaid that *Leonora* was influenced, on this occaſion, by *Andeyro*, her lover, a *Caſtilian* nobleman, but greatly in the duke of *Lancaſter*'s intereſt. The king of *Caſtile* was too well informed to be ſurprized. He invaded *Portugal*, defeated *Ferdinand*'s fleet and army, took the town of *Almeyda*, and laid ſiege to *Liſbon*. Upon the arrival of a fleet and army from *England*, under the command of the earl of *Cambridge*, the king of *Caſtile* was obliged to retire. The eldeſt ſon of the earl of *Cambridge* was married to donna *Beatrix*, though he was no more than ſix years of age, and they were publicly bedded.

Scarcely

Scarcely was this mock-marriage celebrated, when it was diſſolved, by a miſunderſtanding which broke out between the *Engliſh* and the *Portugueſe*, and the former were ſent back to their own country. *Beatrix*, who had been contracted to the *Caſtilian*'s eldeſt ſon, was now contracted to *Ferdinand*, his ſecond ſon; but the father becoming a widower, *Ferdinand* offered her to him. This match was favoured by the queen of *Portugal*, who ſtill continued her ſcandalous intrigues with *Andeyro*. Don *Juan* accepted of the propoſal, and the marriage was celebrated at a time when *Ferdinand*'s infirmities drew him towards his end. The ceremony was performed at *Badajoz*, in the preſence of the queen of *Portugal*, whoſe equipages were exceſſively magnificent, *Ferdinand* being confined at home by his illneſs. During their abſence, the king's brother, the grand maſter of *Avis*, ſo far opened his eyes, that *Ferdinand* ſigned a warrant for *Andeyro*'s death, but ſuppreſſed it, upon reflecting that his brother was already too powerful in his dominions. *Ferdinand* was then upon his death bed, and he expired in the year 1383, being aged no more than 34 years. His levity and ſelf-ſufficiency ſpoiled his natural abilities, and by an over refinement in politics, he more than once brought himſelf and his kingdom to the brink of ruin. It is thought, however, that had he lived longer, he might have proved an excellent prince, and it is certain that he died greatly lamented by his people. By *Ferdinand*'s will, and by the treaty with *Caſtile*, queen *Leonora* was to be regent of *Portugal*, till her daughter, the queen of *Caſtile*, had a ſon; but in the mean while, the king of *Caſtile* demanded that his wife ſhould be proclaimed queen in *Liſbon*, where the queen regent's authority had been recognized. The union between *Caſtile* and *Portugal* was extremely diſagreeable to the *Portugueſe*, who were generally in the intereſt of her uncles. The king of *Caſtile* perceiving how averſe they were to his wife's government, aſſembled an army on its frontiers, upon which the grand maſter of *Avis* and his confederates, who diſliked the *Caſtilian* government, aſſaſſinated *Andeyro*, who had been created count of *Ourem*, and ſeized upon the government. The grand maſter offered to marry the queen mother; but ſhe refuſed to give her hand to the murderer of her lover, and though ſhe knew that the king of *Caſtile* was advancing to ſeize upon the government in right of his wife, ſhe joined him with all her party. The king of *Caſtile* and his queen, reſolving to engroſs all the power to themſelves, treated her with great indifference, and even obliged her to diveſt herſelf of the regency. He next advanced with an army to beſiege *Liſbon*, which was defended by the grand maſter, under the title of protector; and he diſcovered great abilities for government.

A marriage between *Ferdinand* and *Beatrix*.

1383. His death.

The right of the queen of *Caſtile* was ſo inconteſtible, that the *Caſtilian* muſt have prevailed, had it not been for the errors of his own conduct. He had treated the *Portugueſe* nobility

Liſbon beſieged.

bility with vaſt reſerve, and he had exaſperated his mother-in-law to ſuch a degree that ſhe caballed againſt him, and is even ſaid to have formed a ſcheme for taking him off by aſſaſſination, but the plot being diſcovered, ſhe was put under confinement, and ſent into *Caſtile*. The *Caſtilian* then beſieged *Liſbon*, and proceeded, with a very impolitic ſeverity, againſt all the adherents of the protector. The latter, notwithſtanding all the great courage and abilities he exerted, muſt probably have ſunk under the ſuperior power of the *Caſtilians*, had not an infection attacked their army. This produced a negotiation, which the protector carefully protracted, till the mortality among his enemies obliged them to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to *Caſtile*. The protector's conduct, and above all, the piety and modeſty of his behaviour upon his ſucceſſes, won him the hearts of the *Portugueſe* in general, and the *Caſtilian* intereſt daily loſt ground. An attempt was made, by the king of *Caſtile*, to form a conſpiracy for aſſaſſinating the protector, but it was diſcovered and puniſhed, though with a moderation that did great honour to the protector.

As *Portugal* was then actually in a ſtate of anarchy, an aſſembly of the ſtates was called. The diſputes were long and violent, a great party having been formed in favour of don *Juan*, ſon of don *Pedro* of *Portugal*, by *Agnes de Caſtro*, whoſe marriage was taken for granted by all the aſſembly. This don *Juan* was then a priſoner in *Caſtile*, and the protector himſelf declared in his favour; but as the *Portugueſe* looked upon themſelves to be entitled to chuſe for their king the perſon who had ſhewn the greateſt abilities for government, the election unanimouſly fell upon the protector himſelf.

SECTION II.

The Hiſtory of Portugal, *from the election of don* Juan *the* Iſt, *to the death of don* Sebaſtian.

Reign of *John* the Iſt.

DON *John* the Iſt, was the ſon of don *Pedro*, whoſe reign we have already deſcribed, by a *Galician* lady, and had great experience in affairs both civil and military, when he came to the crown. He was then about twenty-eight years of age, but before he entered upon the exerciſe of government, the ſtates thought proper to bind him up by ſome additional reſtrictions, which they added to their own laws, and to which he ſwore. It was not long after, that the *Caſtilians* invaded his kingdom with thirty thouſand men, but they were completely defeated by king *John*, whoſe army did not exceed ſeven thouſand, in the plains of *Aljubarota*. In this battle, where don *John* manifeſted great generalſhip, the *Caſtilians* loſt ten thouſand men; after which, the *Portugueſe*, in their turn,

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who defeated the *Caſtilians*.

turn, invaded *Caſtile*, and defeated the grand maſter of St. *Iago*. Other ſucceſsful incurſions into *Caſtile* were made by the king in perſon, and after being firmly fixed on the throne, he married *Philippa*, daughter to the duke of *Lancaſter*, whoſe wife, *Conſtantia*, ſtill kept the title of queen of *Caſtile*. The *Engliſh* prince proved but an inauſpicious ally to his father-in-law, whoſe affairs took an untowardly turn, notwithſtanding ſome ſucceſſes met with upon the landing of the *Engliſh*. After loſing almoſt his whole army in an invaſion of *Caſtile*, he married his eldeſt daughter, *Catherine*, to *Henry*, the heir apparent of *Caſtile*, renounced all his own rights upon that crown, and after concluding a treaty, returned to *France*, leaving his other ſon-in-law, don *John*, king of *Portugal*, in a deplorable condition. The conſequences ſhewed that the duke of *Lancaſter* acted a wiſe and an honourable part, for the double marriage proved to be the baſis of a treaty between the two crowns of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*, which was the point which don *John* principally aimed at. This proſpect of peace was likewiſe ſo agreeable to his people, that they gave him large ſubſidies to enable him to continue the war, or obtain the better terms. Their liberality had the deſired effect, for don *John* thereby made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in *Portugal*; and, in order to recover them, the *Caſtilian* agreed to a truce. His death, which happened ſoon after, without his leaving any iſſue by *Beatrix*, the heireſs of *Caſtile*, confirmed don *John* on the throne of *Portugal*, and being on good terms with the court of *Rome*, he obtained a prolongation of the truce for fifteen years, and the pope agreed that his capital of *Liſbon* ſhould be erected into an archbiſhopric. After this, *John*, by his prudence, reconciled ſome differences among his great men; ſome of whom he had rendered too powerful, and others fled to *Caſtile*, which renewed the war between the two crowns. Upon the young king of *Caſtile*'s death, and the acceſſion of his infant ſon, don *Juan* the IId, his mother, the *Engliſh* queen regent, changed the truce into a peace, which deprived all the diſcontented *Portugueſe* nobility of farther ſhelter in that kingdom. Peace being once more reſtored to *Portugal*, the king applied himſelf to the improvement and reformation of his people, and went as far in eaſing them of their taxes, as he could have done had they been a burden upon himſelf. He retained the ſame affability and ſimplicity of manners, as he practiſed when a private man. He loſt his queen, *Philippa*, juſt as he was upon a glorious expedition againſt the *Moors* in *Barbary*, where he took *Ceuta*, by the aſſiſtance of his three brave ſons, *Edward*, *Henry* and *Pedro*. Some difficulties were ſtarted with regard to the expence of keeping *Ceuta*, and *John*'s other conqueſts in *Africa*; but *John* reſolved to preſerve them, becauſe the pope obliged his clergy to pay for maintaining them; and they ſerved as a proper curb upon the *Moors*.

with whom he makes a peace.

Characters of his sons,

John was happy in three sons. His son *Henry*, whom he made duke of *Viseo*, and who was his substitute in *Africa*, was one of the most illustrious characters of his own, or any other, age, for the discovery of the navigation to the *East Indies* was owing to him. He bought the *Canary* islands from the king of *Castile*, and employed all his revenues, which were very considerable, in making discoveries for the good of mankind. His brothers, of whom he had five, were equally public spirited in their several spheres of life, and what is very extraordinary, after they were grown up to man's estate, none of them discovered the least tincture of unlawful ambition or emulation, but who should contribute most to the glory and good of his country. This was not the only happiness of *John*, for his clergy served and obeyed him in so exemplary a manner, that they preferred his will to that of the pope. He lived in good terms, during all his reign, with the neighbouring princes, the court of *Castile* particularly, nor would he suffer any temptation of dominion to get the better of his pacific disposition. He was fortunate in the marriage of his children, and his own good sense directed him in the choice of able counsellors and ministers, particularly *Nugno*, *Alvarez de Pereyra*, and *Regas*, his counsellor. He was seventy-six at the time of his death, which happened on *August* the 11th, 1433, after reigning forty-eight years. No greater encomium can be given of this prince, than saying, that without having the least title to the crown, he owed it to his courage and wisdom, and he deserved it by his equitable, moderate and patriot administration. We scarcely have an instance in history, of a prince who reigned over so turbulent a people as the *Portuguese* were at the time of his accession, with so much internal tranquillity and unanimity as he did.

and ministers.

1433. His death.

Edward king of *Portugal.*

John was succeeded by his eldest son, don *Edward*, so called after the favourite ally of his father, *Edward* the IIId of *England*. He was the patron of a new code of *Portuguese* laws, which tended to the welfare of his people, by enabling them, through their moderation in dress and living, to answer the large demands made by his government for the discovery of foreign coasts and countries. We have already mentioned the defeat and capture of the king of *Arragon*, by the duke of *Milan*. Don *Henry*, brother to *Edward*, was made prisoner at the same time, but the victor nobly dismissed them all, after entertaining them as if they had been royal guests. In 1436, *Edward* undertook an expedition against *Tangier* in *Africa*, in which his brothers, *Henry* and *Ferdinand*, served.

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Unsuccessful expedition to *Africa.*

It proved unfortunate, for they were not only unable to take *Tangier*, but they were obliged, by the king of *Fez*, to agree to deliver up *Ceuta*, and don *Ferdinand* was left a hostage for the performance of the capitulation. Reasons of state did not permit it to be fulfilled, and don *Ferdinand* died in the hands of the infidels, in the odour of sanctity (to speak in the terms of

of his religion.) Prince *Henry* was ſo much aſhamed of his defeat, that he retired to his town of *Sagrez*, which he had founded in the moſt advantageous ſituation of any in *Portugal*. The public demands for money, on account of the vaſt diſcoveries which were making, but which did not immediately defray their expence, obliged the king to countenance a project formed by his chancellor *Regros*, to reſume a great part of the crown lands, which had been granted by the father for ſervices. The captivity of don *Ferdinand*, who bore it with aſtoniſhing firmneſs and magnanimity, intereſted all the powers of *Europe* in his favour, and a large armament was prepared in *Portugal* for his deliverance, when *Edward* died of the plague, in 1438, after a reign of five years and a month. 1438.
He was a mild and beneficent prince, and always bewailed the His death.
neceſſity he was under of ſuffering his heroic brother to remain in the hands of the infidels. He was learned and eloquent, and the author of ſeveral books, and particularly one upon horſemanſhip, which he underſtood beyond any of his contemporaries.

Edward had left his queen regent of his dominions, during Succeeded
the minority of his ſon, *Alonſo* the Vth. Her regency was by *Alonſo*
diſputed by the infant don *Juan*, but ſhe was ſupported by the Vth,
his brother, don *Pedro*. The latter was ſo popular, that the ſtates of *Portugal* appointed him regent, inſtead of the queen mother. He found that poſt ſo troubleſome, through the intrigues of the queen, that he often wanted to retire from the affairs of government, but the voice of the people forced him to reſume them. The queen regent having loſt all credit with the *Portugueſe* nation, retired to *Caſtile*, after having in vain endeavoured to raiſe ſeveral diſturbances againſt the regent. The king of *Caſtile* ſtill continued to ſupport the queen mother (though without her prevailing upon him to declare war againſt *Portugal*) but ſtripped her of her jewels; upon which ſhe moſt earneſtly requeſted the regent to readmit her into *Portugal*; but though he was extremely well diſpoſed in her favour, notwithſtanding all the provocations ſhe had given him, ſhe was carried off by poiſon at the court of *Caſtile*. When *Alonſo* the Vth arrived at the age of fourteen, he took the reins of government into his own hands. The regent, in an aſſembly of the ſtates, moſt ſolemnly, but gratefully and affectionately, diveſted himſelf of his power, and the young king accepted of his reſignation, in a manner that alarmed all who were preſent. As a reward for his ſervices, the cortes or ſtates, voted a marriage between the regent's daughter and the king, which accordingly took place, and from thenceforth we are to call the regent the duke of *Coimbra*.

The king was young, and too ſuſceptible of flattery, but who is
after his acceſſion, he truſted the duke of *Coimbra* for two miſled.
years with the affairs of his government. The ſeverity of the duke's manners formed a ſtrong party of the new nobility againſt him, and it was headed by his own brother, the duke

of *Braganza*. His enemies were ſo aſſiduous, that in time they ſhook his credit with the young king, and though he was befriended by the wiſeſt and worthieſt part of the *Portugueſe*, he was proclaimed a rebel, obliged to leave the court, and killed in battle, as were ſeveral of his brave friends. His death manifeſted his innocency, for notwithſtanding the rigorous treatment which his friends and family underwent, his conduct appeared to be ſo irreproachable, that his memory was cleared from all ſuſpicion of treaſon, and held in the higheſt veneration by the people. *Alonſo*, perceiving that he had been impoſed upon with regard to his uncle, don *Pedro*, was deſirous to wipe off the ſtain of his murder (for ſuch it was) and expreſſed a deſire of entering into an expedition againſt the *Moors*, which had almoſt embroiled him in a quarrel with the king of *Caſtile*. Don *Alonſo*, without minding the *Caſtilian's* menaces, proſecuted the views and ſchemes of his uncle, don *Henry*; and upon the death of don *Juan* of *Caſtile*, his ſucceſſor, don *Henry* the IVth, married donna *Juanna*, *Alonſo's* ſiſter. In 1455 died donna *Iſabella*, queen of *Portugal*, and left an infant ſon, *John*. In the mean while, the war, but without any great events attending it, was ſtill continued between the *Moors* and the *Portugueſe*, in *Africa*, and pope *Calixtus* the IId, publiſhed a cruſade againſt thoſe infidels. His zeal was ſeconded by don *Alonſo*, who began anew to taſte the ſweets of his uncle's diſcoveries on the coaſt of *Guinea*, from whence the gold came, that, being coined for the ſupport of the cruſades, is to this day called cruzadoes. Having equipped a very ſtrong fleet, conſiſting of two hundred ſhips, carrying twenty thouſand ſoldiers, by the aſſiſtance of his uncle, don *Henry*, *Alonſo* carried the war into the heart of *Africa*, where he took *Alcazar*, and beat the *Moors*. Upon his return home, *Alonſo* created his general, *Meneſes*, count of *Viana*, but he loſt his incomparable uncle, don *Henry*, as he did ſeveral of his great men and generals, who died of diſeaſes contracted in their *African* expedition. It is to the honour of king *John's* memory, that he not only cultivated the great genius of don *Henry* for navigation and diſcoveries, but gave him a large independent revenue, which enabled him to carry his ſchemes into execution, inſomuch that he may be called the father of modern navigation, and of the *European* commerce with *Africa* and the *Eaſt Indies*.

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1455.

His wars with the *Moors*.

Expedition into *Africa*.

The firſt breathing time that don *Alonſo* got, after his return from *Africa*, was employed in preparing another expedition to revenge the diſgraces of his family's arms before *Tangier*. He was attended by his brother, don *Ferdinand*, who had ſucceeded don *Henry* in the title of duke of *Viſeo*, and by his greateſt nobility; but the *Portugueſe* had now, by fighting with the *Moors*, improved thoſe infidels in the art of war, ſo that the ſucceſs of this expedition was but indifferent. It was, however, of ſo much conſequence for *Alonſo* to obtain a firmer footing in *Africa*, that he loſt no time in ſending over a freſh army,

army, under the duke of *Viſeo*, whom he created conſtable of *Portugal*. The duke acted ſo ſucceſsfully in this command, that he was followed by *Alonſo* himſelf, who carried over with him his ſon, don *Juan*, and twenty-five thouſand men. This happened in the year 1470: But though the *Portugueſe*, their king and their princes, behaved with the moſt intrepid heroiſm, their ſucceſſes were not at firſt anſwerable to their vaſt expences and preparations. At laſt, he made himſelf maſter of *Arzilla*, after a bloody ſiege, in which he loſt ſome of his beſt generals; and his ſucceſſes were ſuch, that he carried with him to *Liſbon*, the body of his uncle, don *Ferdinand*, who, as we have already ſeen, died in his captivity. The loſs of *Arzilla*, put *Alonſo* in poſſeſſion of the important and long diſputed fortreſs of *Tangier*, and the many glorious exploits he performed, before he returned to his own kingdom, gained him the title of *Alonſo* the *African*. 1470.

Alonſo is unfortunate in proſecuting his claim upon *Caſtile*.

England was ſtill the favourite ally of the *Portugueſe*. The late don *Henry* and his father had been knights of the garter, and *Alonſo* had cultivated a ſtrict friendſhip with *Edward* the IVth. During the abſence of *Alonſo* in *Africa*, a commotion happened in *England*, which ſhook *Edward* on that throne; and the famous baſtard of *Falconbridge*, who had for ſome time ſubſiſted at ſea, by piracy, had committed terrible depredations upon the *Portugueſe* trade; which might have been attended with a breach between the two nations, had not fortune fixed *Edward* on the throne, by which his good underſtanding with *Alonſo* was renewed and improved. We have already mentioned the concern which *Alonſo* took in the ſucceſſion of his neice to the crown of *Caſtile*, notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſuſpicion of her illegitimacy. This was the moſt unfortunate incident in his reign, which in other reſpects was glorious. His loſs of the battle of *Toro*, drove him to have recourſe for aſſiſtance to *Lewis* the XIth of *France*, with whom he had an interview; but the inſincerity of the *French* monarch, during all the negotiation, convinced *Alonſo* that he had been but his dupe; and when he underſtood that *Lewis* was in treaty with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, with whom he was at war for the crown of *Caſtile*, having obtained a diſpenſation from the pope to marry his neice, it was with the utmoſt difficulty he could be diſſuaded from abdicating his crown, and retiring to the *Holy Land*. He went ſo far as to write ſeveral letters to his great ſubjects, ſignifying his abdication, and particularly one to his eldeſt ſon, don *John*, deſiring him to take upon him the government, and be proclaimed king; which he accordingly was, with the conſent of the ſtates. *Alonſo* being perſuaded to reſume the government, he appeared at *Liſbon*, where he was received with the greateſt affection by *John*, his ſon, who, during his father's abſence, had behaved with ſufficient abilities, both as regent and king, and reinſtated in his regal dignity. *Alonſo*, notwithſtanding his unfortunate war with *Caſtile*, ſtill retained his deſire to marry his neice, donna

p. 213.

Joanna, that he might make good his claim to that crown. This ambition was by his ſon very juſtly treated as chimerical
p. 223. and impracticable, and though the war was renewed, it terminated in a peace, by which the title of donna *Joanna* was,
1479. in fact, ſacrificed. *Alonſo* renounced all his claims on the crown of *Caſtile*, as *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* did theirs upon *Guinea*, and donna *Joanna* retired into a convent.

His death. *Portugal* being reſtored to tranquillity, *Alonſo* again reſigned his government to his ſon, but was carried off by the plague,
1481. in *Auguſt* 1481. He was a fortunate prince, till he was ſeized with a deſire of becoming king of *Caſtile*; but being overmatched by the genius of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, and the policy of *Lewis* XI. the latter part of his reign was clouded.

Succeeded by *John* II. Don *John* II. was a prince of greater abilities, but perhaps of fewer virtues, than his father. At the time of his acceſſion, the great out-lines of the grandeur of *Portugal*, which afterwards manifeſted itſelf, were chalked out, and his father had left him in the undiſputed poſſeſſion of the trade to *Guinea*, which was then the moſt gainful of any in the world. As riches multiplied in *Portugal*, the ſpirit of enterprize encreaſed, and with it that of faction. The arts of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* had made a ſtrong party in *Portugal*, and the duke of *Braganza* was at its head, for which he ſuffered death on a public ſcaffold; and his widow, who was ſiſter to *John*'s queen, fled with her three ſons to *Caſtile*. This did not put an end to the faction, for *Braganza*'s practices were continued by the queen's brother, the duke of *Viſeo*, and ſo powerful a number of the nobility, that the king not thinking it ſafe to bring the duke to a public trial, killed him with his own hand. *John* however gave his eſtate to his next brother, don *Emanuel*, who ſucceeded to the crown, and acted with ſo much courage and addreſs, that he not only extinguiſhed the remains of the *Caſtilian* faction, but made *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella* his friends.

His wars in *Africa*. After this, *John* rendered himſelf maſter of the town and diſtrict of *Azemor* in *Africa*, aſſiſted the *Caſtilians* in their conqueſt of *Granada*, cultivated the friendſhip of the *Venetians*, who were then the only rivals of the *Portugueſe* trade, and erected many works of magnificence, uſe and conveniency, in his own kingdom. Underſtanding that the *Moors* were divided among themſelves, he continued his armaments againſt them, and was liberally aſſiſted by the pope's bulls, to the great diſcontent of his clergy, upon whom the chief burthen lay. He gave a commiſſion to *Covillan* and *Payea*, two of his ſubjects, to penetrate by land as far as they could into the *Eaſt Indies*, the paſſages by ſea being not as yet thoroughly aſcertained. The great *Columbus* applied to him before he made his diſcovery of *America*, and *John* has been condemned by ſome for rejecting his ſuit. As his affairs were then circumſtanced, he acted wiſely. The diſcoveries which *Columbus* afterwards made, were looked upon as very uncertain; but thoſe which had

had been made by *John* and his predeceſſors, had become the ſources of immenſe wealth to *Portugal*, and every day encreaſed the probability of their being improved. *John*, therefore, very prudently declined to engage in any doubtful projects that might claſh with, or retard the ſchemes which he and his predeceſſors had already realized. All his foreſight could not prevent his receiving many ſevere checks in *Africa*, where the infidels were daily improving in the art of war; but he was not deterred from continuing his armaments to make himſelf maſter of that coaſt. He concluded a match between his ſon *Alonſo*, and the infanta, donna *Iſabella*, of *Caſtile*; but a few days after the marriage had been celebrated with prodigious magnificence, the bridegroom was killed by a fall from his horſe. The melancholy which the king conceived, had almoſt proved fatal to his life; but his affection for his legitimate, was fixed on his natural, ſon, *George*, whom (though he was but a boy) he endeavoured to nominate his ſucceſſor, inſtead of *Emanuel*, duke of *Beja*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was next heir to the crown, being grandſon to king *Edward*, the nephew of *Alonſo* V. and couſin to king *John* himſelf. The oppoſition made by the queen, who was ſiſter to the duke, by the ſtates, and by the pope, obliged him to drop his deſign, and all he could do was to load *George* with honours and preferments. The reigning principles of *John*'s reign, were to ſecure the coaſts of *Africa*, in which he ſucceeded but in part, (though he built *Fort St. George de la Mina*, on the coaſt of *Guinea*) to complete the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*, in which he was more fortunate, and to bring down the dangerous powers of his nobility, which are thought to have coſt him his life. The hiſtory of *Portugal*, at this period, late as it is, is far from being clear, and there is good reaſon for believing that ſome terrible convulſion of the ſtate might have happened, through the king's partiality for his ſon *George*, had he not died, as was thought, of poiſon, in *October* 1495.

He loſes his ſon.

His death.

1495.

John II. from his inflexible adherence to juſtice, and the fundamental maxims of government, was called the Perfect. His paſſion for altering the ſucceſſion in favour of his ſon *George*, was ſo ſtrong, that it continued with him to his laſt hours, for he had prepared a will with a blank for the name of his ſucceſſor, which his ſecretary refuſed to fill up with *George*'s name. The king applauded his honeſty, and conſented to his inſerting that of the duke of *Beja*.

Emanuel, deſervedly called the Fortunate, was the greateſt prince that ever ſate upon the throne of *Portugal*, and he had virtues to recommend him to that of the firſt in the world. The emperor *Maximilian* diſputed his ſucceſſion, becauſe both of them ſtood in the ſame degree of conſanguinity to the late king; but *Maximilian* deſcending by the female line, his mother being ſiſter to don *Alonſo*, his claim was treated with the utmoſt ridicule, and he had nothing to ſupport it, but

Succeeded by *Emanuel*.

his high ſounding titles, and a greater experience in matters of government, than *Emanuel* had. It ſeems to be pretty evident that *Emanuel*, at the time of his acceſſion, was a kind of a voluntary exile from court, not daring to truſt his perſon with the king. After the high character we have given him, it is ſcarcely neceſſary to add, that he early applied himſelf to the reformation of the laws, and the internal regulations of his kingdom. His maxims in two reſpects differed from thoſe of the late reign, for he thought that the power of the nobles had been brought too low, and that the *Jews*, who had been driven out of *Spain*, and had ſettled in *Portugal*, were too harſhly dealt with, by being detained there in a ſtate of ſlavery. He therefore gave them a farther term of reſidence there, as a free people. As he was twenty-ſix years of age at the time of his acceſſion, his two powerful neighbours, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, knew his character, and courted his alliance, by offering him their daughter *Mary* in marriage; but his affections were fixed upon her elder ſiſter *Iſabella*, the princeſs dowager, whom he actually married. His love for her, however, could not prevail upon him to abandon his family alliance with *France*; but carried him ſo far, that out of complaiſance to her, he treated the *Jews* in his dominions with an impolitic ſeverity. He ordered the children of ſuch of them as would not turn *Chriſtians*, to be taken from them and made ſlaves. Finding that this barbarous edict rendered them deſperate, and that to prevent its execution, they murdered both their children and themſelves, he prolonged the time of their departure for 20 years, on pretence of giving them time for their thorough converſion to *Chriſtianity*. This favour had a dreadful effect, for the *Jews* who accepted it, pretending to become *Chriſtians*, remained ſtill infidels in ſecret, and by mingling their blood with the beſt in *Portugal*, the introduction of the inquiſition has ſubjected their deſcendents, whether real or pretended, to the moſt ſhocking barbarities.

His manner of government,

Soon after *Emanuel*'s marriage with the infanta *Iſabella*, ſhe became heireſs of *Caſtile*, by the death of her elder brother. This did not divert *Emanuel* from proſecuting the wiſe ſcheme of his predeceſſor, in the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*. This met with a ſtrong oppoſition in his council, but the practicability of ſailing thither being now aſcertained, *Emanuel* gave the command of four ſhips to the famous *Vaſquez*, or *Vaſco de Gama*, which carried no more than a hundred and ſixty men, who actually doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and returned in *September* 1499, with the loſs of a hundred of his men. He was received by *Emanuel* with a profuſion of honours, and beſides his pecuniary conſiderations, he was honoured with the title of count *de Videguiera*. This diſcovery having put the poſſibility of a voyage to the *Eaſt Indies* out of all diſpute, another armament was equipped, conſiſting of thirteen ſail, and carrying fifteen hundred regulars, under the command of don *Pedro Alvarez de Cabral*. This commander, in his voyage to the *Cape of Good*

and wiſe conduct.

1499.

Good Hope, diſcovered and took poſſeſſion of *Braſil*, which is ſtill the faireſt jewel in the crown of *Portugal*. In doubling the *Cape*, *Cabral* loſt all his ſhips but ſix, but the voyage proved proſperous in the main. *Cabral*'s ſucceſs, though purchaſed at the expence of many brave men's lives, encouraged *Emanuel* to fit out another fleet under the command of don *Juan Calleca*, whoſe voyage likewiſe proving fortunate, *Liſbon* was filled with adventurers, foreign as well as *Portugueſe*, and the king gave the command of a third expedition, conſiſting of twenty ſail of ſhips, to *Vaſco de Gama*, who in the ſecond voyage he made to the *Eaſt Indies*, gained immortal honour to himſelf and his country, beſides an immenſe booty. After defeating the *Zamorin* of *Calicut*, and rendering ſome of the moſt conſiderable princes in the *Eaſt Indies* tributary to *Emanuel*, he returned with the immenſe riches he had acquired, to *Liſbon*.

The domeſtic affairs of *Portugal* were then in a ſtate equally proſperous. A new code of juriſprudence had been introduced by *Emanuel*, for the more equal diſtribution of juſtice, and his queen had been recognized heireſs of *Caſtile*, by the ſtates of that kingdom; but no ſooner was that ceremony over, than ſhe died in child-birth of a ſon, don *Michael*, at *Saragoſſa*. Soon after *Michael* died likewiſe. Thoſe blows rendered *Emanuel*, to divert his melancholy, more attentive, than ever, to the affairs of government. He created *George*, whom we have mentioned, duke of *Coimbra*, and married him to a rich heireſs of the royal blood, and he made his nephew, don *Alonſo*, ſon of the duke of *Viſeo*, who had been ſtabbed by his predeceſſor, conſtable of *Portugal*. He laviſhed his favours upon the duke of *Braganza*, who ſince the death of his ſon *Michael*, was the next heir, and reclaimed him from a natural melancholy, which had almoſt put an end to his life. Death of his queen. 1500. In the year 1500, he laid aſide an important expedition he had planned againſt the *Moors*, that he might aſſiſt the *Venetians* and other *Chriſtian* powers, who were ready to ſink under the arms of *Bajazet*, the *Turkiſh* emperor. As *Emanuel* was poſſeſſed both of a true and a falſe ſpirit of devotion, he had the courage to reprehend pope *Alexander* VI. for his inhumanities, and the infamous life he led, and he laid the foundation of the famous hoſpital of *Bethlem* or *Belem*, beſides beſtowing vaſt preſents on other religious houſes. When in the year 1502, a very expenſive armament, which he had fitted out againſt the *Moors*, returned from *Africa* without doing any thing, his ſubjects, inſtead of murmuring, applauded his good intentions, and he requited their affections by diſpatching ſhips to all the ports where he could buy up corn for their ſubſiſtence during a famine, which was then raging in *Portugal*. 1502.

Emanuel continued to be without an heir of his own body; but the proper diſpenſations being obtained, he married donna *Maria*, the younger ſiſter of his former queen, who this year brought him a ſon. His ſecond marriage. This happineſs encreaſed *Emanuel*'s devotion,

tion, which reached as far as *Congo*, where he ſent miſſionaries to labour for the converſion of the king and the natives, and they ſucceeded ſo far, that that prince ſent over his two ſons to be educated in *Portugal*. A freſh attempt, which *Emanuel* made againſt the *Moors* of *Africa*, miſcarried, and it ſeems from the general ſtrain of the *Portugueſe* hiſtorians, that his finances, notwithſtanding the vaſt remittances they received from the new diſcoveries, were but in an indifferent ſituation. His ſubjects knew, that this was owing to his unbounded generoſity, and to the zeal he had for their proſperity, and the ſtates ſupplied him amply. In 1504, *Emanuel* encountered an enemy, whom he had not dreamed of. This was no other than the famous *Campſon*, the ſultan of *Egypt*. This prince declared himſelf the head of the *Indian Mahometans*, who pretended to reſent the invaſion of their countries by the *Portugueſe*. He was ſecretly inſtigated to this by the *Venetians*, who could not with patience ſee all the vaſt trade of the *Eaſt* carried into *Portugal*. Pope *Julius* II. likewiſe favoured the *Venetians*. *Emanuel* not only diſregarded his admonitions, but prohibited hoſpitals and other religious houſes from purchaſing lands. In 1505, the zeal of the people of *Liſbon*, led them to maſſacre numbers of the *Jews*, for which they were puniſhed by *Emanuel*, by the degradation of their magiſtrates, and the loſs of their privileges. In 1506, the *Portugueſe* nation was at the height of its glory and proſperity. *Emanuel* became maſter of *Saffir* in *Africa*, a place of vaſt importance, and the riches of all *Europe* ſeemed to center in *Liſbon*. They were, however, hardly ſufficient to defray the immenſe expences of his *African* expeditions, which were far from being ſucceſsful. He loſt the town of *Arzilla* to the king of *Fez*, who would have taken the caſtle likewiſe, if it had not been relieved by don *Pedro Navarro*, the *Spaniſh* general, in *Africa*. This happened about the year 1508, while don *Franciſco Albuquerque*, one of the ableſt men that *Portugal*, or any other nation ever produced, was giving laws to the *Zamorin*, the king of *Cochin*, and other *Eaſt Indian* princes, or in other words, was making them and their ſubjects ſlaves, on pretence of their being allies. In 1509, don *Duarte Pacheco*, one of *Emanuel*'s brave admirals, fought, defeated, and took priſoner a famous free-booter, one *Mondragon*, who under *French* colours, had committed vaſt depredations upon the *Portugueſe* trade; nor muſt it be forgotten, that the ſame year gave birth to *Lewis de Camoens*, the greateſt, if not the only, poetical genius that *Portugal* ever produced.

and vaſt proſperity.

1504.

1505.

1506.

1508.

1509.

His wars in *Africa*,

All *Emanuel*'s ſplendor ſcarcely compenſated for the depopulation his dominions ſuffered to maintain, and extend his acquiſitions. The great *Albuquerque* had ſtretched the *Portugueſe* empire from *Babelmandel* to the ſtraits of *Malacca*; but the truth is, that this age produced in *Portugal*, very extraordinary commanders both by ſea and land. *Albuquerque* was a complete political as well as military genius, and both he

he and other *Portugueſe* commanders, ſupplied, by their amazing abilities, the vaſt diſadvantages they laboured under from the want of hands to execute their enterprizes. It is probable, that at this time not only the *Venetians*, but the *Spaniards*, were jealous of the power and riches of the *Portugueſe*, and that they privately aſſiſted the king of *Fez* and the *Mooriſh* princes in *Africa*, where the war was inceſſantly carried on by *Emanuel*, but without his making any very important acquiſitions. The *Portugueſe*, on the other hand, were equally jealous of the *Spaniards*, and diſappointed *Ferdinand* in a deſign which he had formed for conquering the empire of *Morocco* itſelf. *Emanuel*'s intention, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, had been to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow in *Africa*, in which he had always failed; but in the year 1513, his general, 1513.
the duke of *Braganza*, took *Agamor*, and probably would have reduced the city of *Fez* itſelf, had he not been diverted by the difficulties of the march, and the conſideration that ſuch an enterprize might have united all the *Mooriſh* princes in the common cauſe againſt *Portugal*. *Emanuel*'s fame had even reached *Ethiopia*, from whence an embaſſador arrived at *Liſbon*. He owed this and many other honours to *Albuquerque*, who, in his own lifetime, obtained the epithet of the Great; yet his enemies were ſo ſucceſsful, in inſtilling a jealouſy of his power into *Emanuel*, that he diſplaced him from his government, and the diſgrace broke his heart.

Upon the death of *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, *Emanuel*, who not fortu-
was quite chagrined with the expences and misfortunes at- nate.
tending his *African* wars, appointed don *Pedro Maſcarenhas* to be his general in that country, and he ſomewhat reſettled his affairs there, though *Emanuel* perhaps would have acted more wiſely, had he followed the deſign he once had formed of entirely abandoning *Africa*, excepting a few places on the ſea coaſt, that lay moſt convenient for his own dominions; but he probably was deterred from that, by the conſideration of the vaſt advantage which his neighbours, the *Caſtilians*, would have made of ſuch an evacuation. While he was meditating on thoſe matters, he received an embaſſador from the ſhah of *Perſia*, who offered to enter into an alliance with him againſt the *Turks*, and the *Eaſt Indian Mahometans*. Soon after his queen, *Maria*, died, but he was awakened out of the melancholy which her death threw him into, by certain intelligence that the *Turks* had conquered *Egypt*. *Emanuel*'s fears, however, proved groundleſs, for they made no attempts againſt his *Eaſt India* ſettlements. In the year 1517, his ſubjects 1517.
opened a paſſage from *Malacca* to *China*, and made a ſettle- His great
ment on the iſle of *Java*, but *Emanuel* found that his loſs of diſcove-
the great *Albuquerque* was irreparable. In fact, the great men ries,
who had ſerved *Emanuel* ſo ſucceſsfully in the beginning of his reign, were now wearing out, and their deſcendents were ſo proud, luxurious and factious, that the beſt planned enterprizes of *Emanuel* in *Africa*, miſcarried, through the mean jealouſies

jealouſies which his generals had of each other. *Emanuel* ſaw this with ſecret diſcontent, and that his nobility were making their court to the prince, his ſon. Indignation ſtopt him from executing a project he had formed for reſigning his crown, and he married the infant donna *Leonora*, ſiſter to the emperor *Charles* the Vth. After this marriage, *Emanuel*'s affairs wore a better aſpect. His near connection with *Charles*, and the vaſt love of his ſubjects, enabled him to curb the inſolence of his nobility, who were now no longer protected by the *Caſtilians*. This made him ſtill more conſiderable at *Rome*, and through all the *European* courts; but a ſmall difference in point of wages this year, loſt him the ſervices of the famous *Magellan*, who entered into that of *Spain*. In
1519. 1519, *Emanuel* baniſhed from his court *Silveyra*, who was thought to be a bad inſtrument between him and the prince, his ſon; by which the harmony of the royal family was entirely re-eſtabliſhed.

P. 234. & ſeq. Upon the breaking out of the troubles of *Caſtile*, the malecontents offered that crown to *Emanuel*, who generouſly refuſed it, but offered them his protection, if they would throw themſelves at the feet of *Charles*. Some of them accepted of this offer, and *Emanuel* liberally ſupplied the regency of *Caſtile* with artillery, proviſions, money, and even troops, to reduce thoſe who continued in arms. *Emanuel*'s affairs in *Africa* began now to mend, but ſtill they were far from being ſucceſsful. He formed, however, a project for penetrating through *Congo* into *Ethiopia*, where the king and people profeſſed a ſpecies of *Chriſtianity*; but it came to nothing, through the ſecret practices of his nobility. Among the laſt actions of his reign, was his giving his daughter, donna *Beatrix*, in marriage to the duke of *Savoy*, and his checking, by ſea, the piratical
and death. ſtates of *Africa*; but he was cut off by the plague in the middle of his glory, when he was no more than fifty-three years of age, and in the 27th of his reign. Every incident of this prince's life, confirms the high character we have already given of him.

1521. At the time of the acceſſion of *John* the IIId, *Portugal* is
Succeeded ſaid to have been in its golden age. The wiſe conduct of
by *John* *Emanuel* had defeated the united efforts of the *Egyptians* and
the IIId. *Venetians*, who had till then enjoyed the ſweets of the eaſtern trade, and *Liſbon* became the great emporium of *Europe*. The *Portugueſe* were then in poſſeſſion of *Ormus*, in the gulph of *Perſia*, of *Malacca*, *Cochin* and *Goa*, which was the ſeat of their *Eaſt India* government. All their ſettlements were well provided with forts; they had nothing to fear in *Africa*, where their coaſts were well ſecured, and their revenues from *Braſil* began to be very conſiderable. Among the firſt acts of don
The in- *John* the IIId's government, was his recalling *Silveyra* to his
quiſition court. *John* was yet unmarried, and a large party at his
introduced court were for his eſpouſing his mother-in-law, donna *Leono-*
into *ra*, who was ſtill young, beautiful and rich; but the match
Portugal. not

not taking place, ſhe retired to his brother in *Spain*. Don *Antonio de Ataida*, a very worthy man, was then *John*'s firſt miniſter, and he adviſed him to compromiſe certain differences which he had with the emperor concerning the *Moluccas*, and they became *John*'s property, upon his advancing a ſum of money, and his marrying the emperor's ſiſter, donna *Catharina*. *Charles* ſoon after being a widower, married *John*'s ſiſter, donna *Iſabella*, with whom he received a million of ducats. The memory of the year 1525, is ſtained by the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition in *Portugal*, under pretence of its being neceſſary for preventing and puniſhing the practices of the *Jews*, who were nominally *Chriſtians*. *John* zealouſly aſſiſted the emperor, *Charles* the Vth, in his glorious expedition to *Africa*, and his brother, don *Lewis*, ſerved in the ſame expedition, and proved one of the ableſt generals that *Charles* had; but the *Moors* in *Africa* being now united, the *Portugueſe* loſt ſome of their beſt ſettlements upon that coaſt. The truth is, *John* had been at vaſt expence in ſupporting his governors in the *Eaſt Indies*, againſt the *Turkiſh* emperor, *Solyman* the IId, and the *Mahometan* princes there, whoſe vaſt armaments were defeated; but it was owing to the diſſentions which broke afreſh among the *African Moors*, that the *Portugueſe* were not entirely driven out of that country. In 1539, *John* loſt two of his ſons, and two of his brothers, and three years after, the infant, don *Philip* of *Spain*, eſpouſed *John*'s daughter, donna *Maria*. This cemented his union with *Charles* the Vth more cloſely than ever, and left *John* at liberty to attend the internal concerns of his kingdom, which were run into great confuſion. To remedy them, he eſtabliſhed a militia, and erected ſeveral boards for the diſpatch of buſineſs; but corruption had got ſuch hold of his great men, that they were far from anſwering his expectation. When pope *Paul* the IIId died, *John* made great intereſt, tho' to no purpoſe, to raiſe his brother, cardinal *Henry*, to the popedom.

1525. p. 237. 1539.

In 1552, a marriage was concluded between *John*'s eldeſt ſon, the prince of *Portugal*, and donna *Joanna*, the emperor's daughter, notwithſtanding the various degrees of conſanguinity in which they ſtood to each other. The prince was then no more than ſeventeen years of age, but of ſo amorous a complexion, that his marriage ſhortened his life in leſs than nine months after it was conſummated. The princeſs, upon this, retired to *Spain*, after being delivered of a ſon, who was afterwards the unfortunate king *Sebaſtian*. Don *John* the IIId died of an apoplexy, on the 11th of *June* 1557. He was a prince of great virtues, and the worthy repreſentative of his father. If the luſtre of the crown of *Portugal* was diminiſhed while he wore it, it was owing entirely to the corruption and factions of his court.

1552. 1557. Death of *John* III.

Sebaſtian was but three years old when his father died, and the care of his education was committed to his grandmother, who being a *Caſtilian*, was ſo unacceptable to the *Portugueſe*,

Succeeded by *Sebaſtian*,

Portugueſe, that ſhe retired to a convent, and reſigned her charge to cardinal *Henry*, the young king's uncle. During the ſhort time of her regency, the *Moors* had been repulſed in *Africa*, and when ſhe reſigned it, the pacific genius of the cardinal improved the riches and commerce of his country. He left the care of the king's education to don *Alexius de Meneſes*, and *Gonzales de Camera*; but they tinctured him at once with a ſpirit of conqueſt and enthuſiaſm, which rendered him intractable, and led him to deſtruction. His education being thus neglected, or rather perverted, he threw himſelf into the hands of worthleſs favourites, particularly *Jeſuits*, from whom he was reſcued by don *Alvaro de Caſtro*, a young nobleman, who endeavoured to open his eyes to his true intereſt, and perſuaded him to recall his ſecretary, *Alcaçova*, whom he had
1574. diſcarded, through the influence of the *Jeſuits*. In 1574, he made a ſlight and ill-concerted expedition into *Africa*, and upon his return, he gave himſelf up entirely to martial madneſs, and to his deſire of becoming the conqueror of the *Moors*. For this purpoſe he adopted the cauſe of *Muley Hamet*, king of *Fez*, *Morocco* and *Tarudant*, againſt his uncle, *Muley Moloch*, who had depoſed him. We have already mentioned the zeal with which *Philip* the IId of *Spain* endeavoured to diſſuade *Sebaſtian* from being concerned in the quarrel, in which he was ſeconded by the queen mother, and cardinal *Henry*. We know of no particular reſentment that *Sebaſtian* expreſſed towards *Philip*, but the queen mother died of grief, and the cardinal retired in diſguſt from court. Soon after, *Alcaçova*, by *Sebaſtian*'s orders, exhauſted all the oppreſſive means of raiſing money for the expedition, and the king declared his intention to invade *Africa*, to an aſſembly of his nobles, but without ſuffering them to make any remonſtrances againſt it. He was equally deaf to thoſe, which *Philip* and the wiſeſt part of his ſubjects poured in from all quarters; and his obſtinacy ſeemed to grow with the difficulties it had to encounter. Even *Muley Moloch* did him the friendly office of laying before him the madneſs of the attempt, and the almoſt impoſſibility of ſucceſs. *Philip* finding that his nephew was determined upon the expedition, ſent him two thouſand *Caſtilian* foot as auxiliaries; and this has given room for ſome hiſtorians to ſuggeſt that his oppoſition to the expedition was no more than a pretence, and that he ſecretly wiſhed the deſtruction of *Sebaſtian*.

who is defeated and killed in *Africa*.

Every thing being ready for the expedition, *Sebaſtian* ſettled his regency, which had been refuſed by the cardinal, his uncle, and embarked with his army, which conſiſted of *Italians* and *Germans*, as well as *Caſtilians* and *Portugueſe*, and did not
1578. upon the whole exceed ſixteen thouſand men; but among them was the flower of his nobility. Upon their landing in *Africa*, he was joined by *Muley Hamet*, whom *Sebaſtian* treated with the utmoſt rudeneſs, for endeavouring to diſſuade him from marching into the heart of the country. Unfor-

fortunately for *Sebaſtian*, *Muley Moloch* was a general, as well as a politician, of conſummate abilities, and at the head of ſixty thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, but he was ſeized with a fever as he was advancing to give *Sebaſtian* battle. The two armies came within ſight of each other, near *Alcazarquivir*, on the 3d of *Auguſt*, 1578, and nothing but frenzy itſelf could have determined *Sebaſtian* to have ventured a battle in his ſituation. *Muley Moloch*, ſenſible that he could live but a few hours, and that in caſe of his death, his army would declare for his rival, precipitated the engagement, in which, as we have already obſerved, the army of *Sebaſtian* was defeated and cut in pieces. *Sebaſtian* himſelf probably fell in the field, but ſome doubts aroſe concerning his fate, which encouraged ſeveral impoſtors to aſſume his perſonage long after his death. Authors who look upon courage, eſpecially when oppoſed to infidels, as the capital qualification of a king, have celebrated this prince, who was killed when he was no more than twenty-five years of age, as a prodigy of virtue and valour; others appeal to facts and circumſtances, and think him an enthuſiaſt and mad man.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion to the crown.

Portugal was in a moſt wretched ſituation after the battle of *Alcazarquivir*, when cardinal *Henry* mounted the throne in the ſeventy fifth year of his age, with many virtues of the monk, but few of the monarch. He reſented the treatment he had received in the late reign, by diſgracing *Alcaçova* and the other miniſters. Upon the eſcape of the prior of *Crata* from *Africa*, though he was the nephew of *Henry* only in an illegitimate ſenſe, he began to cabal for the crown, in caſe of *Henry*'s death; but the taſte of royalty had given that prince new ſenſations; for it was with difficulty that *Philip* the IId of *Spain* defeated an application which his agents made at the court of *Rome*, for a diſpenſation for him to marry. The point of ſucceſſion to the crown of *Portugal*, became now to be very intereſting. The prince of *Parma* claimed it, as deſcending by the eldeſt daughter from don *Duarte*, brother to the late king *John* the IIId. It was claimed by the ducheſs of *Braganza*, who was a ſecond daughter to that prince, and therefore her title was favoured by the civil law, as ſhe ſtood in one degree nearer to don *Duarte* than the prince was. *Philip* the IId of *Spain*, claimed from his mother, donna *Iſabella*, who was don *Duarte*'s ſiſter; and the duke of *Savoy* in right of his mother, *Beatrix*, who was his younger ſiſter. The prior of *Crato* pretended that his mother had been married to the duke of *Beja*, ſon to *Emanuel*, and that therefore his title was beſt founded, which it certainly would have been, had he been able to make good the allegation. Other pretenders, particularly *Catharine de Medici*, who claimed as being deſcended from the ſon of don *Alonſo* the IIId, by his firſt wife, *Maud*, ſtarted up, and the pope pretended that the crown of *Portugal*, in caſe of *Henry*'s demiſe, was at the diſpoſal of the holy ſee. Of all thoſe competitors,

the

the ducheſs of *Braganza* was moſt favoured by *Henry* and the nobility, and the prior of *Crato* by the common people; but *Philip* had more power than both.

Death and character of *Henry*.

The perplexities of *Henry*, when the ſtates of the realm preſſed him to declare his ſucceſſor, were very great. He had not reſolution enough to come to any determination in favour of the ducheſs of *Braganza*, leſt he ſhould kindle a civil war in his kingdom; he conſulted none who could give him ſound advice, and he propoſed that the deciſion ſhould be deferred till after his death, and that five noblemen ſhould exerciſe the government during the interregnum. He, however, reſerved the power to himſelf, to examine the pretenſions of the candidates, but his judgment was not to be known till after his deceaſe. Though this arrangement was ſubmitted to, yet it threw all *Portugal* into confuſion. The prior *Antonio* was declared illegitimate, and though baniſhed the kingdom, he made a progreſs through its different provinces, to ſtrengthen his popularity. *Philip* filled the court of *Henry* with intrigues, and corrupted his miniſters, who were all of them weak men, with money, to ſuch a degree, that *Henry* was inclined to have declared him his ſucceſſor, under certain reſtrictions, had he not been deterred by the repreſentatives of the great cities, who hated the *Caſtilians*, and in fact, the ſpirit was ſo great againſt *Philip*, among the nobles themſelves, that the ſenſe of the ſtates was for declaring that perſon king whom they ſhould think moſt worthy to wear the crown. During thoſe altercations, *Henry* died in the ſixty-eighth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth month of his reign, in 1580. In him, the male line of *Alonſo*, firſt king of *Portugal*, was extinguiſhed. He was a weak, well meaning prince, extremely charitable, but ill fitted to reign at ſuch a juncture.

1580.

The *Spaniards* become maſters of *Portugal*,

During the lifetime of *Henry*, *Philip* of *Spain* had been perpetually intriguing with the court of *Rome*, to oblige him to retire to his cloiſter, and it is thought that if *Henry* had lived a few months longer, he would have employed force for that purpoſe. On the death of *Henry*, the kingdom of *Portugal* was in a moſt wretched condition, and a majority of the five noblemen who had been appointed regents during the interregnum, were in *Philip*'s intereſt. His profeſſions were plauſible; he offered to accept of all the terms propoſed in the late reign, for ſecuring the independency of *Portugal*, and to employ all his power to reſtore her glory. The averſion of the *Portugueſe* towards the *Caſtilians*, led them to reject all his offers. Don *Antonio* was tumultuouſly proclaimed king, and received at *Liſbon*, but the count of *Vimioſo* was the only nobleman of conſideration who declared in his favour. By this time, the duke of *Alva* had entered *Portugal*, with a veteran army, and carrying all before him, he beat the few undiſciplined troops, which *Antonio* had aſſembled at *Alcantara*, and took poſſeſſion of *Liſbon*. *Antonio* eſcaped in diſguiſe, and ſuffered prodigious hardſhips before he reached *France*, where he took

took refuge. His flight being known, *Portugal* and all its dependencies, both in *Africa* and the *Eaſt Indies*, excepting the *Azores* iſlands, which the *French* queen pretended to ſeize, declared for *Philip*.

That prince appeared ready to fulfill all his engagements in favour of *Portugal*, but upon his entering *Liſbon*, he refuſed to agree to the law which had been promiſed by his embaſſador, the duke of *Oſſuna*, that if he did not obſerve his capitulations, his ſubjects ſhould be free to oppoſe him by arms. This gave a melancholy preſage of his government; but he thought that every thing might be effected by the force of money, and laviſhed incredible ſums in endeavouring to reconcile the *Portugueſe* to his perſon and title, even to the impoveriſhing his own hereditary dominions. He heaped vaſt honours on the duke of *Braganza*, who, with his ſon, recognized his title; but the ducheſs continued ſtill diſſatisfied. Finding, by experience, that the avarice of the *Portugueſe* nobility was inſatiable, that the importunities of the people were endleſs, and that the averſion of both to the *Caſtilians*, however it might be diſguiſed, was invincible, he had recourſe to his natural ſeverity. He paſſed a pardon, but it was with an exception to *Antonio*'s party, many of whom ſuffered death, and all of them confiſcation. Vaſt numbers died in priſons, and many were ſent in chains to *Caſtile*. When *Philip* left *Portugal*, he appointed the archduke *Albert* his viceroy in that kingdom.

No ſooner was *Philip* returned to *Caſtile*, than *Antonio*'s party revived, and we have, in the hiſtory of *Caſtile*, ſhewn in what manner it was deſtroyed. When his hopes were blaſted, he returned to *England*, where, being no longer uſeful to *Elizabeth*, he was but little conſidered, and he died in *France*, poor and indigent. It was about this time that the impoſtor *Sebaſtians* gave ſome diſturbance to *Philip*'s government; but they were ſoon ſuppreſſed and puniſhed. *Philip*, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums he had laviſhed in *Portugal*, did not make amends for the men and ſhipping of which he drained it, to ſupport his numerous expeditions, eſpecially that unſucceſsful one againſt *England* in 1588. The *Portugueſe*, after *Philip* left them, ſtill found many of the ſweets of the acquiſitions made by *Emanuel*, don *John*, and their other patriot kings; and at the time of the acceſſion of *Philip* the IIId to the crown of *Spain*, they began to recover thoſe ſources of their wealth; but ſo unprincipled were they in matters of government, that they gave *Philip* the IIId, when he viſited *Liſbon*, a magnificent, if not an affectionate, reception. This diſplay of the *Portugueſe* riches, gave the *Spaniſh* miniſtry falſe ideas of the riches of *Portugal*, and they conſidered it now to be no other than a ſubdued province, that might be harraſſed and plundered with impunity. The capitulation of *Philip* the IId was violated in every article, and no circumſtance was omitted that could tell the *Portugueſe* they

See p. 249.

1588.

and oppreſs it.

were no better than ſlaves to the *Caſtilians*. It is needleſs to repeat what we have already ſaid on that ſubject. The *Portugueſe*, degenerated as they were, began at laſt to feel their miſeries under their vice-queen *Mary*, and turned their eyes on the *Braganza* family for relief. The head of that houſe was don *John*, ſon to don *Theodoſius*, whoſe father don *John* had been the competitor with *Philip* II. and *Antonio*, for that crown. He was married to donna *Louiſa*, ſiſter to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a woman of an heroic active ſpirit; but he himſelf had always affected the character of a plain hoſpitable country gentleman, even at the time when he firmly reſolved on the great meaſure he afterwards executed. His diſſimulation was ſo profound, that he was proof againſt very flattering appearances, and by diſcovering them to the court of *Spain*, he had credit enough to obtain favour for ſome of his over zealous friends.

The duke of *Braganza* proclaimed king *John* the IVth.

When the project we have already mentioned for employing the *Portugueſe* againſt the *Catalans*, broke out; when, from the letters of *Vaſconcellos*, there could be no doubt that the court of *Spain* was determined to give the finiſhing hand to the ruin of *Portugal*, and when the ſpirit of the people could not be miſtaken, the *Spaniſh* count *Olivarez*, though he had no direct proof againſt the duke of *Braganza*, and though the latter was then actually general of the *Portugueſe* troops, laid ſeveral ſchemes for becoming maſter of the duke's perſon; but they ſerved only to accelerate his acceptance of the crown from the *Portugueſe* lords, who had aſſociated themſelves in his favour. The meaſures of his party were ſo well taken, that

1640. on the firſt of *December*, 1640, they aſſembled without the leaſt ſuſpicion at *Liſbon*, diſarmed the *German* and *Spaniſh* guards, and the duke of *Braganza* was unanimouſly proclaimed king of *Portugal*, with the loſs only of three lives, one of which was that of the deteſted *Vaſconcellos*, who was ſtabbed in his apartment, and his body thrown out of the window. The heads of the conſpirators, who were *Juan Pinto Ribeiro*, don *Antonio de Meneſes*, don *Miguel de Almeyda*, don *Stephen da Cunha*, and don *Carlos de Noronha*, ſeized upon the perſon of the vice queen, who at firſt affected to deſpiſe the inſurrection, and to act with great authority. When the conſpirators adviſed her to retire to her room, and they would defend her from the fury of the people, "What (ſaid ſhe) "can the people do to me?" "Nothing (replied one of the "conſpirators cooly) but throw you out of the window." The vice-queen thought proper to ſubmit; in a few hours all the *Spaniards* were ſecured without reſiſtance, and *Liſbon* appeared to be as tranquil under the regal government of *John*, as if he had been king for years.

Progreſs of that revolution.

Two great eccleſiaſtics diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the different parts they acted in this revolution. The archbiſhop of *Liſbon* had been the ſoul of all the meaſures taken in favour of the duke of *Braganza*, and the archbiſhop of *Braga* was a violent

violent partizan of the court of *Madrid*. The *Spaniards* ſtill held the citadel, but it was delivered up by an order of the vice-queen to the conſpirators, who threatened, if ſhe refuſed, to put all their *Spaniſh* priſoners, who were numerous and of great quality, to the ſword. During thoſe important events, the new king was at *Villaviciosa*; but receiving the news of what had happened, he came to *Liſbon*, took poſſeſſion of the throne, and the allegiance of his ſubjects. Orders had been already given by the archbiſhop of *Liſbon*, who till *John*'s arrival had acted as preſident of the council choſen by the conſpirators, for proclaiming the king through all the provinces, which was performed without the ſmalleſt diſturbance, and nothing was to be heard through the whole country, but the acclamation of, "Long live *John* the IVth, the Father "and Deliverer of his country."

Conſpiracy againſt him detected, and puniſhed.

The coronation of *John* was performed with all poſſible ſolemnity, and moſt of the great *Portugueſe* nobility aſſiſted at it. His title was recognized by the aſſembly of the ſtates; he declared that the public treaſures ſhould be reſerved for public uſes; that he was reſolved to ſupport himſelf and his court upon his private eſtate, and he ſuppreſſed all the taxes that had been impoſed by the *Spaniards*. Thoſe popular meaſures were no ſooner known in the *Portugueſe* poſſeſſions abroad, than they all quietly ſubmitted to the new government. Scarcely was *John* ſeated (as he thought quietly) on the throne, when a conſpiracy was formed, the archbiſhop of *Braga* being at its head, for ſetting fire to *Liſbon*, introducing the *Spaniſh* troops, and dethroning the new king. Several of the chief nobility of *Portugal*, ſome of whom were of the *Braganza* family, were parties in this conſpiracy; nor does it yet clearly appear how it came to be diſcovered. It is certain, however, that the king managed with ſo much addreſs and ſecreſy, that the archbiſhop of *Braga*, the marquis *de Villa Real*, and his ſon the duke *de Caminha*, both of them of the blood royal, with forty-four of the other chief conſpirators, were made priſoners in the ſame hour, and almoſt at the ſame minute. The marquis *de Villa Real*, and his ſon, confeſſed their guilt, and were beheaded; and the archbiſhop of *Braga*, becauſe a churchman, was impriſoned for life. About eight more of the chief conſpirators ſuffered death. It happened fortunately for *John*, that the tranquillity of his kingdom was no ſooner re-eſtabliſhed, than eight or ten very rich ſhips, which had been laden for the *Spaniards* in the *Eaſt Indies* and other parts, hearing nothing of the revolution, landed at *Liſbon*, and fell into his hands, which ſupplied the neceſſities of his government.

It happened ſtill more fortunately that the ſituation of affairs in *Europe* was then ſuch as to be extremely favourable to *John*'s title. Neither the circumſtances nor inclinations of *Charles* I. of *England*, ſuffered him to interpoſe in the affair. *France* not only acknowledged, but ſupported *John*'s title with

men and money. The *States General* entered with him into a ten years truce. The northern powers became his friends from their hatred of the houſe of *Auſtria*. Even the pope was inclined to favour him; and *John* having generouſly ſet the vice-queen at liberty, ſhe proved the main inſtrument of the diſgrace of his capital enemy, *Olivarez*, at the court of *Spain*. *Portugal* now wore a new face, and the ſtates were laviſh to *John* in their grants for ſupporting the war (which became now very expenſive) againſt the two branches of the houſe of *Auſtria*. In 1642, *John* appointed the conde *de Caſtelmelhor*, who had ſuffered greatly in his ſervice, his governor of *Braſil*; but he ſuſtained a loſs in the haſty execution of his chief ſecretary, *Lucena*, upon a charge of treaſon, which was ſupported by an artful forgery on the part of the *Spaniards*. His innocence was fully cleared a few days after his death, but the *Spaniards* ſtill continued the like practices againſt others of *John*'s moſt faithful ſervants.

He is favoured by the ſituation of *Europe*.

1642.

His troops diſciplined.

By this time, *French* and other foreign officers had introduced ſome diſcipline into the *Portugueſe* armies, and *John*'s general, don *Mathias Albuquerque*, having made an irruption at the head of ſix thouſand foot, and eleven hundred horſe, into the province of *Eſtremadura*, defeated and totally routed a ſuperior army of the *Spaniards*, who loſt three thouſand men in the field. This very important and critical victory was rewarded with a penſion of four thouſand crowns, with the title of count *de Alegrette* to *Albuquerque*. But while *John* was thus proſperous in *Europe*, he was rendered uneaſy by the *Dutch*, who ever ſince *Philip* II. had prohibited their commerce with the *Portugueſe*, had explored new channels of commerce both in *America* and the *Eaſt Indies*, to the great detriment of the *Portugueſe*. About the year 1646, the heat of the war between *Spain* and *Portugal* began to abate, becauſe, though both countries were at vaſt expence, neither reaped any benefit from it. The ſecret plots of the *Spaniards* againſt *John*'s life and government, did not, however, relax, and his eſcapes from aſſaſſination were next to miraculous. *John* received, about this time, a ſevere blow by the loſs of his brother, the brave and virtuous don *Duarte*, who died a priſoner in the citadel of *Milan*, where he had, without any cauſe, been infamouſly and cruelly confined, ever ſince *John*'s acceſſion to the crown of *Portugal*. He was ſomewhat conſoled by the accompliſhments of his ſon don *Theodoſius*, which were ſo great, that they gained him the title of the Delight of *Portugal*, and a ſtrong party was formed for concluding a peace between *Spain* and *Portugal*, by his marriage with *Philip*'s only daughter and child; but this match never took place.

1646.

See p. 266.

The commercial and territorial differences between the *Dutch* and the *Portugueſe*, were ſtill increaſing, and roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Portugueſe* embaſſador was forced to leave *Holland*. The *Dutch* had diſpoſſeſſed the *Spaniards* of *Braſil*, and we have already ſeen how the *Portugueſe*, in their turn,

Vol. IX. p. 376.

He protects the royaliſts of *England*.

turn, recovered that rich ſettlement. The conduct of *John* towards the partizans of the dethroned houſe of *Stuart*, was generous, but not void of political views. Great part of the fleet of *England* had revolted to the royaliſts under prince *Rupert*, and *John* privately offered him his protection, in hopes that the *Engliſh* ſhips might be of uſe to him againſt the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, who wanted to intercept his *Braſil* fleets. Prince *Rupert* arrived with his ſquadron at *Liſbon*, where he found protection; but on the 29th of *March*, 1650, the *Engliſh* 1650. fleet, under *Blake*, appeared in the ſame river, and was reinforced on the 25th of *April* following, by another ſquadron under *Popham*, and both theſe ſquadrons had orders to act offenſively againſt the *Portugueſe* by ſea. The protection which the king gave to prince *Rupert*, was attended with ſo much danger to *Portugal*, that he was at laſt obliged to hearken to the intreaties of his miniſters, that he would order the prince to put to ſea. Before he could be obeyed, the *Engliſh* attacked a rich *Braſil* fleet within a few leagues of *Liſbon*, and the court of *Portugal* entreated prince *Rupert* to ſail to its relief, which he accordingly did. When the prince came up, the *Engliſh* were maſters of the *Portugueſe* fleet; but he eſcaped *Blake*'s ſquadron. The conduct of *John* towards the *Engliſh* royaliſts, on this occaſion, was greatly influenced by his ſon *Theodoſius*, who pitied the unfortunate houſe of *Stuart*, and who declared himſelf againſt treating with the *Engliſh* commonwealth as an independent ſtate.

The circumſtances of *Portugal* did not ſuffer *John* to continue longer at variance with thoſe powerful republicans, and he named an embaſſador to enter into a negotiation with them at *London*; but they refuſed to treat with him as an embaſſador, but as a miniſter of an inferior character, and voted that he ſhould have his audience in the houſe of peers, as being then a place of leſs diſtinction than that of the houſe of commons. The miniſter was obliged to ſubmit to this mortification; and the *Engliſh*, to complete their triumph over his maſter, ordered the walls where he received his audience, to be decorated with thoſe magnificent pieces of tapeſtry which ſtill hang there, repreſenting the defeat of *Philip* the IId's armada, and which were brought for that very purpoſe from the royal wardrobe. It is doubtful what effect this ſubmiſſion, however neceſſary it might have been, had upon the infant *Theodoſius*; but it is certain that he retired ſome time after in diſguſt from court, to which his father, with ſome difficulty, perſuaded him to return; but never afterwards conſulted him on affairs of government. This treatment is ſaid to have affected the prince's health, for he died of a conſumption in the ſpring of the year 1653. Death of his eldeſt ſon. 1653.

John was chagrined with the continuance of the war, and the miſapplication of the public money by his miniſters and officers. He became more frugal, and conſequently more unpopular. He diſplaced his culpable governors, magiſtrates The war with *Spain* continued.

and officers, and applied himſelf entirely to diſciplining, by foreign officers, a good body of national troops for his defence in caſe of need; but without entering upon any offenſive meaſures. The truth is, he ſecretly wiſhed for a peace with *Spain*, which might leave him to the quiet poſſeſſion of his crown, and he truſted to the rebellion of the *Catalans*, and the ſucceſs of the *French* for bringing it about. The loſs of the iſland of *Ceylon*, which was taken from him by the *Dutch*,
1654. about the year 1654, and was occaſioned by the avarice and diſobedience of his governors and officers, ſenſibly affected *John*; but the war which broke out between the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, gave a vaſt relief to his trading ſubjects in all parts of the globe. As *John* had a great dependence on the friendſhip of *France*, he could no longer reſiſt the ſollicitations of that court, to order his troops to act offenſively againſt the *Spaniards*; but he was, perhaps, not greatly diſpleaſed that the war ſtill languiſhed on the frontiers of *Spain*. His health was now much impaired, and he had for ſome months conſulted the queen in all his weighty affairs. He concealed the decay of his conſtitution all he could, but he died on the 6th of
1656. *November*, 1656, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, and the fifty-third of his age. The diſtinguiſhing character of this prince, who was juſtly ſurnamed the Fortunate, conſiſted in the prudence and firmneſs of his conduct. His great view was to keep his crown, and to act on the defenſive. He was among the few princes whom we read of in hiſtory, who obſerved his promiſes ſo well with the ſtates of his people, that they were always ready to give him more money than he would accept of. The ſecreſy with which he managed all his affairs, eſpecially in being able to form a ſtrong party at the court of *Madrid* itſelf, completes his character. Though he did not ſhine in the field, he was deſtitute of neither courage nor military abilities; and as a man, he is ſaid to have been one of the worthieſt and moſt virtuous of any in his dominions. As a proof of his diſintereſtedneſs, and of the bigotry of his people, he reſtored to the families of the offenders the goods that had been granted him by the inquiſition; and the head of that infamous tribunal, after his death, actually abſolved him from the excommunication which they pretended he had incurred by ſuch reſtitutions.

John's death and character.

He is ſucceeded by his ſon *Alonſo*, whoſe mother is regent.

Don *Alonſo Enriquez* was the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of *John* IV. and at the time of his father's death, only thirteen years of age. His mother ſeized the regency of the kingdom, which was ſo full of faction, that many of the nobility talked of removing her ſon's perſon from her care, becauſe ſhe was a *Caſtilian*. She ſoon proved herſelf ſuperior to calumny by appointing don *Franciſco de Faro*, count of *Odemira*, the king's governor. The count *de Caſtenheda* was his ſub-governor, and the ſecretaries of ſtate were *Pedro Veira* and *Gaſpar de Faria*, nor could ſhe in all *Portugal* have made choice of more unexceptionable men for their poſts. *Spain* had ſhewn indecent

rent exultations upon the death of the late king, and had renewed her invaſions of *Portugal*, at firſt with ſome ſucceſs. In 1658, the *Spaniards* beſieged *Elvas*, but as we have already ſeen, were defeated with great loſs. *Portugal* was, at this time, exhauſted by the continuance of the war, and the *Pyrenean* peace, which left the *Spaniards* at liberty to turn their arms entirely againſt them, ſeemed to threaten her ruin. This might have been the caſe, had not *Mazarine*, for reaſons of ſtate, ſuffered duke *Schomberg* with a conſiderable body of *French* volunteers (as they were called) to enter into the ſervice of *Portugal*. This was partly effected by the miniſtry of the count *de Soura*, whom the queen regent had ſent embaſſador to *France*, and who acted with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution that he intimidated *Mazarine*. But the event which ſaved the kingdom of *Portugal* at this time, was undoubtedly the marriage of the king's ſiſter, the infanta *Catharina*, with *Charles* the IId of *Great Britain*. This marriage was diſliked by the *French*, and moſt violently oppoſed by the *Spaniards*; but the princeſs was to have a large ſum of money, and the fortreſs of *Tangier* for her fortune. Mean while the *Spaniards* acted with ſucceſs under don *John* of *Auſtria*, on the frontiers of *Portugal*, where the *Portugueſe* army muſt have been entirely ruined, had it not been for the great military talents of *Schomberg*. That accompliſhed commander could not, however, conquer the envy and malice of the *Portugueſe* miniſters and generals; ſo that they loſt a vaſt number of places, and at laſt the important city of *Evora*, which was taken by don *John*. The count *de Villaflor* was then general of the *Portugueſe* army, and having a good underſtanding with *Schomberg*, they entirely defeated don *John*, who loſt between ſeven and eight thouſand of his troops. *Villaflor* was ſoon after removed from his command, which was reſumed by the marquis of *Marialva*, who, that he might wipe out the memory of his bad ſucceſs againſt don *John*, beat count *Marſin*, who was then in the ſervice of *Spain*, and took *Alcantara*. But the deciſive blow, which the *Spaniards* received in this war, was at *Monteſclaros*, where the count of *Marialva* obtained ſo complete a victory, that it brought about a peace, though not immediately.

1658. See p. 270.

See p. 277.

His incapacity and obſtinacy.

The king, don *Alonſo*, as he grew up, diſcovered great incapacity, and at the ſame time great obſtinacy. Flatterers were not wanting, who confirmed him in all his bad habits, whether natural or acquired, and *Antonio* and *Juan Conti*, ſons of a *Genoeſe* pedlar of *Vintimiglia*, became his chief favourites, and perſuaded him to depoſe the queen from the regency. Her pride and apprehenſion of loſing her power, determined her to purſue a very unjuſtifiable conduct, for ſhe endeavoured to form a party among her nobility for ſetting *Alonſo* aſide from the government, which was to have been given to her ſecond ſon and favourite, don *Pedro*. Having ſecured a great party for this meaſure, it was reſolved to ſeize upon the perſon of *Antonio Conti*, the moſt dangerous of the two brothers, which

was actually done, and he with ſome of his friends were ſent in exile to *Braſil*. The queen and her party endeavoured to diſguiſe to the king this bold conduct, under pretence of the public good, and reſpect for his perſon. Weak as he was, he diſſembled his reſentment, and the count *de Caſtelmelhor*, one of the greateſt men in *Portugal*, ſucceeded *Conti* in his favour. The new miniſter perſuaded the king to aſſume the reins of government into his own hand; and though the queen even employed force to divert him from that deſign, yet the new favourite took his meaſures ſo well, that being aſſiſted by the inhabitants of *Liſbon*, who declared for *Alonſo*, the queen was at laſt obliged to reſign the regency, and ſhe and her ſon don *Pedro* were reduced almoſt to a private ſtation, in which the queen mother died, after diſcovering more than manly talents for government.

He is forced to reſign the government by his queen and brother,

The count *de Caſtelmelhor* now carried his power over the king to ſuch an exceſs, that the nobility and the *Liſbonites* threw their eyes on don *Pedro*, as the only perſon who could preſerve *Portugal* from ruin; but in the mean time, the king married the *French* princeſs *de Nemours*, who no ſooner arrived in *Portugal*, than ſhe diſcovered *Pedro* to be a much more proper huſband for her than his brother. She complained of *Alonſo*'s impotence, which had been before more than ſuſpected, though (it is ſaid) without any reaſon; and became the declared enemy of the miniſter. She attached herſelf to don *Pedro*, and their joint intereſt drove *Caſtelmelhor* into a monaſtery, and his friends into diſgrace. *Antonio de Souſa* was *Alonſo*'s next favourite and miniſter; but he likewiſe was diſgraced and driven into baniſhment. All ranks and degrees in *Portugal* now ſeconded the queen and don *Pedro* in demanding that the king ſhould call an aſſembly of the ſtates, which he long refuſed to do, as knowing it was only a ſtep preparatory to his own depoſition; but he was at laſt obliged to conſent, and actually to reſign his authority, which devolved upon don *Pedro*, under the title of regent. *Alonſo* was continued under reſtraint, and the queen, who pretended that the king could not conſummate the marriage, retired to a convent, and demanded to be ſent back to *France*. This requeſt, had it been granted her, would have rendered her unhappy, as ſhe had already ſettled her affections on don *Pedro*; but perhaps ſhe would have more willingly received him to her bed in the quality of king, than regent. A reſpectful anſwer was returned her, but without granting her demand, and ſhe managed her affairs ſo artfully, that the ſtates themſelves were brought to make applications both to her and the regent, that they would join each other in marriage. *Pedro*, who was not above twenty years of age, and of an amorous complexion, loved her as much as ſhe did him. A proceſs was ſet on foot before the legantine court for a divorce between her and *Alonſo*, on account of his impotency, and the cauſe being heard by cardinal *Vendoſme*, the legate, he granted a diſpenſation, which though informal

informal as to ſome particulars, was afterwards confirmed by the pope, who granted a divorce on account of the nullity of the marriage. That ceremony was very ſplendid, and all the nation, excepting the impriſoned king, ſeemed to be in raptures. Even he ſent a meſſage to compliment the bride and bridegroom; but he is ſaid in private to have bewailed the fate of his brother, for having married the *French* woman, as he called his queen. who are married together.

That *Pedro* had a ſuſceptible heart, appears from his burſting into tears when he heard of the ſolitude and the hardſhips under which his brother ſpent his life in his confinement; and he immediately gave orders for his chuſing what companions he pleaſed, and for his being carried to *Tercera*, where he might enjoy his favourite diverſion of hunting, and have all the iſland for his priſon. The regency being firmly ſettled, the *Engliſh* miniſters at *Madrid* and *Liſbon* drew up a plan of a pacification between thoſe two courts, which was approved of by both, though oppoſed by *France*. The king of *England* ſent the earl of *Sandwich* as his embaſſador to *Liſbon*; and he put the finiſhing hand, under his *Britannic* majeſty's mediation, to a treaty which cloſed the war, that for twenty ſeven years had deſolated both kingdoms. Upon the concluſion of this peace, duke *Schomberg*, and the *French* auxiliaries, returned by ſea to *France*. A peace with *Spain*.

Don *Pedro* now, young and amorous as he was, applied himſelf with prodigious aſſiduity to the affairs of government, and to the reformation of abuſes, both public and private. The duke of *Cadaval*, who was of the *Braganza* family, was his firſt miniſter; but upon inſpecting into the internal affairs of the kingdom, they ſeemed to be almoſt deſperate. The public finances were anticipated or mortgaged; the country was depopulated, and even the private revenue of the king had, under the *Spaniſh* adminiſtrations, been granted to great families, from whom it would have been dangerous to reſume it. *Portugal* was drained of ready money, through its frantic devotion to the court of *Rome*; and both its influence and poſſeſſions were daily narrowed in the *Eaſt Indies* by the *Dutch* and the *Engliſh*. Add to all thoſe misfortunes, that the morals of the people were irretrievably degenerated, and they ſeemed to be inſenſible of the public calamities. Don *Pedro* inherited from his father, a ſteadineſs of conduct, nor could all the arts employed by his conſort and her *French* agents, prevail with him to break with *Spain*. Notwithſtanding this, he narrowly eſcaped a conſpiracy which was formed by the *Spaniards*, for aſſaſſinating himſelf, and reſtoring his brother. All he could be brought to, was to fortify his frontier, and to ſhut up the unfortunate *Alonſo*, a cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of *Cintra*, during the remaining part of his life. When the treaty of *Nimeguen* was in agitation, don *Pedro* offered his mediation, which was deſpiſed by *France*, but accepted of by *Spain*, with whom he adjuſted all the differences between the two crowns, concerning *Pedro* hates the *French*.

concerning the *Rio de la Plata*. From that time, *Pedro* conceived an averſion to the *French* court.

He marries the princeſs of *Neuburgh*.

The dutcheſs of *Savoy*, the elder ſiſter of the queen of *Portugal*, wanted to marry her ſon, the famous *Victor Amadeus*, to *Pedro*'s daughter, who had been recognized heireſs to the crown of *Portugal*. Such a match with a foreign prince, was againſt the conſtitution of the kingdom; but that obſtacle was got over by the conſent of the ſtates. A ſquadron was ſent to bring the duke of *Savoy* to *Portugal*, but the *Savoyard* nobility, fearing to become a province to *France*, which had vigorouſly promoted the marriage, oppoſed it ſo effectually, that the ſquadron returned to *Liſbon* without the duke. It was thought that this diſappointment, together with her huſband's infidelity to her bed, had an effect upon the queen's health,

1683. Death of *Alonſo*.

for ſhe died on the 17th of *December*, 1683, ſoon after the death of the unfortunate king, don *Alonſo*. Her death extinguiſhed the *French* influence at the court of *Liſbon*, for *Pedro*, who ſucceeded immediately as king, refuſed even to treat with *Lewis* XIV. concerning the marriage of his daughter. *Pedro* was, all this while, labouring to retrieve the affairs of *Portugal*, in which he was more ſucceſsful than had been expected; and at the deſire of his ſubjects he married the princeſs *Maria Sophia* of *Neuburgh*, who was carried to *Portugal* in an *Engliſh* ſquadron, commanded by the duke of *Grafton*. This beautiful virtuous princeſs, made *Pedro* the father of a ſon, who died three weeks after his birth. Upon his death, ſeveral treaties for the infanta's marriage were ſet on foot, which came to nothing; and ſoon after ſhe died, in the 21ſt year of her age.

1690. *Pedro*'s wiſe conduct.

In the year 1690, donna *Louiſa*, the king's natural daughter, one of the fineſt women in *Portugal*, was legitimated, and her father gave her the title of royal highneſs. It was thought that ſhe was an enemy to the count *de Caſtelmelhor*, who was ſtill alive, and by his knowledge of the chief courts of *Europe*, was ſtrongly recommended to *Pedro*, for his firſt miniſter; but without effect. *Pedro* had ſucceeded beyond belief, in reſtoring the luſtre of the crown of *Portugal*, through the wiſe neutrality he had obſerved in the affairs of *Europe*. He however augmented and diſciplined his forces, and offered his mediation to the contending powers, who now received it with great deference. He even gave his embaſſador at *Paris*, the marquis *de Caſcaes*, orders to talk with the *French* miniſters in a very reſolute tone, upon the inſults offered by their ſhips to the flag of *Portugal*. The warlike preparations which *Pedro* continued to make, and the ſtate of public affairs, obliged *Lewis* to promiſe him all imaginable ſatisfaction, and he ſent him a moſt reſpectful embaſſy to court his friendſhip. It is thought, not without reaſon, that *Pedro*, at this time, had an eye upon the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, to which he had a very plauſible claim, as being deſcended by the female line from *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*. It is certain, that he inclined to take part with the allies againſt *France*,

France, when the queen died in 1694, leaving him ſix children, of whom two were ſons. The great expence of his armaments, at that time, obliged *Pedro*, with the conſent of the ſtates, to lay a tax upon tobacco throughout his dominions. Soon after this, the throne of *Spain* became vacant by the death of *Charles* II. and *Pedro*'s circumſtances were ſuch as in a manner obliged him to recognize the ſucceſſion of the duke of *Anjou*. This did not prevent a convention, entered into between *France* and *Spain*, for ſtripping *Pedro* of *Portugal*, which was defeated by his threatening to join with the allies, and *Lewis* XIV. became the guarantee of a freſh treaty between the courts of *Madrid* and *Liſbon*. 1694.

Pedro was, at this time, courted by all the powers of *Europe*, who gratified him in all his demands. Upon his declaring for a neutrality, and the *Spaniards* roundly and contumeliouſly telling him he could have none, he opened his kingdom as an aſylum to all the oppoſers of the houſe of *Bourbon* in *Spain*, and immediately entered into the meaſures of the allies, and recognized the title of the archduke *Charles* to the crown of *Spain*, upon the latter engaging to put him in perpetual poſſeſſion of *Badajoz*, *Alcantara*, *Albuquerque*, *Valenza*, *Bayonne*, *Vigo*, *Tuy* and *Gardia*. The conduct of his *Portugueſe* majeſty during the war that followed, has been ſufficiently deſcribed in our hiſtories of *Spain*, *France* and *Germany*. It is ſufficient here to ſay in general, that *Pedro* was very ill ſerved, both by his miniſters and generals. The duke of *Cadaval*, his firſt miniſter, diſliked the war, which was continued chiefly at the expence of *England*, and the marquis *das Minas*, though he defeated don *Pedro Ronquillo*, and took a few places, knew little of the true art of war. In the year 1704, *Pedro* falling ill, appointed *Catharine*, the queen dowager of *England*, who had for ſome time reſided in his dominions, regent of *Portugal*; but ſhe was cut off by death, a few months after her appointment, and left all her eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to her brother *Pedro*. The misfortunes which happened to the arms of *Portugal*, and conſequently to thoſe of the allies, during the courſe of that war, were undoubtedly owing to the backwardneſs or incapacity, or both, of the *Portugueſe* miniſters, to ſupport it, for it is allowed on all hands, that *Pedro* himſelf acted with vigour and ſincerity, and more than once poſtponed his own advantage to the good of the common cauſe. While he was intent upon raiſing freſh troops, he was ſeized with a lethargy, the conſequence of a cold he contracted at *Alcantara*, and died on the 4th of *December*, 1706, in the twenty-third year of his reign, (excluſive of his regency) and the fifty-ſeventh of his age. He is courted by all *Europe*, but declares for the allies. 1704. His death 1706.

Pedro was illiterate, but his experience in buſineſs, his application, his patience and moderation, ſupplied the defects of his education. From his conduct towards *France*, it is plain that he was ſuſceptible of reſentment; but it was cool, temperate, and well conducted. The retrieving the affairs of and character.

Portugal,

Portugal, was the conſtant object of his attention. In his perſon, he was tall and vigorous, abſtemious, religious, charitable, and, towards the latter end of his reign, contemplative. His amours, which did not much affect the public, becauſe they were generally with mean women, form the moſt exceptionable part of his character, unleſs we look upon his marriage with his brother's wife as a ſtain upon his reputation. The rectitude of that meaſure has never been ſufficiently cleared up, and perhaps was a ſecret which died with the queen, whoſe delicacy was not among the moſt ſhining of her qualifications. It has been ſaid, upon very plauſible authority, that *Alonſo* was ſo far from being impotent, that his perſon was robuſt and athletic, and that he had been the father of ſeveral children, by different miſtreſſes.

Acceſſion of *John* the Vth,

The political conduct of don *John*, the eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor of don *Pedro*, was the ſame as that of his father; nor was the ſevere defeat which the *Britiſh* and *Portugueſe* troops received at *Almanza*, owing to him but to his general, the marquis *das Minas*, who, after being wounded himſelf, and having his miſtreſs killed fighting by his ſide in the battle, made a maſterly retreat, at the expence of the *Britiſh* troops, who were expoſed to ſlaughter. After the defeat, *John* promiſed to perſevere in the common cauſe, and received vaſt ſupplies from *England*. In the mean while, his people ſuffered greatly from the inroads of the *Spaniards*, which he was in no condition to repel. He ſent the duke *de Villamajor* with a moſt magnificent equipage, to demand in marriage the archduchess *Mary Anne*, who was carried to *Liſbon* in a *Britiſh* fleet, and the marriage was celebrated on the 28th of *October*

1708. 1708. The *Braſil* trade now afforded great quantities of gold and diamonds, and growing every day more profitable to *Portugal*, it enabled *John* to perform his engagements with his allies, with tolerable punctuality. The cargo which that fleet brought this year to *Liſbon*, amounted to ſix millions ſterling, but his miniſters ſtill continued backward in ſupport of the war. They entered into ſome negotiations, for the neutrality of their peaſants, which gave umbrage to the allies, and the allied army under the marquis *de Fronteira*, and the earl of *Galway*, were beat by the marquis *de Baye*, in the cam-

1709. paign of 1709. This diſgrace was owing to the ill behaviour of the *Portugueſe* officers, many of whom were broken. A

who likewiſe joins with the allies, ridiculous point of ceremony about the franchiſes of foreign miniſters, had almoſt ſeparated his *Portugueſe* majeſty from the confederates. The embaſſadors were not ſupported by their courts in their extravagant claims, and *John* went ſo far into the ſentiments of his courtiers, as to grow jealous of the great number of foreign officers who had been introduced into his army. The diſguſt the *Portugueſe* miniſtry received at this, was attended with the worſt of effects towards the confederacy, and terminated in little leſs than a breach between them and the earl of *Stanhope*, who was unable to conquer their obſtinacy,

ſtinacy, and it proved the ruin of the archduke's affairs in *Spain*. The *Portugueſe* miniſters, however, urged the plauſible plea that they were obliged to provide for the defence of their own country, by keeping their troops upon their frontiers, inſtead of marching them into the heart of *Spain*.

This breach never was thoroughly made up, and a coldneſs ſucceeded between *John* and the maritime powers. He ſtill continued the war with ſome reputation to his arms; for his general, the count *de Villaverda*, took *Miranda* and *Zafra*, but was obliged to return to the defence of *Portugal*, to ſave *Elvas* from falling into the hands of the marquis *de Baye*. In the year 1711, the coldneſs between the *Portugueſe* court and the confederates, was encreaſed by mutual recriminations, and by the vaſt loſſes which the *Portugueſe* ſuffered from the *French* fleet at *Rio de Janeiro*. His *Portugueſe* majeſty complained that he had not been protected by the maritime powers, and that the *Dutch* had not paid him their ſtipulated ſubſidies. His embaſſador at the *Hague*, the count *de Tarouca*, prevailed with the *States General* to pay part of thoſe arrears, which enabled his *Portugueſe* majeſty to keep an army in the field, till the earl of *Portmore*, who commanded the *Engliſh* in *Portugal*, declared, in conſequence of the conferences at *Utrecht*, that he had orders to withdraw his troops from thoſe of the allies. This put an end to the ſubſidies that had been paid by the *Engliſh* to his *Portugueſe* majeſty, who immediately acceded to the ſuſpenſion of arms that had been ſigned at *Utrecht*. In the ſubſequent conferences, it appeared that *John*, had it not been for the determination of the court of *England* to have peace at any rate, would have continued the war; but finding that he muſt have done it ſingly (the imperialiſts being in no condition to aſſiſt him) againſt the whole power of the houſe of *Bourbon*, he wiſely ſubmitted, and obtained from *France* the beſt terms he could for his country, as may be ſeen in other parts of this work. They were much better, eſpecially as to his *American* affairs, than he had reaſon to expect, and they were procured by the favour of the *Engliſh*. The war, however, ſtill went on with *Spain*, and *John* was chagrined by a refractory diſpoſition which had taken hold of his ſubjects, both in *Portugal* and *Braſil*, where they were extremely diſcontented at the loſſes they had ſuſtained from the *French*, and for which they inſiſted upon indemnification out of the royal treaſury. *John* applied not only to his own allies, but to *Lewis* the XIVth, for protection againſt the exorbitant claims of *Spain*, which daily multiplied; and his affairs immediately took a favourable, though unexpected, turn.

1711.

and gets good terms to the peace at *Utrecht*.

Upon the death of queen *Anne*, the *Engliſh* miniſtry declared they were ready to join the *Portugueſe* in bringing the *Spaniards* to reaſon, and the diſcovery of a new mine in *Braſil* had extinguiſhed all diſcontents in that country, from whence vaſt riches now arrived at *Liſbon*. *John* employed them in augmenting his preparations for war, and finding himſelf backed

He is protected by *England*.

backed by the *Engliſh*, he talked to the court of *Madrid* in ſuch a ſtrain, as ſoon renewed the negotiations for peace at *Utrecht*, which, by the intervention of the *French* court, was at laſt concluded, upon the terms which *John* himſelf had preſcribed. His firmneſs on this occaſion, was wonderfully applauded by the allies, and he was well ſerved by his plenipotentiaries, the count *de Tarouca*, and don *Lewis d'Acunha*. The ſubſtance of the treaty then concluded, was ſettling the limits of the two monarchies, as they were before the war, and his catholic majeſty paying ſome arrears that had been due to his *Portugueſe* majeſty, who was to reſtore to the *Spaniards Albuquerque* and *Puebla*, without receiving any conſideration for their additional fortifications. Upon the whole, every thing conſidered, *John* gained more by the peace than any of the other powers concerned in the war.

His differences with the court of *Rome*,

The crown of *Portugal* being thus reſtored to a reſpectable ſtate, *John* employed his tranquillity in promoting the intereſts of his ſubjects, thoſe relating to commerce particularly. In all his negotiations with foreign princes, he kept up his dignity as a ſovereign prince, and ſuffered the *French* embaſſador to depart from his court without an audience, rather than that his ſecretary of ſtate ſhould relax in a very inſignificant ceremonial. He compelled the *Dutch* to fulfil their treaties with his crown, relating to the *Negro* trade in *Africa*. He fitted out a very conſiderable ſquadron, which acted in conjunction with thoſe of the pope and *Venetians*, and did great ſervices againſt the infidels, eſpecially on the coaſts of *Italy*. The pope, by way of acknowledgment, erected his royal chapel at *Liſbon*, into a patriarchal and metropolitical church; ſo that that archbiſhopric is, as it were, ſplit in two. About this time, his *Portugueſe* majeſty had a difference with his brother, don *Emanuel*, whom he preſſed to embrace an eccleſiaſtical life, to which that prince had ſuch an averſion, that he made an elopement to *Holland*, and ſerved in the *German* armies againſt the infidels. This accident gave no great diſguſt to *John*, who continued to apply himſelf aſſiduouſly to the arts of peace; and notwithſtanding the oppoſition he met with, from the ignorance and bigotry of the inquiſition, he eſtabliſhed academies at *Liſbon*, for the improvement of true know-

1722. ledge. In 1722, though *John* expreſſed all imaginable gratitude and regard for the *Engliſh*, two *Britiſh* merchants, *Wingfield* and *Roberts*, were condemned to death, for the very common practice of ſending gold out of *Portugal*, but *John* pardoned them, at the interceſſion of the *Engliſh* embaſſador; ſo that nothing more ſeems to be meant by their condemnation, than to ſhew his own ſubjects, and all *Europe*, how much he

1724. had the ſuppreſſion of that practice at heart. In 1724, he erected the *African* company into an excluſive body for furniſhing the *Braſils* with *Negroes*; but about this time *Portugal* and *Algarve* ſuffered incredible concuſſions from ſtorms and tempeſts.

John's

John's differences with the court of *Rome*, diſcover how well he underſtood his character as a king. They took their riſe from the friendſhip he had for *Bichi*, the nuncio at *Liſbon*, whom he deſired his holineſs to raiſe to the purple. *Bichi* was particularly obnoxious to the houſe of *Auſtria*, and had enemies about the pope's perſon; ſo that no regard was paid to his majeſty's application, and *Bichi* being recalled, *John* refuſed to receive any other nuncio from *Rome*. His reſentment went even ſo far, that he not obſcurely threatened a ſeparation from that church. In 1727, *Joſeph*, prince of *Braſil*, eldeſt ſon to *John*, was married to donna *Maria Anna Victoria*, the ſame princeſs who had been affianced to the *French* king, as was *Ferdinand*, prince of *Aſturias*, afterwards king of *Spain*, to donna *Maria*, the infanta of *Portugal*. His catholic majeſty took that opportunity to offer his mediation for accommodating matters between *John* and his holineſs; but all the conceſſion the latter would make, was to offer to accept of any perſon, excepting *Bichi*, whom his *Portugueſe* majeſty ſhould recommend to be a cardinal. *John* rejected this condition, and when pope *Benedict* the XIIIth obliged *Bichi* to leave *Liſbon*, and repair to *Rome*, *John* ordered the patriarch of *Liſbon* to ſupply the place of his holineſs in every exerciſe of papal or eccleſiaſtical power, and he at the ſame time prohibited all intercourſe with *Rome*. By another mandate, he put a ſtop to the payment of the pope's revenues in *Portugal*, and ordered all his ſubjects to leave the papal dominions, and return home. All this ſhew of reſolution was deluſive, *John* in his principles was too much of a bigot to carry his menaces into full execution. He ſtill kept up the horrid court of inquiſition in his dominions, though he pretended to moderate the cruelty of their proceedings, and though he did not obtain the great point he aimed at, he compromiſed matters with the next pope.

1727. p. 67. are compromiſed.

The reader, in the hiſtory of *Spain*, will ſee the principal events of the remaining part of *John*'s reign. In 1729, the double marriages between the two courts, were celebrated in the *Caya*, (a river which divides the two kingdoms) with great pomp, but ſtill greater punctilio, on account of the ceremonial. The formal manner in which both kings proceeded, and the jealouſies they expreſſed for their reſpective dignities, diſcovered ſome reſerve, notwithſtanding thoſe near family connections; and the ſtate of affairs in *Europe*, occaſioned by the ſucceſſes of the *Spaniards* in *Italy*, rendered the court of *Madrid* intractable. The *Portugueſe* miniſters ſervants there, had imprudently reſcued a criminal from juſtice, and were therefore committed to priſon. His *Portugueſe* majeſty reſented this upon the *Spaniſh* embaſſador's ſervants at *Liſbon*. Both embaſſadors were recalled, and it was thought the *Spaniards* not only intended to intercept the *Braſil* fleet, but to invade *Portugal*. His *Portugueſe* majeſty implored the aſſiſtance of *Great Britain*, who immediately ſent Sir *John Norris* with

1729. Double marriages between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

with a ſtrong ſquadron, to his relief, and excepting a few bravadoes, the *Spaniards* durſt proceed no farther in their ambitious views. On the 31ſt of *July* 1750, king *John* died, at the age of ſixty, with the character of being a prince tenacious of his right, naturally inclined to juſtice, but devoured by ſuperſtition.

1750.

Don *John* ſucceeded by *Joſeph*, king of *Portugal*.

His ſon *Joſeph*, his preſent *Portugueſe* majeſty, was born in *June* 1715, and upon his acceſſion, by his conduct in requiring to inſpect the books of the *Engliſh* merchants at *Liſbon*, to diſcover the exports of gold out of his dominions, he ſeemed to have forgot the obligations his kingdom owed to *Great Britain*. His attention to the commercial intereſts of his crown, was, in other reſpects, laudable. He regulated the boundaries of the territory belonging to him in *America*, with his catholic majeſty, but gave up to the *Spaniards* the colony of St. *Sacrament*. He cleared his coaſts of the *Barbary* corſairs, and received from his holineſs the epithet of Moſt Faithful, which is now annexed to the crown of *Portugal*. The indifference which he diſcovered with regard to the court of *Rome*, rendered it perhaps the more inclinable to oblige him; for his holineſs agreed to the abolition, or rather diminution of the *auto de fe* at *Liſbon*, and abſolved him from the performance of his father's extravagant grants there. This was held to be good policy, becauſe of the immenſe ſums which the apoſtolical chamber yearly drew from *Portugal*. He endeavoured, but in vain, to open an *Eaſt India* trade, by the way of *China*, and finding how diſagreeable his prohibition of the exportation of gold out of his kingdom was to the *Engliſh*, he at laſt allowed it, upon its paying a duty of two *per cent*. In other reſpects, he did all he could to cramp the *Britiſh* trade in his dominions, and took ſteps for that purpoſe that were repugnant to juſtice and ſound policy, becauſe he could not even man his ſhips without *Engliſh* commanders, though he ſtill continued to ſend them to *China*.

The dreadful earthquake at *Liſbon*.

The exchanges of territory which he made with *Spain* in *America* were, in the main, gainful to *Portugal*, but thwarted by the *Jeſuits*, who inſtigated the natives not to ſubmit to the regulations laid down by the two crowns, and this gave his *Portugueſe* majeſty an invincible averſion to that order. While he was intent on ſettling his *American* acquiſitions, his capital of *Liſbon*, on the 1ſt of *November* 1755, was viſited with one of the moſt dreadful earthquakes that hiſtory records, for no fewer than fifteen thouſand of the inhabitants were buried in the ruins. The firſt accounts ſaid a hundred thouſand, and magnified the ruins of *Liſbon* far beyond the real truth. The loſs, however, was incredible, and his *Portugueſe* majeſty narrowly eſcaped periſhing in the fall of his own palace. The towns in the neighbourhood of *Liſbon* ſuffered in proportion, and the ſhocks continued ſome days, communicating themſelves even to *Madrid* in *Spain*. The *Spaniſh* embaſſador and nine of his domeſtics were killed in the ruins of his own houſe,

as

as were ſeveral perſons of great quality, who had not time to fly from their habitations in *Liſbon*. The king and the court of *Portugal*, afraid to truſt themſelves under a roof, lived in tents pitched in the royal gardens, and there they obtained a generous ſupply of money and proviſions, to the amount of a hundred thouſand pounds, ſent them by the king and parliament of *Great Britain*. The preſent was received with becoming gratitude; nor was the crown of *Spain* backward in ſending its ſupplies likewiſe.

Conſpiracy againſt the king of *Portugal* diſcovered and puniſhed.

Scarcely had the people of *Portugal* recovered from their conſternation at this dreadful event, than they were alarmed by the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt the king's perſon. The chief party concerned, was the duke of *Aveiro*, one of the greateſt noblemen in the kingdom, who, according to the manifeſtos publiſhed by the court, being exaſperated at the king for interpoſing in ſome of his family affairs, aſſociated himſelf with the *Jeſuits*, whom he had formerly deteſted, and who had lately been baniſhed from court, and engaged the marquis of *Tavora*, and other perſons, in a deſign upon the king's life. Though the particulars of the conſpiracy are not, perhaps, at this time, known, yet it is certain that the king, upon his return from a private viſit, was ſhot at, and wounded by the conſpirators, who were more numerous than was at firſt apprehended. They were diſcovered by their own imprudence. The duke of *Aveiro* (called *Lancaſtre*, from *John* of *Ghent*, duke of *Lancaſter*) the marchioneſs of *Tavora*, her huſband, their eldeſt ſon, the count of *Atouguia* (ſuppoſed to be the head of the moſt ancient family in *Portugal*) and *Joſeph*, ſecond and youngeſt ſon of the marquis of *Tavora*, were apprehended, and committed to priſon. After undergoing the form of a trial, they were ſeverally condemned to death, which they ſuffered with circumſtances of great cruelty. A ſcaffold was built (ſay the accounts of that time) oppoſite to the houſe where the priſoners were confined, and eight wheels fixed upon it. On one corner of the ſcaffold was placed *Antonio Alvarez Ferreira*, and on the other corner, the effigy of *Joſeph Policarpio de Azevedo*, who was ſtill miſſing; theſe being the two perſons that fired at the back of the king's equipage. About half an hour after eight in the morning, the execution began. The criminals were brought out one by one, each under a ſtrong guard. The marchioneſs of *Tavora* was the firſt that was brought upon the ſcaffold, where ſhe was beheaded at one ſtroke. Her body was afterwards placed upon the floor of the ſcaffolding, and covered with a linen cloth. Young *Joſeph Maria* of *Tavora*, the young marquis of *Tavora*, the count of *Atouguia*, and three ſervants of the duke of *Aveiro*, were firſt ſtrangled at a ſtake, and afterwards their limbs broken with an iron inſtrument: The marquis of *Tavora*, general of horſe, and the duke of *Aveiro*, had their limbs broken alive. The duke, for greater ignominy, was brought bare-

headed to the place of execution. The body and limbs of each of the criminals, after they were executed, were thrown upon a wheel, and covered with a linen cloth. But when *Antonio Alvarez Ferreira* was brought to the ſtake, whoſe ſentence was to be burnt alive, the other bodies were expoſed to his view; the combuſtible matter, which had been laid under the ſcaffolding, was ſet on fire, and the whole machine, with the bodies, were conſumed to aſhes, and thrown into the ſea.

The detection and puniſhment of this conſpiracy, was followed by the ſequeſtration of all the eſtates belonging to the *Jeſuits* in *Portugal*, and their baniſhment from that kingdom. The chief hiſtorical event relating to *Portugal*, that has not been mentioned in the hiſtory of *Spain*, was the marriage between the princeſs of *Braſil*, *John*'s eldeſt daughter, and his brother, don *Pedro*, which was concluded and conſummated, in order to remove all doubts that might ariſe concerning the ſucceſſion to the crown. Though the pope granted his diſpenſation for that marriage, which was performed on the 6th
1760. of *June* 1760, yet his nuncio, cardinal *Acciaioli*, ſhewed ſuch marks of diſcontent and diſregard of his moſt faithful majeſty, that he was ſent out of *Portugal*; and this created a breach between the courts of *Rome* and *Liſbon*. The *Portugueſe*, in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, were recalled, and ſtrong recriminations were publiſhed by the *Portugueſe* miniſters; but this breach was attended with no conſequences. Nothing now remains to complete our hiſtory of *Portugal*, but to give ſome account of the inſolent manner in which that court was treated by the *French* and *Spaniards*, when they broke with *England*.

The memorial delivered by don *Joſeph Torrero*, embaſſador from the court of *Spain*, and monſ. *Jaques Bernard O Dun*, miniſter plenipotentiary from the court of *France* to that of *Portugal*, was to the following effect.

Papers relating to the breach between *Spain* and *Portugal*.

The kings of *France* and *Spain* having found it neceſſary to form an alliance, and take other meaſures to curb the pride of the *Britiſh* nation, which aſpires to become deſpotic over the ſea, and conſequently over all maritime commerce; agreed, that they would, in the firſt place, invite the king of *Portugal* to enter into this alliance with them, which they expected he would do, as conformable to what he owes, both to himſelf and his kingdom; eſpecially, as he ſuffers greatly under the yoke which *Great Britain* has already laid upon him, and which ſhe is about to extend over all who have poſſeſſions beyond ſea; and, as it would be unjuſt to expect *France* and *Spain* to ſacrifice themſelves without the aſſiſtance of *Portugal*, for an object in which *Portugal* is at leaſt equally intereſted; and yet more ſo, to afford the *Engliſh*, their common enemy, an aſylum in her ports, whence they can more eaſily annoy her friends, and, at the ſame time, enrich themſelves by her commerce.

They

They therefore jointly desire his *Portugueſe* majeſty, to declare himſelf united with *France* and *Spain*, in the preſent war againſt *England*, as the common enemy of all maritime nations; and obſerve, that the king of *Spain* is brother to the queen of *Portugal*, and a true friend, and quiet neighbour of that kingdom, who wiſhes, that, either in peace, or in war, *Spain* and *Portugal* may be conſidered as under one maſter. They urge alſo, that it will be better for the king of *Portugal* to have for an ally a catholic king, his near relation, and quiet neighbour, both in *Europe* and *America*, than *England*, whoſe haughtineſs renders her incapable of conſidering other ſovereigns with equality, and whoſe aſſiſtance *Portugal* can never need, when by an offenſive and defenſive league ſhe ſhall be united with *Spain* and *France*. It is added, that *France* and *Spain* can the leſs doubt of *Portugal*'s compliance with this propoſal, *Spain* having already cauſed her troops to advance to the frontiers of *Portugal*, to ſecure the maritime places of *Portugal* from any danger which might threaten them, when the acceſſion of *Portugal* to the alliance of *France* and *Spain* ſhould be known to the *Engliſh*.

A categorical anſwer to this memorial was required in four days, and it was declared, that a delay beyond that time would be conſidered as a negative.

To this memorial, *Portugal*, on the 20th of the ſame month, within the preciſe term of four days, anſwered, that ſhe was greatly affected to ſee the flames of war kindled between *Spain* and *Great Britain*, powers with whom ſhe is allied by blood and friendſhip, and wiſhes that her neutrality might be able to bring about a treaty of peace; but that there are unſurmountable difficulties which muſt prevent her from coming into the alliance of *France* and *Spain* againſt *England*.

1ſt, *Portugal* is, and has long been, allied to *England*, by ſolemn and public treaties, which being merely defenſive, muſt be innocent; and not having received any offence from *England*, ſhe cannot enter into an offenſive league againſt her, without breach of public faith. And,

2dly, His *Portugueſe* majeſty would act moſt injuriouſly by his ſubjects, if he ſhould bring upon them the calamities of an offenſive war, which they are not in a condition to ſupport, after the misfortunes that have already befallen them, by the long ſickneſs of the late king, by the earthquake of 1755, and the conſpiracy of 1758.

His *Portugueſe* majeſty therefore declares, that a perfect neutrality is a neceſſary principle of his ſyſtem; and that, having cauſed his troops to be ready for the defence of his poſts and maritime places, and made all proper diſpoſitions for the common advantage of all the powers at war, without diſtinction, *Spain* may be aſſured, that nothing ſhall be done in any of ſuch ports or places, contrary to her intereſts.

We have inſerted the foregoing extracts from the *Portugueſe* ſtate papers at that time, as evidences of the crying injuſtice impoſed by the courts of *Madrid* and *Verſailles* upon that of *Liſbon*; and indeed, they were ſo glaring, that many thought that the *Portugueſe* court was not previouſly unacquainted with their demands. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that neither the *French* nor the *Spaniards* abated in their terms, and mutual declarations of war accordingly were iſſued, the event of which we have already given in the hiſtory of *Spain*.

THE

THE HISTORY OF DENMARK.

SECTION I.

THE high antiquities of this country are wrapped in fiction, and it is ſurprizing that *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meurſius*, *Pontanus*, and other elegant writers, have taken ſo much pains to tranſmit them to poſterity. Their fictions, however, ſpeak themſelves, and, in this age, can impoſe upon no reader, who has the ſmalleſt tincture of learning. Notwithſtanding this, it is certain, that the *Danes* had a form of government as early as any nation in *Europe*, and their anceſtors had many ſignificant emblems of *Celtic* extraction in their government. Their kings were elective, and their hiſtory partakes of the revolutions and events, that are common in the hiſtories of other nations during the ſame periods. The *Daniſh* hiſtorians, like thoſe of *Scotland*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and other northern countries, are laviſh in beſtowing titles and dignities on their kings and great men, in æras of barbariſm, when no ſuch diſtinctions exiſted. According to the beſt authorities, all preference was obtained by courage and bodily ſtrength. Thus the word *king* ſignified no more than the ableſt warrior; the treaſurer might have been the paymaſter of the army out of the enemy's ſpoils, and menial offices very poſſibly ſubſiſted about the chief leader, after the war was over; nor do we perceive any harm that accrues to hiſtory, by adapting modern titles to thoſe offices, however rudely they might have been exerciſed.

Antient ſtate of *Denmark*.

We are at a loſs whom to fix upon as the firſt legiſlator of *Denmark*, and we muſt give up as uncertain the hiſtory of that
846. country preceding the year 846. We ſay uncertain, becauſe undoubtedly a great deal of true hiſtory mingled with that which was traditionary and fabulous.

Eric the Iſt, king. *Eric* the Iſt, who we are told by the old *Daniſh* hiſtorians, was the fifty-ninth king of *Denmark*, was a *Chriſtian*, though an uſurper, and was converted by *Anſgarius*, biſhop of *Bremen*. Being killed in battle, the true heir, whoſe name was *Eric* likewiſe, ſucceeded to the throne, and was likewiſe converted to *Chriſtianity* by *Anſgarius*. He was ſucceeded by *Canute*, ſurnamed the Little, who was a minor, and whoſe throne was for a long time uſurped by the king of *Sweden*. This *Canute* was indifferent as to all religions, and the moſt memorable part of his hiſtory is, that under him, *Denmark* was ſo overſtocked with people, that vaſt numbers were obliged to emigrate, and to ſettle in *Courland* or *Germany*. It is more than probable, that it was owing to the like emigrations that great part of the coaſts of *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *England*, were at this time peopled by the *Danes*; and if we are to believe their hiſtorians, they had conquered *England* long before this time, and the introduction of the *Chriſtian* religion there was owing to *Frotho* the VIth, ſon to this *Canute* the little. Notwithſtanding the improbability of this fact, it ſcarcely can be doubted that *England* received its name from a province of *Denmark*, and that the people of *Denmark* in general, were originally called *Saxons*; but upon their multiplying and emigrating, they found it convenient to diſtinguiſh themſelves by provincial appellations. The laws of the *Danes* and *Saxons* were fundamentally the ſame, and were of the feudal kind. In their rude ſtate they ſubſiſted in *England* till the time of the conqueſt, when the duke of *Normandy* introduced them into *England*, where they were modified according to that ſyſtem of government which he erected. Under the *Guiſcards*, who were *Normans*, and conſequently *Danes* or *Saxons*, the ſame laws were refined, and digeſted into a noble code of juriſprudence, the remains of which are ſtill diſcernable in *Naples* and *Sicily*, which they conquered and governed under the title of kings, in the proper ſenſe of the word.

Gormo *Gormo*, ſurnamed the *Angle*, or *Engliſhman*, ſucceeded to the crown of *Denmark*, but being of an indolent diſpoſition, the *Engliſh* under him threw off the *Daniſh* yoke. It is, however, a little unaccountable, how thoſe *Daniſh* kings of *England* could prefer *Denmark* to that country. *Gormo* was ſucceeded by *Harold* V. as he was by *Gormo* the IIId, whoſe ſons, according to the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, conquered *Ireland*.

gives liberty of conſcience to the *Chriſtians*. The *Daniſh* hiſtory now clears up, in proportion as it is connected with the *German*. This *Gormo* was a pagan, and an enemy to the *Chriſtians*, but great part of his country was invaded, and reduced by the emperor of *Germany*, *Henry* the Fowler, who obliged him to give liberty of conſcience to the

the *Chriſtians* in his dominions. *Gormo* the IIId was ſucceeded by *Harold* the VIth, who diſputed the crown of *England* with *Haquin*, king of *Norway*; but *Haquin* was defeated, and *Norway* reduced to a province depending on *Denmark*. After this, *Harold* recovered the territories, particularly that of *Sleſwick*, that had been taken from *Denmark* by *Henry* the Fowler. While he was intent upon reſtoring his brother-in-law, who had been driven from the throne of *Sweden*, *Denmark* was invaded by the emperor *Otho*; but *Harold* found means to purchaſe his peace, by becoming *Chriſtian*, and *Otho* ſtood ſponſor for him at the font. His converſion did not prevent his being engaged in many other quarrels with the neighbouring princes, and at laſt his own ſon, *Swen*, rebelled againſt him, and uſurped his throne; and *Harold*, after receiving repeated defeats, was obliged to take refuge with his countrymen in *Normandy*. They enabled him to make another ſtruggle for his crown; but after fighting a bloody, though indeciſive battle, he was killed by the hands of a common ſoldier. There is great reaſon to believe, from the hiſtory of *Denmark* at this period, that the diſpoſition of its inhabitants inclined ſtrongly to paganiſm, and that the profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* by its kings, was merely political, in order to keep well with the *German* princes, and the deſcendents of *Charles* the Great. Vol. VIII. p. 390.

This appeared eminently in the conduct of *Swen*; for though the emperor *Otho* had ſtood godfather for him, no ſooner did he come into peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne, than he aboliſhed *Chriſtianity*. Being taken priſoner by the *Vandals*, the *Daniſh* ladies pledged their jewels for his ranſom, but he was afterwards driven out of *Denmark* by *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, who was ſupported by the emperor, and *Swen* wandered from court to court, a deſpiſed fugitive, till he was hoſpitably received in the kingdom of *Scotland* (which we ſtrongly ſuſpect to have been that of *Ireland.*) That king aſſiſted him in remounting his throne, and *Sweden* reſtored the *Chriſtian* religion in his dominions. He was oppoſed by *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, who was defeated by ſea; and his crown devolving upon *Swen*, he introduced the *Chriſtian* religion into that country likewiſe. After this, *Swen* (who, by the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* hiſtorians, is called *Sweno*) invaded *England*, which was then governed by the *Saxon* prince *Ethelred*, and there he died. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Harold*, who was depoſed for his vices, and his place was filled by his brother *Canute*, with whom we ſhall begin a regular ſeries of the *Daniſh* kings.

King Swen aboliſhes Chriſtianity.

This prince obtained the epithet of the Great, by the civil and military talents he diſplayed. Leſs attached to prepoſſeſſions than his predeceſſors had been, he made the conqueſt of *England* (where he had already many friends) his great object. Having defeated the *Engliſh* fleet, which oppoſed him, he was obliged to return to *Denmark*, which had been invaded

Canute the Great.

by the *Norvegians* and *Swedes*, with whom he maintained a long war, in which *Canute* was ſucceſsful. Having involved the *Norvegians* in a civil war, he returned to *England*, where he mounted the throne, and reigned with greater luſtre than any prince in *Europe*, being then king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *England*. His fame was ſo great, that *Conrade*, the emperor of *Germany*, ſued to him for his daughter in marriage for his ſon *Henry* (for the *Daniſh* hiſtorians are miſtaken in ſaying that he married her himſelf) and the nuptials were celebrated with vaſt pomp. *Canute*, before his death, gave the crown of *England* to *Harold*, his eldeſt ſon; to his ſecond ſon, *Hardicanute*, he bequeathed that of *Denmark*, including that of *Sweden*; and to his youngeſt, *Swen*, that of *Norway*. He was in every ſenſe the greateſt prince of his age, as well as the moſt poliſhed and virtuous. He ſtill, however, retained the vices of his country, particularly that of drinking. We are told, by the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, that while he was in *England*, he killed one of his ſoldiers in a fit of inebriation. No ſooner was he ſober, than he inſiſted upon being tried by his own laws for the crime. A jury being ſummoned, he was found guilty, and he nine times paid the pecuniary price for murder, which himſelf had eſtabliſhed: one third, by his law, went to the crown, but *Canute* ordered it to be given to the clergy; one third to the ſoldiery; and one third to the neareſt kinſman of the deceaſed.

Vol. VIII. p. 415.

Hardicanute.

Hardicanute is not without reaſon ſuppoſed to have been the eldeſt ſon of *Canute* the Great. He is ſaid to have envied his brother *Harold*, king of *England*, and to have made preparations to dethrone him. With this view, he took the crown of *Norway* from his brother *Swen*, and gave it to the family of *Olaus*, its former king. Setting ſail for *England* with a great fleet, he touched at *Bruges*, to pay a viſit to his mother *Emma*, where he was met by the embaſſadors of *England*, with an offer of their crown, his brother *Harold* being then dead. *Hardicanute* (ſo called from his great ſtrength) was renowned for his intemperance and tyranny; and in him ended the race of the *Daniſh* kings in *England*. The oppreſſions he exerciſed upon the *Engliſh*, over whom he reigned about two years, rendered the name of a *Dane* deteſtable in that country. His death happened in 1041.

1041.

Magnus.

Magnus was king of *Norway*, and upon *Hardicanute*'s death, he laid claim, but at the head of great armaments, to the crown of *Denmark*, in virtue of a family compact between him and *Hardicanute*. The ſtates of *Denmark* received him as their king; but his title was diſputed by *Swen*, *Canute* the Great's nephew, whom the court of *England* ſpirited up, by way of diverſion to the *Danes*, to obtain the crown. Being deceived in his expectations, his army was beaten by *Magnus*; he likewiſe loſt his fleet, and was driven to ſeek ſhelter in *Sweden*. During this war, *Jutland*, a province of *Denmark*, was overrun and plundered by the *Vandals*; but no ſooner

ſooner was *Swen* defeated, than *Magnus* fell upon them near *Sleſwick*, cut off fifteen thouſand of them, and made the reſt priſoners. *Magnus* made a very moderate uſe of his victory, for he treated his captives well, and endeared himſelf to his ſubjects, who gave him the epithet of the Good, and abjured *Swen* his competitor. The manner of his death is uncertain; ſome ſay it happened by a fall from his horſe, others ſay he was drowned in a boat; but all agree that he was ſincerely lamented by his ſubjects.

The memory of *Canute* the Great was ſo dear to the *Danes*, that upon the death of *Magnus*, his competitor, *Swen*, mounted the throne without oppoſition. It ſhewed ſome degree of magnanimity in the ſtates of *Denmark*, to recognize a prince whom they had ſo lately proſcribed and abjured; but their country required a head, being attacked by the *Vandals* on the one hand, and the *Norvegians* on the other. *Harold* was then king of *Norway*, and completely defeated *Swen*'s fleet, though he fought with great intrepidity, in two different engagements. *Harold*, after this, laid *Denmark* waſte; but his ambition led him to invade *England*, where being killed, *Swen* remounted the throne of *Denmark*. A peace with *Norway* then followed, and *Olaus*, who ſucceeded his father *Harold* in that throne, married *Swen*'s daughter. The tranquillity of *Denmark* being thus re-eſtabliſhed, the two ſons and the daughter of *Harold* the IId, king of *England*, who had been killed by the duke of *Normandy* in the battle of *Haſtings*, took refuge in *Denmark*; and *Swen* was perſuaded to claim the crown of *England*, in right of his uncle, *Canute* the Great. The preparations for his expedition were very great, and he no ſooner appeared on the coaſt of *England*, than a powerful body of the nobility and people took arms againſt the conqueror. It is poſſible that the *Engliſh*, though they took arms, did not declare for the *Danes*, whom they hated, for it is certain that the armament returned without doing any thing, and that *Swen* ſuſpected his brother *Oſbern* of having been corrupted by the *Normans*, for he baniſhed him out of *Denmark*. While *Swen* was intent upon this unfortunate expedition, the *Vandals*, out of hatred to *Chriſtianity*, again invaded *Denmark*, where they overran *Holſtein*, and deſtroyed the churches. They had the inſolence to ſtrip *Swen*'s ſiſter naked, and ſend her to her brother. *Swen*, inſtead of bravely reſenting thoſe barbarities, ſpent his time at *Roſchild*, in the practice of religious ſuperſtitions, having rendered himſelf no better than a ſlave to his prieſts, whoſe ambition was unbounded, and their lives ſcandalous. His devotion for the clergy covered, in a barbarous age and country, the atrociouſneſs of his true character, which was that of luſt and cruelty. He had rendered churches themſelves the ſcenes of his murders; and the male progeny he left behind him, conſiſted of fifteen natural ſons. The laſt act of his life, was his exacting a promiſe from the nobility, that they would chuſe his ſons according to their

Swen III.

ſeniority

ſeniority to ſucceed each other in the kingdom. He died in *Jutland*, after giving great proofs of valour during his lifetime; but he impoveriſhed his people to enrich his clergy.

Harold the Simple.

Harold, ſurnamed the Simple, the eldeſt of *Swen*'s natural ſons, ſucceeded according to the promiſe that had been made to his father. He was faithfully ſerved by his younger brother *Canute*, a prince of great abilities, and who had a ſtrong party for his mounting the throne. He was contented, however, to employ himſelf in repreſſing the *Vandals*, while *Harold* paſſed the reſt of his life in ſtupid indolence. The only circumſtance for which his reign is remarkable, was his aboliſhing the barbarous trials by ordeal, which *England* ſeems to have borrowed from *Denmark*, for inſtead of being obliged to ſuffer the torture of fire and water, the accuſed perſon, in caſe the proof was defective, might be cleared by his or her own oath.

Canute the Pious.

Canute, ſurnamed the Pious, ſucceeded his brother *Harold*, and was ſo zealous a chriſtian, that he propagated the goſpel in *Livonia* and *Muſcovy*, by fire and ſword. He found it very difficult to reform the manners of the *Danes*, which had been corrupted during his brother's indolent reign; but at laſt effected it, by conforming himſelf and his court to the practice of every religious and moral duty. He was the firſt *Daniſh* prince who ſettled the rank which prelates ought to hold in the ſtate, and put them upon a footing with the greateſt nobility. He even rendered them independent on the royal power; a fatal error in government; and gave them a deſpotic authority over the reſt of the clergy. His bounty to men of learning was likewiſe aſtoniſhing; but he could not gratify thoſe liberal inclinations, without impoveriſhing the lay part of his ſubjects, which created ſo much diſaffection, that his brother *Olaus* formed a conſpiracy againſt him. *Canute* was then making preparations for invading *England*, to which he ſtill kept up his family pretenſions; but through the arts of *Olaus*, his ſubjects refuſed to follow him, and his army deſerted him. By the valour of his brother *Eric*, he took *Olaus* priſoner; but he committed him to the cuſtody of the earl of *Flanders*, whoſe daughter *Canute* had married, to be treated with tenderneſs and reſpect, but without being ſuffered to return to *Denmark*. His influence ſtill remained, and the grant of the tenths which *Canute* had given the clergy, while he was continuing his preparations to invade *England*, exaſperated his people into an open rebellion, ſo that he was obliged to fly to the iſland of *Funen*, where he was baſely aſſaſſinated. This prince, notwithſtanding all his virtues, ſeems to have fallen a victim to ſuperſtition, and to the aſcendency which his clergy had over his ſpirit.

Olaus, the Hungry.

Olaus, the Hungry. Such was the ſordid barbarity of the times we treat of, that when *Nicholas*, the brother of *Olaus*, was ſent with a preſent by the ſtates of *Denmark* to the earl of *Flanders*, to claim *Olaus* for their king, the earl not thinking

the preſent ſufficient for a ranſom, meanly accepted of *Nicholas*'s generous offer, to wear his brother's chains till the reſt could be raiſed. It was accordingly ſent upon the arrival of *Olaus* in *Denmark*. He applied himſelf to remove the apprehenſions of his ſubjects, who had oppoſed him during his brother's life-time, and to make ſeveral popular eſtabliſhments; but in the midſt of his public cares, a plague and a famine (from which we ſuppoſe he got the name of the Hungry) carried off half his ſubjects, and at laſt, himſelf. It is ſaid the ſcarcity was ſo great, that bread was wanting even for ſupplying the royal table.

Eric the IIId, eldeſt ſurviving brother of *Olaus*, was living in a kind of voluntary baniſhment in *Sweden*, to avoid his brother's reſentment, when the throne fell vacant, and he was invited by the ſtates to fill it. The late times of diſtreſs had covered the ſea with pirates, who roved about for plunder and ſubſiſtence, and had erected a kind of republic in the iſland of *Rugen*. One of the firſt cares of *Eric*, was to extirpate them, and after demoliſhing their capital, he drove them entirely out of *Denmark*. After this, he chaſtized the *Vandals*, who had invaded his dominions, and procured from the court of *Rome*, the inrollment of his brother *Canute*, as a ſaint in the calendar. Notwithſtanding this complaiſance of the pope, *Eric*, in a diſpute he had with a biſhop of *Bremen*, was obliged to repair, in a penitential habit, to *Rome*, where he ſubmitted to the deepeſt mortifications. *Eric* having reſtored his kingdom to tranquillity, found himſelf a great and a powerful prince, and ſo well was he beloved by his ſubjects, that they dignified him with the epithet of the Good. The harp was then the delight of the northern nations; it was a paſſport to courts, and even to an enemy's camp, where the artiſt was always ſure of an honourable and ſafe reception. The *Daniſh* hiſtories inform us, that one of thoſe muſicians had ſuch a command over the paſſions of *Eric*, that he threw him into an extaſy, during which, he killed four of his attendants. Nothing could quiet the conſcience of the king, notwithſtanding the moſt affectionate remonſtrances of his ſubjects, but his making a pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, to expiate his crime. He was attended in his voyage by his wife, the faithful *Bathilda*, and died at *Cyprus*, about the year 1101. Though the *Daniſh* hiſtorians have celebrated him as poſſeſſed of all the virtues and great qualities that can adorn a king and a man, yet, from his conduct, he appears to have been ſtrongly tinged with the fanaticiſm of the times.

Eric III. ſurnamed the Good.

1101.

Nicholas was called from his priſon in *Flanders*, to mount the throne of *Denmark*, in conſequence of the promiſe made to his father, though *Eric* had left his ſon, *Harold*, regent of his dominions. *Nicholas* proved to be but a weak prince. Having diſobliged *Henry*, prince of the *Vandals*, who was his nephew; the latter took arms, and invaded the duchy of *Sleſwick*. *Nicholas* was betrayed by his general *Elive*, and defeated by

Nicholas.

by *Henry*, who beſieged the city of *Sleſwick* itſelf. *Canute*, one of the ſons of the late king *Eric*, ſtept in to the aſſiſtance of *Nicholas*, and being appointed governor of that duchy, he forced *Henry* to retire to his own dominions, where he raiſed another army; but he was defeated by *Canute*. *Henry*, upon this, ſued for peace, which *Canute* not only generouſly granted him, but put his perſon into *Henry*'s power, and thoſe two princes ever after lived in an inviolable friendſhip. *Canute*, after this, was made duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and was raiſed to the dignity of king of the *Vandals*. *Nicholas*, all this time, ſeems to have lived in great obſcurity; but the *Swedes* choſe his ſon *Magnus* for their king. He was engaged in a war with *Uratiſlaus*, king of *Sclavonia*, in which he was aſſiſted by his father, *Nicholas*, and the king of *Poland*, whoſe daughter he had married. *Uratiſlaus* was defeated, and treacherouſly made a captive by *Nicholas*, till he was delivered by the interpoſition of the king of the *Vandals*. This raiſed a great faction againſt *Canute* at the *Daniſh* court, and *Nicholas* was perſuaded that *Canute*, who was duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*, as well as king of the *Vandals*, wanted to dethrone him. *Canute* perceived by the manner of *Nicholas*, that he was his enemy. *Margaret*, the magnanimous queen of *Denmark*, upon her death-bed, informed *Canute*, that his own ſons were in a conſpiracy with *Nicholas*, againſt him. *Canute*, by his valour and eloquence, would, however, have triumphed over all his enemies, had he not been baſely betrayed by the pretended friendſhip of *Magnus*, who drew him into an ambuſh, where he was killed, with all the circumſtances of horror and barbarity, and left behind him the reputation of being the ornament of his age and country.

Civil wars rage in *Denmark*.

The brave *Canute* left his wife, *Ingeburga*, big with child, and ſhe was delivered of a ſon, who, on account of his father, became dear to the *Danes*, while it was with the greateſt difficulty that his murderer, *Magnus*, eſcaped falling a ſacrifice to the rage of the people. The brothers of the late *Canute*, *Harold* and *Eric*, headed an inſurrection of the people, to revenge his murder upon *Magnus*, who was obliged to withdraw from the eye of the public; and at laſt, *Eric*, who was choſen general of the inſurgents, forced the king to conſent, that *Magnus* ſhould go into perpetual baniſhment. He was, however, ſoon recalled by his father, and the inſurgents again took arms. A negotiation was brought about by the interceſſion of the biſhop of *Ripen*; but the armiſtice was treacherouſly broken by *Nicholas* and his ſon, and great part of *Eric*'s army was put to the ſword. This ſhameful breach of faith, encreaſed the popular deteſtation, and *Eric* was at laſt perſuaded to accept of the crown. The emperor, *Lothair*, interpoſed in the quarrel, as pretending to be lord paramount of *Denmark*, which he invaded, as he alledged, in favour of *Eric*. Notwithſtanding this, he made a peace with *Nicholas*; but upon his retiring from *Denmark*, *Magnus* cut off the rear of his army.

The emperor *Lothair* interpoſes.

army. *Eric*, upon this, entered into an alliance with the king of *Norway*, and gave his nephew, *Canute*'s ſon, in marriage to that prince's daughter. The war was then renewed with greater vigour than ever; but *Eric* lay under the diſadvantage of being the younger brother of *Harold*, whoſe friends formed a party againſt him. Much bloodſhed followed, and ſeveral indeciſive battles were fought; but *Harold* declared for *Nicholas*, againſt his brother.

A revolution, at this time, happened in *Sweden*, where the people choſe a nobleman, one *Licerco*, for their king; and he is ſaid to have begun his government, by debauching *Uvilda*, the wife of *Nicholas*, who had ſent her to *Sweden* for ſafety. Notwithſtanding this, *Nicholas* totally defeated *Eric*, who took refuge in *Norway*, from whence he eſcaped from the treachery of that king, who was married to his neice, and who wanted to deliver him up to *Nicholas*. *Eric* arriving in *Langland* from *Norway*, again raiſed a ſmall army, which put him in poſſeſſion of *Schonen*. *Nicholas* marched againſt him, with an army far ſuperior to his; but he and his ſon were ſo much deteſted, that he was abandoned by great part of his troops, and his ſon *Magnus* was killed in a battle which he loſt to *Eric*. *Nicholas*, upon this, declared *Eric*'s brother *Harold*, his ſucceſſor; but venturing to pay a viſit to *Sleſwick*, where the memory of *Canute* was adored, the people roſe upon him, and put him to death in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, and about the year 1135. He was the fifth and laſt ſon of *Swen*, who reigned in *Denmark*, by an unprecedented ſeries of fraternal ſucceſſion. Death of *Nicholas*. 1135.

Eric was in *Jutland*, when he heard of the death of *Nicholas*, and that his brother *Harold* had been nominated his ſucceſſor. The two ſons of *Harold* were then ſerving in *Eric*'s army, which was greatly ſuperior to that of *Harold*. Though faithful to *Eric*, they kept up a private correſpondence with their father, who, by their advice, eſcaped to *Norway*; for which, *Eric* moſt barbarouſly put them to death. The king of *Norway* had been long the declared enemy of *Eric*, and had repudiated his daughter. By his aſſiſtance, *Harold* invaded *Zealand*, where he was proclaimed king, and *Eric* inhumanly ordered five more of his ſons to be put to death; but the ſixth and youngeſt, took refuge in *Sweden*. *Harold* was favoured by the revolt of the people of *Rugen*, not only from *Eric*, but from Chriſtianity itſelf, and by an irruption of the *Vandals*. In the mean while, it is certain, that *Harold* died, ſome ſay by aſſaſſination; but we are ſtrangers to the particulars. *Eric* IV.

Eric being thus delivered from a powerful rival, fomented a rebellion againſt *Magnus*, king of *Norway*, whoſe dominions were invaded by the *Iriſh*, in favour of *Harold*, a prince of the royal blood. *Harold*, being defeated, took refuge in *Denmark*, while *Eric* was employed in ſuppreſſing the piracy of the *Rugeners*, and reducing them to their duty. Having done this effectually, he invaded *Norway*, and defeated *Magnus*, whom he Civil wars renewed.

he took priſoner, deprived him of his eyes and his virility, ſhut him up in a cloiſter, and placed *Harold* on his throne. The reader is here to obſerve, that at this time, the prelates in *Denmark*, and all over the north, were the chief military commanders, and often headed great independent armies. The archbiſhopric of *Lunden* being then vacant, *Eric* was inclinable to give it to *Rico*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*; but *Eſchil*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, oppoſed both the king and the biſhop, and at firſt drove them to *Jutland*. *Eric*, however, ſoon raiſed an army, with which he defeated and took priſoner the haughty prelate. Perhaps the reader needs not to be informed, that a biſhop in thoſe days could be guilty of no capital crime againſt the ſtate, and the only puniſhment *Eric* could inflict upon *Eſchil*, was to make him pay a ranſom. The public tranquillity being partly reſtored, *Eric* applied himſelf to regulate his finances, and to aboliſh the diſorders that had been introduced during the late tumultuous times; but while he was intent upon thoſe objects, he was aſſaſſinated by a nobleman of *Jutland*. Though the *Daniſh* hiſtorians are laviſh in his praiſes, yet by their own account, he was guilty of ſhocking barbarities.

Eric, the Lamb.

Waldemar, the ſon of *Canute*, king of the *Vandals*, by *Ingeburga*, was choſen to fill the throne of *Denmark*, though an infant; but his mother wiſely and affectionately refuſed to conſent to his elevation, unleſs a regent was appointed, who ſhould even act with the royal titles and authority during her ſon's minority; and *Eric*, ſurnamed the Lamb, was accordingly nominated to that dignity. He was, by his mother, grandſon to the late king, and obtained the epithet of the Lamb, from the mildneſs of his manners, and his pacific diſpoſition. During his adminiſtration, he was obliged to comply with the impetuous ambition of *Eſchil*, who actually had conſecrated himſelf archbiſhop of *Lunden*, and had taken poſſeſſion of the ſee by force. *Eſchil* was no ſooner gratified in his ambition, than *Olaus*, the ſon of *Harold*, who, as we have ſeen, had eſcaped the fate of his brothers, appeared in *Denmark*, and claimed his father's eſtate. His requeſt not being complied with, (it having been forfeited to the public on account of his father's rebellion) he had recourſe to treaſonable practices, and at laſt broke out into arms, and aſſumed the title of king. He was vigorouſly oppoſed by *Eſchil*, to whom *Eric* gave the command of his army; but the prelate was completely defeated in two battles. The ſecurity into which this ſucceſs threw *Olaus*, relaxed his diſcipline; and being ſurprized by *Eric*, his army was cut off: upon which, *Olaus* once more eſcaped into *Sweden*, and *Eric* took poſſeſſion of *Lunden*. This was far from putting an end to the troubles of *Denmark*. *Olaus* raiſed a new army, and renewed his invaſion, and loſt no fewer than twelve bloody battles with *Eric*; but in the thirteenth, he was not only defeated, but killed.

Though *Eric* was thus active and ſucceſsful in the field, yet no ſooner was his danger removed, than he indulged his paſſion

ſion for a young lady, which drew him into a ſhameful indolence, and expoſed him to the moſt ſcandalous inſults of the *Vandals*, who defeated his fleet. Being ſeized with a fever, and finding his end approach, he ordered himſelf, according to the ſuperſtitious cuſtom of that time, to be cloathed in the habit of a monk, and in that he expired.

Great confuſion in *Denmark* followed upon the death of *Eric*, the Lamb. The *Zealanders* choſe *Swen*, the natural ſon of *Eric* IV. for their king; as the *Jutlanders* did *Canute*, the grandſon of *Nicholas*, and ſon of *Magnus*, for theirs. It is a little difficult to conceive the nature of *Waldemar*'s future ſovereignty, (for he was ſtill a minor) as both thoſe princes acted with regal, independent, powers. A civil war between the two competitors naturally broke out, in which archbiſhop *Eſchil* took part with *Canute*, but was defeated, and being taken priſoner, was ſuſpended in a cage from the top of his own metropolitical ſteeple; but he was delivered from this ſhameful confinement by the pope's interceſſion. After a long diſpute, a bloody battle was fought between *Swen* and *Canute*, in which the latter was defeated, and fled to *Jutland*. A kind of a reconciliation between them was effected by the pope, and they made a joint expedition againſt the infidel *Vandals*, in which they were unſucceſsful. Upon their return to *Denmark*, the civil war broke out again, and *Canute* was again defeated. Young *Waldemar* was now of age, and from the averſion he had to the ſon of his father's murderer, he declared himſelf for *Swen*, who gave him poſſeſſion of his patrimonial eſtate in *Sleſwick*. *Waldemar* then put himſelf at the head of an army, defeated *Canute*, and drove him out of *Jutland* into *Sweden*. *Swen* then turned his arms againſt the *Vandals*, and the *Rugeners*, but with no great ſucceſs; and *Canute* being befriended by the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and the *Jutlanders*, ſhut up *Swen* and *Waldemar* in *Wiburg*. They were delivered by their own valour from their danger, and *Canute*, with a few of his attendants who eſcaped the ſword, fled into *Saxony*. After this, *Swen* defeated the *Vandals* and the pirates, who had committed vaſt abuſes on the coaſt of *Denmark*, and *Canute* renewing his invaſion, was again driven out of that country. *Canute* being then deſtitute of all reſources, applied to the *German* emperor, *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, who ſummoned *Swen* to appear before him, to anſwer for his having deprived *Canute*, the lawful heir, of his right to the crown. *Swen* obeyed the ſummons, which ſome hiſtorians call an invitation to a conference, and *Frederic*, without any ceremony, informed him that he would oblige *Canute* to accept of *Zealand* as an equivalent for his claim, provided he would hold the reſt of the kingdom as a fief of the empire. The affair was brought, and debated, before the diet of the empire; but *Frederic* arbitrarily decided, that the two rivals ſhould reign as his feodatories.

Uſurpation of the *German* emperor.

Vol. VIII. p. 440.

Swen,

Tyranny and treachery of *Swen*.

Swen, who was in *Frederic*'s power, ſeemed to acquieſce in his award; but he no ſooner returned to *Denmark*, than he diſclaimed it, and married into the houſe of *Saxony*, which was the great rival of the imperial power. The *Daniſh* hiſtorians date the degeneracy of their national manners from this match, the *Saxons* being then a corrupted voluptuous people, compared to the *Danes*. The emperor was too much embroiled in *Italy*, to enforce his award in *Denmark*, and *Swen* found leiſure to invade *Sweden*, on account of a brutal rape, which had been committed by that king upon a dutcheſs of *Halland*. After making a great progreſs in *Finland*, the inclemency of the weather forced him to return with his army to *Denmark*, where he very narrowly eſcaped being killed in an inſurrection of the peaſantry, on whom he afterwards ſeverely revenged himſelf; for he even put to death *Tocho*, a nobleman, by whoſe loyalty he had been delivered from his danger. *Swen* then gave a looſe to his natural ferocity and unſteadineſs, upon which *Waldemar* took part with *Canute*, who ſtill kept up his claim. We are here again at a loſs to account for *Waldemar*'s ſituation, for we cannot perceive, at this very time, that he exerciſed any ſovereign act of government. He was even treated with ſeverity by *Swen*, in a conference they had together, and if *Swen*'s ſoldiers would have obeyed him, he muſt have been carried off priſoner. There are, however, reaſons for believing that *Waldemar* now aſſerted his right, at leaſt, to a part of the kingdom, and a partition of it was made between him and the other two claimants, by which *Sleſwick* and *Jutland* fell to his ſhare. That belonging to *Swen* being expoſed to the depredations and invaſions of the *Vandals*, he called in his ally, the duke of *Saxony*, to his aſſiſtance; but he received none, though we are told that he advanced him fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold. After this, the perſon and authority of *Swen* fell into contempt. He endeavoured to become maſter of *Waldemar*'s perſon by treachery; but that prince eſcaping, took upon himſelf the royal title and badges; and *Swen* finding his authority gone, retired into *Saxony*, where he ſollicited duke *Henry* for his aſſiſtance, to be reſtored to his throne. *Henry* accordingly raiſed an army, and *Swen* was joined by many of the diſcontented *Daniſh* lords. *Swen*, by means of the *Saxons*, getting poſſeſſion of *Sleſwick*, diſtributed among his auxiliaries the riches of the foreign merchants, which he found in that harbour, a loſs which that city never recovered.

Denmark partitioned.

A revolution in *Sweden* having called *Canute* thither, *Waldemar* was left to act againſt the *Saxons*, whom he ſoon drove out of *Denmark*. *Swen*, however, went on board a *Saxon* and *Vandal* fleet, and once more landed in *Denmark*, where a great party declared in his favour. When their diſpute was upon the point of being decided by the ſword, the three competitors agreed to a new partition of territory, by which *Swen* was to have

have the ſovereignty of *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Bleking*; *Waldemar* of *Jutland*; and *Canute* of *Zealand*, *Funen*, and its iſlands. Thus in reality, *Denmark* was partitioned out into three independent kingdoms.

The tranquillity which this diviſion produced, was but ſhort lived. *Swen* ſtimulated by his wife, who reproached him for his puſillanimity, murdered *Canute*, and *Waldemar* muſt have undergone the ſame fate, had he not killed two aſſaſſins with his own hands, and made his eſcape to *Jutland*, where he immediately ſummoned the ſtates to *Wiburg*. To them he ſhewed a wound he had received in the thigh, by defending himſelf from the capital aſſaſſin; and all *Denmark*, in an inſtant, was again in arms. A cruel war was renewed for almoſt a whole twelvemonth; but it ended in the death and total defeat of *Swen*, who was killed, and left behind him a moſt infamous character, in the year 1157.

Waldemar was now ſole king of *Denmark*, and began his reign by checking the invaſions of the *Vandals*. The inhabitants of *Roſchild* rebelling, *Waldemar* took poſſeſſion of their city, and ſeverely fined the burghers. The depredations of the *Vandals* ſtill continued; but *Waldemar* found himſelf too weak by ſea, to ſuppreſs them. At laſt, he was joined by *Pribiſlaus*, the prince of the chriſtian *Vandals*, and then the barbarians were defeated, and implored peace. *Waldemar* granted them a truce, which was ſoon at an end, and the war was renewed; but *Waldemar* called in the duke of *Saxony* to his aſſiſtance. The *Saxons* fought the *Vandals*, defeated them, and killed their brave king, whoſe head they ſent as a trophy to *Waldemar*. His ſon *Pribiſlaus*, had declared himſelf a chriſtian, and reſided with *Waldemar*; but he was a diſgrace to the religion he profeſſed, by affecting to thank Heaven for his father's death, though he met it fighting nobly for his country. We are not to be ſurprized that the barbarians were averſe to chriſtianity, which they thought inſpired its profeſſors with ſuch unnatural ſentiments. The ſucceſs of the *Vandals* by ſea, was equally unfavourable to their arms, and they were once more forced to ſue for peace, which they obtained the more readily, as *Denmark* was again in danger of being involved in a civil war, on the following occaſion. During a diſpute about the papacy, archbiſhop *Eſchil* refuſed to acknowledge the validity of pope *Victor*'s nomination to the ſee of *Sleſwick*, though it was backed by the regal authority. *Eſchil* had been piqued by the king having ſeized ſome money, that had been ſent him from *France*, and being more of a temporal prince than a ſpiritual paſtor, he threatened hoſtilities againſt *Waldemar*, if he did not reſtore him the money. *Abſalon*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, was then the king's prelate, favourite and general, and laid before him the conſequences of ſuch inſolence, but without any exaggeration; and the king raiſing an army, after a ſharp diſpute, deprived *Eſchil* of all his ſtrong holds, beat his armies, and obliged him to renounce all the grants made

1157. *Waldemar* the Iſt.

Obſtinacy of archbiſhop *Eſchil*.

to him, or his predeceſſors, by former kings, in prejudice of the crown. This did not, however, prevent *Eſchil* from continuing his intrigues againſt *Waldemar*'s perſon, and dignity.

1162. *Dantzic* founded. About the year 1162, a nobleman, called *Erling*, ſeized the crown of *Norway*; but a ſtrong party oppoſed him, invited in *Waldemar*, who actually was crowned, and *Erling* by the advice of his wife, who was related to *Waldemar*, put his perſon into his power, and ſubmitted to his terms. *Waldemar* retained the crown of *Norway*, but multiplied honours and eſtates upon *Erling*. His ſubmiſſion gave *Waldemar* leiſure to renew his alliance with *Henry* the Lion, duke of *Saxony*, and they jointly made war upon the *Vandals*; but *Henry* growing jealous of *Waldemar*'s ſucceſſes, entered into a confederacy againſt him. *Waldemar* committed the management of the war to *Abſalon*, and the *Vandals* not being ſupported by *Henry*, were beaten into the profeſſion of chriſtianity, and obliged to

1165. abjure paganiſm. The year 1165, was diſtinguiſhed by *Waldemar*'s founding *Dantzick*, which has ſince made ſo eminent a figure in the commercial world; and about the ſame time, the ſtates of *Denmark*, in grateful return to *Waldemar*'s royal cares, voluntarily recognized his ſon *Canute*, though no more than four years of age, as his aſſociate and ſucceſſor in the government. This was a great point gained for *Waldemar*, as the kingdom, at that time, was actually elective, and the ſucceſſion diſputed by *Buriſius*, one of his own relations. *Waldemar* thinking himſelf ſecure againſt all the claims of *Buriſius* and his aſſociates, once more turned his arms againſt the *Vandals*, whom *Abſalon* would have entirely ſubdued, had not a conſpiracy broken out in *Denmark*, headed by *Buriſius*. It is probable, that the conſpirators were diſſatisfied with the late ſettlement of the ſucceſſion; but *Waldemar*'s meaſures were ſo vigorous and ſucceſsful, that *Buriſius* was taken priſoner and put to death; but his brothers, *Ormos* and *Erling*, who were likewiſe engaged in the conſpiracy, eſcaped to *Norway*. The inconſtancy of *Henry* the Lion, who again joined the *Vandals* againſt *Waldemar*, prevented the latter from chaſtizing *Erling*, and obliged him to act upon the defenſive againſt a powerful alliance. Partly by policy, and partly by arms, *Waldemar* broke the connections between *Henry* and the *Vandals*, and the *Saxon* was forced once more to ſue for peace, which *Waldemar* granted. Both of them then turned their arms againſt the *Vandals*, and there is reaſon to believe that they carried on the cauſe of chriſtianity with the moſt unchriſtian cruelties; but money ſoon purchaſed a new peace to the infidels. *Waldemar* was not ſo ſucceſsful againſt *Erling*, but he ſubdued the iſland of *Rugen*, though his lenity to its prince loſt him the friendſhip of *Bogeſlaus* of *Pomerania*.

1169. Confederacy againſt About the year 1169, *Waldemar* conquered the *Courlanders*, and received *Erling* again into favour, upon condition that in caſe of *Erling* and his ſon's death, without iſſue, *Waldemar*'s ſecond ſon (of his own name) ſhould ſucceed to the crown of *Norway*,

Norway, and that *Erling* ſhould in the mean time acknowledge himſelf to be a vaſſal to *Denmark*. The great power of *Waldemar*, at laſt, formed a confederacy againſt him, in which the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Saxony* were parties. They called upon the *Danes* to their aſſiſtance, but the valour and prudence of *Abſalon*, with the firmneſs of *Waldemar*, who protected his prelate againſt his domeſtic as well as foreign enemies, defeated all their attempts, and the confederates were obliged again to take the law from *Waldemar*, who actually took *Stetin* in *Pomerania*. It was, about this time, that *Copenhagen* was founded by biſhop *Abſalon*. The reſt of *Waldemar*'s reign ſeems to have been full of confuſion and tumult. He was perpetually making either war or peace with the *Saxons* and *Vandals*, diſcovering and puniſhing conſpiracies againſt his perſon, and at laſt, he forced the turbulent *Eſchil* to fly to *France*. His flight did not put an end to the conſpiracies againſt *Waldemar*'s perſon, but they were diſcovered and puniſhed, ſometimes with the death of the authors. *Waldemar*, however, was obliged to renew his confederacy with the duke of *Saxony*, and they invaded the country of the *Vandals* in conjunction. Though *Saxo Grammaticus* lived near this time, and wrote the hiſtory of *Denmark*, yet we are at a loſs for many of the particulars of *Waldemar*'s reign. From the face of the narratives which have come to our hands, the *Vandals* appear to have been either a ſtrong maritime power, or to have been in alliance with thoſe free-booters, called pirates, but were in reality the deſcendents of the *Normans*, who, when they were powerful enough to make eſtabliſhments, were conſidered as lawful princes. It is certain, that the country of the *Vandals*, ſerved as a repoſitory for the wealth and plunder of thoſe rovers, and that *Waldemar* reduced ſome of their beſt towns. About the year 1180, his ſon *Canute*, and the warlike archbiſhop *Abſalon*, gave them ſeveral dreadful blows, and it appears that *Waldemar*, about the ſame time, gave a moſt generous reception into his dominions to *Henry* the Lion, of *Saxony*, who had been put to the ban of the empire, by *Frederic Barbaroſſa*. There is ſomewhat myſterious in the conduct of *Abſalon* at this period. The people of *Schonen* thought themſelves oppreſſed, and they were countenanced and backed in their complaints, that all the places of profit and truſt in their country, were given to foreigners. It was in vain for *Abſalon* to take their part at the council board, and an army was raiſed, the command of which was given, under the king, to *Abſalon*, who nobly reſigned his biſhopric in *Schonen* for one of inferior value, and, at laſt, prevailed with the king to liſten to the complaints of his ſubjects. His majeſty's compliance rendered them ſtill more obſtinate, for they inſiſted upon all the revenues of the church being divided among themſelves; upon which, *Abſalon* treated them as rebels, and after giving them two ſevere defeats, forced them to ſubmit. It was, about this time, that *Waldemar* made an alliance with *Barbaroſſa* againſt

Waldemar defeated.

1180.

Vol. VIII. p. 447, 451, 452.

ibid. P. 452.

Henry the Lion, of *Saxony*. That affair was managed with great addreſs and firmneſs by *Waldemar*, who obtained from the emperor the inveſtiture of the ducal *Holſtein*, which, at the ſame time, was annexed to his crown in perpetuity. Notwithſtanding this, *Waldemar* ſeems, towards the latter end of his reign, to have grown unpopular. This was, perhaps, owing to the great acquiſitions of power he had made, which gave umbrage to his ſubjects, the *Jutlanders* eſpecially. Even his troops refuſed to obey either *Abſalon*, or his ſon *Canute*. In ſhort, the revolt was general, and the rebels were joined by the *Vandals*. Vexation threw *Waldemar* into a dangerous illneſs, which finiſhed his life under the hands of an empiric, in 1182. 1187, when he was no more than forty-eight years of age, His death. and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The difficulties which *Waldemar* ſurmounted, ſhew him to have been a great and an accompliſhed prince. Though he was, in fact, a foreigner by birth, he rendered himſelf the moſt abſolute monarch that had ever reigned in *Denmark*. He reduced the iſle of *Rugen*, forced its inhabitants to profeſs chriſtianity, and annexed it to his crown. He rendered the duchy of *Stetin* a fief of *Denmark*, and, till the cloſe of his reign, he may be ſaid to have been fortunate and victorious.

Canute VI. No ſooner was *Waldemar* dead, and his ſon *Canute* on the throne, than the malecontents threatened an utter extinction of the government, and went ſo far as to chuſe one *Harold*, who was of the ancient blood royal, for their king. *Abſalon*, who had ſo often ſtemmed their fury, was obliged to retire to *Zealand*, and *Harold* had, for ſome time, met with no oppoſition. His followers, however, conſiſted chiefly of *Jutlanders* and *Vandals*, and all of them were the very dregs of the people, and could be called no other than a deſpicable rabble. As ſoon as *Canute* raiſed an army in the better affected provinces, *Harold* was defeated with vaſt ſlaughter, and forced to fly to *Sweden*. It was owing to the prudence of *Abſalon*, that the fine province of *Schonen* was not rendered a deſart by *Canute*, who with difficulty was prevailed with to call an aſſembly of the ſtates, where ſome of the moſt oppreſſive laws were repealed, and others moderated. This inſurrection being quaſhed, the emperor *Barbaroſſa* applied in a menacing manner to *Canute*, to let him know that he was a ſubject of the empire, and that he expected to receive his homage. *Canute*, by *Abſalon*'s advice, diſdained the ſummons, and *Barbaroſſa* encouraged *Bogiſlaus*, prince of the *Vandals*, to invade *Denmark*. He was oppoſed and defeated by *Abſalon*, after he had entered *Denmark* with a fleet and army, which threatened an entire conqueſt of the kingdom. *Canute* was then in *Jutland*, and *Abſalon*, without giving the *Vandals* time to breathe, took *Wollin* and ſeveral other towns.

His difference with The defeated invaſion had been planned with ſuch vigour and art, that *Barbaroſſa* was daily expecting to ſee *Canute* on his knees before his throne, when he received information that *Bogiſlaus*

Bogiſlaus had been again defeated; that *Canute* had ſubdued the greateſt part of his country, and that he had been forced to ſue for peace. He accordingly paid the crown of *Denmark* a vaſt ſum to defray the expences of the war, and conſented to do homage to *Canute* for his principality. The great ſums advanced by *Bogiſlaus* after ſo many defeats, confirms the conjecture we have already made, that the country of the *Vandals* was the rendezvous of the pirates, who, about this time, were the terror of all *Europe*. *Canute* having made this large acquiſition, applied himſelf to regulate the affairs of his government, both in church and ſtate; but about the year 1188, he received a freſh alarm from *Barbaroſſa*, demanding his preſence at the marriage of his ſon, the duke of *Suabia*, with *Canute*'s ſiſter, which had been concluded upon in the late reign, and a ſum of money, which *Waldemar* had promiſed as her portion. *Canute* diſregarded the ſummons, well knowing the power which lords paramount claimed over their vaſſals, when maſters of their perſons; upon which, *Barbaroſſa* ſent home the princeſs with a noble retinue, a virgin bride to her brother's court. *Barbaroſſa* was at this time engaged in the cruſade, and in no condition to execute his menaces; ſo that we are told that *Canute* ravaged his frontiers with impunity. Religion, however, would not ſuffer him to continue his hoſtilities againſt a prince, who had taken upon him the croſs; but about the year 1192, a war broke out between *Canute* and *Waldemar*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*, the ſon of *Canute*, who had been murdered by *Swen*, at *Roſchild*; conſequently his family pretenſions were very high.

the emperor. 1188. Vol. VIII. p. 455. 1192.

Canute's power was, at this time, ſo great, that the biſhop found little difficulty in forming a ſtrong confederacy againſt him. The parties were *Adolphus*, earl of *Holſtein*; *Bernard*, duke of *Saxony*; and the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who were to attack *Denmark* by land, while the king of *Norway* was to furniſh the biſhop with a fleet to act by ſea. Before the confederates entered upon hoſtilities, *Waldemar* offered to refer his claim to the ſtates of *Denmark*; but he was ſeized and impriſoned, and the confederacy came to nothing. The fame of *Canute* was now very great, and he married his ſiſter *Ingeburga* to *Philip* II. of *France*, about the year 1194; but, under various pretences, ſhe was divorced. It is ſaid, that in conſequence of this marriage, *Canute* reſigned to *Philip* all his family claims upon the crown of *England*. In 1195, *Canute* aſſeſſed his ſubjects in their ſeveral proportions of ſhipping; a practice that was common among the northern powers, and prevailed even in *England*. According to the *Daniſh* hiſtorians, the fleet, conſiſting of *Canute*'s immediate ſubjects, amounted to ſix hundred and ſeventy ſhips, beſides thoſe fitted out by the lords of his great fiefs. We are, however, ignorant how many men every ſhip carried. But ſuppoſing about thirty men at an average, which is thought to be neareſt the truth, *Canute*'s fleet carried above twenty thouſand ſeamen. Be

A confederacy againſt him. Vol. X. p. 468. 1194. 1195.

that as it will, it certainly ſtruck terror into the neighbouring ſtates of *Pruſſia* and *Vandalia*, who had renounced chriſtianity, but reſumed it upon the ſight of this great armament. It is likewiſe probable, that *Canute* had in view, at this time, the checking the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who at the head of the *Teutonic* knights, had conquered from thoſe *Pagans* ſeveral provinces, which *Canute* looked upon to be ancient fiefs of his
1198. crown. We accordingly find him, in 1198, at war with that marquis, who defeated him both by ſea and land, and took his admiral, the biſhop of *Roſchild*, priſoner. The marquis, after that, invaded *Mecklenburgh*, *Pomerania*, *Vandalia*, and other territories belonging to *Canute*'s allies; but the latter heading his armies in perſon, forced him to make peace upon terms which the marquis thought diſhonourable. Next year he was joined by *Adolphus*, duke of *Holſtein*; but *Canute* committed the management of the war to his brother *Waldemar*, who totally defeated the duke, ſtript him of his dominions, and drove him to *Hamburgh*, which *Waldemar* likewiſe took. *Adolphus* being then obliged to ſubmit to the terms preſcribed by his conqueror, he preſerved him from the rage of the inhabitants, who had ſuffered by his depredations; but this peace was no ſooner made than broken by *Adolphus*, for which he was ſent priſoner to the fortreſs of *Seburg*.

1201. Death of archbiſhop *Abſalon* and *Saxo Grammaticus*.

About the year 1201, *Denmark* loſt two of its ornaments, the famous archbiſhop *Abſalon* and *Saxo Grammaticus*. The former was one of the beſt patriots as well as generals of his age, and was the patron of the latter, while he was writing the hiſtory of *Denmark* in a latin ſtile, which for its elegance and purity would do honour to the moſt enlightened age. Next year, *Canute* was maſter of all ducal *Holſtein*; and his brother *Waldemar*, to whoſe valour he owed his late acquiſitions, was rewarded with great part of them, and likewiſe with the duchy of *Sleſwick*. Soon after, *Canute* died with the character of a diſcerning prince in the choice of his miniſters and generals, who raiſed his power even beyond that of his father.

Waldemar II.

Canute was ſucceeded by his brother *Waldemar* II. who had lately married *Ingeburga*, daughter to the duke of *Brunſwick*. His perſon and diſpoſitions ſtrongly reſembled thoſe of his father, whom he excelled as a warrior, and equalled as a legiſlator. He forced *Adolphus* of *Holſtein*, to reſign his claim to that duchy, and the poſſeſſion of *Hamburgh* and *Lawenberg*. He ſet at liberty *Waldemar*, biſhop of *Sleſwick*, whom we have already mentioned, after an impriſonment of fourteen years. He aſſiſted *Swercher*, king of *Sweden*, againſt his competitor *Eric*; but his general, *Peter*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, was defeated by *Eric*, who put to the ſword above fifteen thouſand *Danes*. We are informed, that *Waldemar* had ſome remorſe for the aſſiſtance he afforded to *Swercher*, who was no better than an uſurper and a murderer, and ſoon after he gave his ſiſter in
1205. marriage to *Eric*, the true king of *Sweden*. In the year 1205,

Waldemar's

Waldemar's first queen being dead without issue, he married the king of *Bohemia*'s daughter, and he was employed in reducing his *Pagan* neighbours, and fortifying his frontiers, till the year 1211, when he built the city of *Stralsund*, which soon became a flourishing place. In the same year, *Waldemar*'s queen died, after bringing into the world two princes; and the castle of *Droningholm* was built to her memory. Two years after, we find *Waldemar* engaged in an expedition against the *Pomeranians*; and he obtained from the emperor *Frederic* II. the investiture of his *German* conquests, which he at last consented to hold as fiefs of the empire; a condition which his father never could be brought to submit to. *Waldemar* thought they were too valuable to be hazarded for a ceremonious punctilio, and soon after took *Stetin*, and obliged the earl of *Schwerin* to become his tributary. In 1214, disputes broke out afresh between him and *Waldemar*, late bishop of *Sleswick*, who had violently thrust himself into the see of *Bremen*. The king entered the *Elbe* with a fleet, and took *Stade*, but lost *Hamburgh*, which was taken by the *Germans*, who were allies to the bishop. In 1216, *Waldemar* recovered *Hamburgh*, and made a considerable progress in the *Lower Saxony*. In 1217, the states of *Denmark* agreed that his son, prince *Waldemar*, should be associated with him in the government, which he accordingly was, under the title of *Waldemar* III. Next year he was alarmed by an invasion of the northern *Pagans*, who had broken into *Livonia*, then belonging to his crown. *Waldemar* marched against them in person, and though, at first, he and his troops were daunted at the numbers and dreadful appearance of the barbarians, yet being encouraged by his bishops to give them battle, they were defeated with immense slaughter.

1211. 1214. War upon the *Elbe*. 1216. 1217.

We shall not detain the reader by retailing the calculations which were made at this time, of the vast revenues of *Denmark*, and its dependent provinces; because besides their being incredible, we have no adequate idea of the coin, weights, measures, and other matters that enter into the account. The estimate of the troops which *Waldemar* kept on foot, is more probable. They are said to amount to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand fighting men; and his navy consisted of fourteen hundred ships of all sizes. It was no wonder, if by the assistance of this great force, which was exclusive of garrisons, *Waldemar* over-awed all his neighbours. Of those, one of the most powerful was the count of *Schwerin*, whose history is very particular. He is said to have undertaken an expedition to the *Holy Land*, and before his departure, to have recommended the protection of his wife to *Waldemar*, who violated his trust in a criminal manner. Some writers think that the count had no other motive than ambition for his conduct. It is certain, that upon his return from his expedition, he paid a visit to *Waldemar*, who was taking the diversion of hunting in the isle of *Luith*, and found means to carry him and his son off pri-

Great power of *Denmark* at this time.

Waldemar made prisoner and released.

ſoners in a ſmall veſſel he had provided for that purpoſe. *Waldemar* was ſhut up in the caſtle of *Schwerin*, but for how many years is uncertain; ſome ſay eight. The regard his ſubjects had for his perſon, deterred them from employing violent means for his deliverance, leſt he had been put to death. They offered a large ranſom, but it was rejected. At laſt they applied to the emperor and the pope. The former offered to interpoſe, if *Waldemar* would hold the crown of *Denmark* as a fief of the empire, and reſign all his *German* conqueſts to the count of *Schwerin*, and the pope inſiſted upon his holding his crown from the holy ſee. *Waldemar*, at firſt, rejected all thoſe conditions; but finding the ſtates of his kingdom earneſt upon his accepting them, and that his enemies were forming an aſſociation to force him, he conſented to a treaty. It continued ſtill to meet with great difficulties through *Waldemar*'s obſtinacy; and in the mean time, he loſt *Holſtein*, *Hamburgh*, and his country on the north-ſide of the *Elbe*. Thoſe loſſes rendered him more pliable, and his ſubjects, by advancing large ſubſidies to the princes of the empire, procured his liberty; but not till after he had ſworn to make no attempts for recovering what he had loſt, or to be revenged of the count of *Schwerin*.

1226. He is defeated.

The *Daniſh* hiſtorians have fixed *Waldemar*'s releaſe to the year 1226, about which time, he likewiſe loſt the city of *Lubec*. *Waldemar* having recovered his liberty, diſclaimed the conditions that had been impoſed upon him, and being abſolved from his oath by the pope, he invaded *Holſtein* with a great army, but was defeated by the confederates, who conſiſted of the dukes of *Saxony* and *Holſtein*; the counts of *Schwerin*, *Oldenburgh*, and *Mecklenburgh*; the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, the biſhop of *Lubec*, and many other noblemen, who had recovered their eſtates by the late treaty. At this diſtance of time, it is difficult to decide upon the juſtice of this quarrel on the part of *Waldemar*; but there is ſome reaſon for believing that he brought his misfortunes upon himſelf, by his unmeaſurable ambition and love of power.

Waldemar had been wounded in the eye in the late battle, and had nothing now to truſt to but the affections of his faithful *Danes*, in which he was not deceived. He recruited his army and renewed his hoſtilities with various ſucceſs. In the year 1228, the duke of *Saxony* took *Lawenburg*, after a long ſiege; and, by that time, *Waldemar* grew more tractable, and for ſome years lived in tranquillity. In 1231, his ſon and aſſociate *Waldemar* III. was killed by accident as he was hunting; but his place was ſupplied by *Eric*, the ſecond ſon, who was next in ſucceſſion. His two brothers were *Abel* and *Canute*; the former had the duchy of *Jutland* aſſigned to him in ſovereignty, and the latter, that of *Bleking*. Thoſe ſeparate appointments broke the peace of *Waldemar* and his family. His ſons now looked upon themſelves as independent, and formed connections with princes who had been his bittereſt enemies, for *Eric* married

1228.

1231.

married the duke of *Saxony*'s daughter, as *Abel* did the duke of *Holſtein*'s. The ſiege of *Lubec*, which he undertook in conjunction with *Adolphus*, duke of *Holſtein*, happened this year; but the noble defence made by the *Lubeckers*, obliged him to raiſe it, with vaſt loſs. This expedition encouraged the *Muſcovites* to invade *Denmark* in *Waldemar*'s abſence; but his ſon *Eric*, in the Chronicle of *Denmark*, which he compoſed, informs us, that upon his return he defeated them, and reannexed *Livonia* to his crown. The reſt of *Waldemar*'s reign was ſpent in ſettling the feudal conſtitutions of his country, which were highly favourable to the ſtates and nobility, but reduced the common people to a condition little better than ſlavery. This great work being completed, *Waldemar* died, in 1241, with the character of his having experienced each reverſe of fortune, and of his having repaired, by his valour and prudence, the loſſes he had ſuſtained through accident and ambition. The money paid for his ranſom is ſaid to have amounted to forty-five thouſand marks of ſilver.

his death and character. 1241.

Eric the Vth was twenty-five years of age at the time of his father's death, but ſoon found himſelf engaged in quarrels with his neareſt relations. Refuſing to ſubmit to the terms that had been extorted from his father, he invaded the dominions of *Adolphus*, count of *Livonia*, by ſome called count *Schawenberg*, who was now retired to a monaſtery. The duke of *Sleſwick* took part with his father-in-law's family, demoliſhed *Copenhagen*, and plundered his brother's coaſts. For ſome time the war raged with fury, till their mutual friends agreed that the government of *Holſtein* ſhould be put in the hands of its natural princes, who were then in *France*. The tranquillity which this expedient effected, was but ſhort lived, for *Abel* refuſed to do homage to his brother for his duchy. This war being compromiſed, a freſh one broke out between *Eric* and the *Lubeckers*, who were ſo well ſupported by the *Holſtein* and ſome *German* princes, that he was obliged to grant them a peace. Beſides *Eric*'s two brothers whom we have already named, he had a third, *Chriſtopher*, who had been made duke of *Falſtre*, and thoſe prepoſterous partitions of territory made by *Waldemar*, proved of the worſt conſequence to his family; for not only the duke of *Sleſwick*, but the dukes of *Bleking* and *Falſtre*, refuſed to hold their dominions of their elder brother. This produced a civil war, in which *Eric* was victorious; for he took the duke of *Bleking* priſoner, and forced the duke of *Falſtre* to ſubmit. The duke of *Sleſwick* was delivered by the *Lubeckers*, and the war was renewed with greater fury than ever about the year 1248. After both parties had committed prodigious ravages, the king gave a total defeat to the duke of *Sleſwick*, who was again taken priſoner, as was the duke of *Falſtre*; but the latter recovered his liberty, by conſenting to do homage. After this, *Henry Meldorp*, *Eric*'s general, reduced all *Sleſwick*, but its duke, by means of his confederates, quickly recovered it, and

Eric the Vth's troubleſome reign. 1248.

and soon after lost it again. After various events, the bishop of *Lunden* reconciled the brothers. The duke of *Bleking* consented to do homage for all his estate, and the duke of *Sleswick* for *South Jutland*, and mutual hostages were given for the due execution of the treaty.

He is murdered by his brother

An expedition against the pagans, or infidels, was a sure resource for the princes of those times when they wanted money. The public tranquillity being restored, *Eric*, on pretence of propagating *Christianity* among the barbarians of the north, obtained from his states a tax upon every plough in his dominions, called plock, or plog-penning, a word which historians have added to this prince's name. This imposition produced a revolt of the people of *Schonen*, and it was with great difficulty that *Eric* escaped from their fury, but at last he beat them in a battle, forced them to pay the tax, and carried his victorious arms into *Livonia*. From thence he was recalled by *Abel* and the princes of *Holstein*, who refused to execute the late treaty, unless they were put in possession of the town of *Rensburg*. The war once more broke out, and while *Eric* was endeavouring to prevail with his brother *Abel* to stop the farther effusion of blood, he was decoyed on board a ship, and murdered by *Godmund*, a profligate prelate, who had been banished out of *Denmark*. The misfortunes of this prince were owing to his father's impolitic divisions of his estates. In other respects, he is highly commended for his virtues and abilities

Abel,

There is reason for believing that this prince's guilt in murdering his brother, was concealed from the public, for he was recognized king by the states of *Denmark*. At first he pretended that *Eric*'s death was owing to the vessel being overset by the crowds that were on board, but the king's mangled body being found, destroyed that pretence. *Abel* then alledged that *Eric* had been assassinated by some ruffians; and being master of great treasures, he distributed them with such success, especially among the inferior clergy, that his crime was forgotten. It is said, that upon opening his brother's will, and finding himself named as his successor, in the most affectionate terms, he was stung with remorse for what he had done. His punishment was encreased by the detestation in which he was held among the neighbouring princes. The archbishop of *Cologne* made his son a prisoner in his way through his dominions to *Denmark*, and detained him captive four years; nor have we any great reason to believe *Abel*'s remorse to have been sincere. He continued the oppressive taxes, till his people, especially the *Friesianders* and *Ditsmarsians*, arose in rebellion against him, and he was killed in battle in 1252.

who is killed in battle.

1252.

Christopher the 1st.

The states of *Denmark* were, at this time, very powerful, through the unpopularity of *Abel*, whose son was still a prisoner at *Cologne*, and they appointed his brother *Christopher* to fill up the throne. Soon after his accession, he fell at variance with

with *Meldorp*, who was in poſſeſſion of ſeveral towns, by way of mortgage, for the large arrears that were owing for his ſervices. *Meldorp*, at firſt, was ſucceſsful, but *Chriſtopher* recruiting his armies, drove him out of *Denmark*, and razed to the ground the cities in diſpute. After this, *Chriſtopher* was engaged in various wars with the *Holſteiners* and the *Norvegians*, who were aſſiſted by the *Lubeckers*, the *Brandenburghers*, *Meldorp*, and ſeveral of the *German* princes. He was at laſt compelled to reſtore the duchy of *Sleſwick* to his nephews, about the year 1254, but they were forced, on their part, to renounce all their right of ſucceſſion to the crown, which was ſettled upon *Chriſtopher* and his family. This accommodation did not prevent *Chriſtopher* from being terribly embroiled with the biſhop of *Roſchild*, who had thruſt himſelf into the ſee of *Lunden*, without his conſent. That quarrel ſeems to have terminated to the advantage of the biſhop, for we perceive that *Chriſtopher*, ſoon after, gave the inveſtiture of *Sleſwick* to his kinſman, biſhop *Waldemar*. About the year 1256, the diſputes between *Chriſtopher* and *Erland*, biſhop of *Roſchild*, were renewed, when *Chriſtopher*, in conſequence of an order from *Rome*, attempted to take poſſeſſion of the chriſtianized part of *Vandalia*. He defeated the inſurgents, but durſt not puniſh *Erland*, who acted in *Schonen* as an independent prince, and diſputed even the temporal power with *Chriſtopher*. The latter called a diet at *Wartemberg*, where he preferred a regular charge of diſobedience and ſedition againſt *Erland*. Though *Chriſtopher* was well ſupported by the ſtates in this proſecution, yet he never durſt come to extremities againſt *Erland*'s perſon. Upon the death of *Waldemar* of *Sleſwick*, *Chriſtopher*, by force, took poſſeſſion of that duchy, and a day was appointed for crowning his ſon *Eric*, and recognizing him as his ſucceſſor. The performance of this ceremony was oppoſed by *Erland*, whoſe intereſt was ſo great among the clergy, that none of them was preſent, excepting one private eccleſiaſtic, in the aſſembly of the ſtates at *Copenhagen*.

1254.

1256.

Chriſtopher ſeizes the duchy of *Sleſwick*.

Chriſtopher perceiving the indignation of the nobility at *Erland*'s behaviour, loſt no time, before the riſing of the diet, in preferring a freſh charge againſt *Erland* for high treaſon, in attempting to alter the ſucceſſion to the crown in favour of *Abel*'s children. The archbiſhop, with one or two of his turbulent brethren, were taken into cuſtody, but others eſcaped; and in conſequence of the treaſonable reſolutions they had come to in a ſynod, they put the kingdom under an interdict. *Chriſtopher* ſequeſtered the revenues of all the eccleſiaſtics, who refuſed to obey the civil power, and applied for juſtice to the court of *Rome*. Before he could obtain any anſwer, the credit of the turbulent biſhops, with the people and the neighbouring princes, was ſuch, that they brought an army into the field, and the diſpute was on the point of being decided by arms, when *Chriſtopher* was poiſoned, as ſome ſay, by a conſecrated hoſt; others think he was murdered; but

He is murdered.

but they agree that he fell by the villany of his rebel eccleſiaſtics; though a third ſet pretend that his death was natural. The conſtant ſtruggle he maintained againſt his powerful, but inſolent clergy, ſhews him to have been a prince of great firmneſs and magnanimity; but their turbulence prevented his doing much for the happineſs of his people.

Eric the VIIth. Upon the acceſſion of *Eric* VII. *Jarmerci*, prince of *Rugen*, by the pope's order, invaded *Denmark*, in order to ſet the archbiſhop of *Lunden* at liberty, defeated the *Danes*, and filled the kingdom with ruin and deſolation. *Eric* was not then of age, and his mother, *Margaret*, acted as regent; but while he was levying forces in *North Jutland*, *Jarmerci* was killed by a nun, who ſtabbed him while he was plundering a monaſtery. This gave ſome breathing time to *Margaret*, and a diet of the ſtates being convened, they ſet the archbiſhop at liberty, but he retired into *Sweden*, from whence he ſent the moſt furious invectives to *Rome*, againſt *Margaret* and the ſtates. They were forced to ſubmit to the imperious archbiſhop, and to replace all the deprived prelates in their ſees. In the mean while, the biſhopric of *Sleſwick* was claimed by *Eric*, brother to the late *Waldemar*, who beat the *Danes*, and took poſſeſſion of it, by the aſſiſtance of the *Holſteiners*. The queen and the young king was made priſoners in the engagement, as was the biſhop of *Sleſwick*; but *Margaret* obtained ſo powerful a friend in *Albert* of *Brandenburgh*, that they all three recovered their liberty. The archbiſhop continued as turbulent as ever, and in the year 1265, the pope's legate ſummoned the king and his mother to appear before him at *Sleſwick*. They were interdicted for not obeying the ſummons; but it appears upon the face of hiſtory, that *Eric* was at laſt obliged to buy his peace of the haughty prelate, who lived till the year 1274.

He and his mother made priſoners, and reſtored.

1265.

Eric, who was now of age, was beginning to enjoy the tranquillity he had ſo dearly bought, when his dominions were invaded by the *Muſcovites* and *Lithuanians*; but they were defeated by the *Daniſh* fleet. He was ſoon after involved in a quarrel with *Eric* of *Sleſwick*, who had refuſed him homage; but that duke dying, the king, though he had conquered the greateſt part of the duchy, rather than excite the jealouſy of his neighbours, gave it back to the late duke's ſon.

1277. About the year 1277, *Eric* aſſiſted *Magnus*, duke of *Nicoping*, in obliging his brother *Waldemar*, king of *Sweden*, to do him juſtice. *Eric* and *Magnus* afterwards quarrelled, and the latter invaded *Schonen*. *Eric*, to be revenged of his ingratitude, joined his forces with thoſe of *Waldemar*, but their army was defeated by *Uffo*, general to *Magnus*. *Magnus*, after this,

1278. compromiſed matters with *Eric*, who about the year 1278, defeated an army of the *Norvegians*, who invaded his dominions. Their quarrel was made up by the interpoſition of *Magnus*, and *Eric* once more applied himſelf to the civil affairs of his government, in which he made a conſiderable progreſs,

greſs, till the year 1282, when he loſt his excellent mother *Margaret*. Her death was an irreparable loſs to *Eric*, who was now involved in freſh quarrels with the *Norvegians* and the neighbouring princes. Scarcely had he reſettled his affairs, by making the duke of *Sleſwick* priſoner, and forcing him to ſubmit to his authority, when he was murdered in *Jutland*. It appears that the earl of *Halland*, one of the moſt powerful of the *Daniſh* noblemen, was at the head of the conſpiracy, which conſiſted of nine perſons, and that *Eric* was partly the author of his own diſmal fate, by the luſt and rapine he exerciſed upon the wives and eſtates of his nobility. 1282. Death of the queen mother. *Eric* murdered.

We have already ſeen that the duchy of *Sleſwick* had been reſtored to *Waldemar*, the late duke's ſon, and as being chief prince of the blood, he was choſen guardian to young *Eric*'s perſon, his mother, in conjunction with the ſenate, having the government of the kingdom. *Waldemar*'s firſt care was to ſecure his royal pupil againſt the conſpirators who had murdered his father; and full proofs of their crime being obtained in a diet held at *Neoburg*, they were attainted of high treaſon, and their eſtates confiſcated. They fled to *Norway*, and a piratical war between the two kingdoms ſucceeded. *Haquin* was then king of *Norway*, and inſiſted upon indemnification for the conſpirators, which was refuſed by *Eric*, who married the king of *Sweden*'s daughter, as his ſiſter did the ſame king's ſon. Thoſe double matches did not put an end to the war, which deſolated the ſea coaſts of both kingdoms, till the year 1293, when *Stigot*, who was the ſoul of the confederacy, died. *Haquin* ſupplied his room, and found means to incenſe the court of *Rome* againſt *Eric*, which multiplied the latter's enemies to ſuch a degree, that his own brother, *Chriſtopher*, was of their number. *Eric*, however, ſeems to have acted with great firmneſs, and was then in ſuch credit with the neighbouring ſtates, that the *Lubeckers* agreed to put themſelves under his protection, and to pay him an annual ſubſidy of ſeven hundred and fifty marks in ſilver. Various were the tentatives made uſe of by the friends of both parties, to bring about a peace, and ſeveral interviews were held by *Eric* and *Haquin* for that purpoſe, but they came to nothing, becauſe *Eric* would not ſuffer the regicides to be parties in the negotiation. It is probable that *Eric* conducted his affairs with great addreſs, as we perceive that about the year 1302, the pope took off the interdict from his kingdom, and *Eric* found himſelf at liberty to carry a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law, *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, who had been dethroned by his brothers. His aſſiſtance proved ineffectual, through the indeciſion of his meaſures; and we find *Birger*, in the year 1308, living an exile in *Denmark*. *Eric* raiſed ſixty thouſand men to replace him on his throne, and beſieged *Nicoping*; but through his trifling credulity, and his entering upon perpetual negotiations, nothing effectual was done. *Eric*, about this time, quarrelled with his brother *Chriſtopher*, who 1293. War with *Norway*. 1302. 1308. *Eric* the VIIIth, or the Pious.

was justified by the states of *Denmark*; but *Eric* found means, at last, to make an honourable peace with *Haquin* of *Norway*, in which *Birger*, who was now restored to his kingdoms, was included.

King of *Sweden* restored.

1310. The year 1310 brought complete tranquillity to *Denmark*, which must in a great measure have been owing to *Eric*'s address, though we know not the particulars. Next year, the *Rostockers* refused to admit the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to celebrate his marriage in their city, which was besieged by him on the land side, and by the king of *Denmark* by sea. The stubborn islanders at first, ruined his works, and ravaged his coasts; but *Eric* returning to the siege, and by building two forts at the mouth of the *Warnow*, he reduced the inhabitants to such distress, that they massacred their senators, and submitted to their mercy. *Eric*, who was obliged to return to *Denmark*, referred them to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, but desired that he would treat them with lenity and justice. He accordingly, not chusing to drive a people already exasperated to despair, was contented to impose upon them a pecuniary mulct. Next year, a dreadful conspiracy against *Eric*'s life, in which some of his chief prelates were concerned, was discovered. The lay conspirators being convicted, were broken upon the wheel, but *Eric* pardoned the prelates, because he durst not punish them.

Rostock reduced.

1313. The year 1313 was employed by *Eric* in suppressing some insurrections in *Jutland*. Next year he punished the people of *Stralsund*, who were protected by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, for harrassing the subjects of his ally, the prince of *Rugen*. *Eric*'s brother *Christopher* joined with the marquis; but *Eric*'s moderation at last brought about a peace, though we are told he had been inactive and unsuccessful in the field. *Christopher* not being included in this peace, retired to *Sweden*; but *Eric* falling ill, and having no children of his own, though he had been the father of fourteen, pardoned him, and appointed him his successor, on his death-bed.

Death of *Eric*.

1319. He died in 1319, leaving behind him the character of having been a more fortunate negotiator than he was a warrior.

Christopher II. The nomination of *Christopher* by his brother, did not prevent a violent struggle between him and *Eric*, duke of *Slefwick*; but *Christopher* succeeded in the contest, as is said, by the force of corruption. Before he mounted the throne, he was obliged to sign an instrument in the nature of the *English Magna Charta*, by which all clergymen were exempted from paying taxes, and from being amenable to civil courts; foreigners were excluded from all places of power and trust; all outlawries were reversed, and all oppressive taxes abolished. By the same instrument, the powers of the nobility were confirmed and enlarged, and those of the crown cramped and abridged. All the garrisons that had been built in *North Jutland*, excepting three, were demolished. In short, none but a mean spirited prince would have received a crown upon the terms

terms of this capitulation; for though it bounded the power of the king over the common people, yet it left them to the mercy of the tyrannical landholders, who held them in a moſt deplorable ſtate of ſlavery. About the year 1320, *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, fled from his rebel ſubjects to *Eric*, who, two years after, prevailed with the ſtates to aſſociate his ſon, *Eric* the 9th, with him in the government. His neglect of the capitulation he ſigned, ſoon raiſed up a ſtrong oppoſition, conſiſting of his great men, and all *Denmark* was immediately filled with blood and ſlaughter. Having raiſed an army, *Chriſtopher* thought himſelf ſtrong enough to re-eſtabliſh the taxes he had aboliſhed, particularly that of plog-penning, and to renew thoſe upon the clergy, whoſe privileges he likewiſe invaded, in utter diſregard to his capitulation. A coalition between the clergy and nobility was formed againſt him, and they publiſhed a manifeſto, by which they withdrew their allegiance to him, on account of his tyranny and perjury. *Eric* finding this aſſociation too firm to be diſſolved by treaty, ſent his ſon, at the head of an army, againſt the inſurgents, but they took him priſoner, and obliged his troops to lay down their arms. *Chriſtopher*, upon this, fled to *Germany* with his other two ſons, *Waldemar* and *Otho*, and his treaſure. We are to read the hiſtory of this abdication with great allowances, as the accounts we have of it came from *Chriſtopher*'s declared enemies; for it is certain that foreign princes were ſo far from thinking him guilty, that they made ſtrong efforts to reſtore him to his throne. The conſpirators, on the other hand, applied to *Waldemar* the young duke of *Sleſwick*, but in a very irregular way, as no aſſembly of the ſtates was called, and offered him their crown, which he accepted. Being not then above twelve or thirteen years of age, he was ſo immoderate in his bounties to the clergy, and the nobles, who had raiſed him to royalty, that *Denmark* was ſoon full of faction, and at laſt, of hoſtilities. Thoſe who had not been rewarded, ſought to make themſelves conſiderable by their rebellion againſt *Waldemar*; and while thoſe diſturbances continued, the exiled *Chriſtopher* made ſuch a party among the malecontents and the princes of the empire, that he was ſoon in a condition to recover his right by arms. He was greatly aſſiſted by the unpopularity which the young king, and his uncle *Gerhard*, who acted as firſt miniſter, contracted, by employing *Germans* in almoſt all their civil poſts; and even many of the clergy declared for *Chriſtopher*.

1320.

dethroned

The firſt meaſure for the reſtoration, was the freeing king *Eric* from his impriſonment; and then a diet being called, *Chriſtopher* conſented to a general pardon, after which he remounted the throne. The affairs of his government were then moſt miſerably perplexed, through the different claims of thoſe who had contributed to his reſtoration. A prudent management ſoon made up all breaches, though not before the king had almoſt mortgaged the whole of his crown lands to his

and reſtored.

His miſconduct,

his friends, especially to the earl of *Vagria*. No sooner was *Christopher* resettled on the throne, than he forgot all his moderate maxims; and aspiring at despotism, even over the ecclesiasticks, his kingdom was put under an interdict. His friends, however, particularly the earl of *Vagria*, stuck by him, and his rival, *Waldemar*, accepted of a compensation for his royal titles, while his uncle, *Gerhard*, received the investiture of the island of *Fionia*, and became *Christopher*'s feudatory. *Gerhard* and the earl of *Vagria* being now the most powerful subjects in *Denmark*, soon quarrelled, and *Christopher* took the part of the latter. *Gerhard* defeated them both, in a pitched battle near *Gottorp*, but used his success with such moderation, that peace was again re-established, and *Christopher* continued on the throne, but his son, *Eric*, died of the wounds he had received in the late battle.

1332. About the year 1332, a fresh rebellion broke out in *Schonen*, where the inhabitants put to death three hundred *Holsteiners*, and made a gift of their crown to *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, who purchased all the *Danish* dominions that had been mortgaged to the earl of *Vagria*. After this terrible blow, the person and authority of *Christopher* seems to have fallen into utter contempt. We are told that he was seized and made prisoner by *Hennick Bred*, and *John Ellemose*, two dependents of *Gerhard*, who ordered him to be set at liberty, but that the shock of imprisonment affected his spirits so much, that it deprived him of his life in the year 1333. His memory is hated in *Denmark* to this day, on account of the ruinous concessions he made in his adversity, and his tyranny and violence in his prosperity.

and death.

1333.

Interregnum. The crown of *Denmark* was so much reduced when *Christopher* died, that the possession of it seemed not worthy of a competition. The great nobles were employed each in improving his own estate, and by a kind of tacit consent, their country enjoyed tranquillity for three years. We may add to this, that the prodigious expence of blood and treasure in the late disturbances, disabled them from renewing the public commotions. Notwithstanding this, the crown was a desirable object, as all its cessions had been made with a reservation of superiority, and a quit rent to the crown, so that the prerogative was still very strong, in cases of rebellion, especially if the king had prudence enough to be backed by his states.

1337. War in *Jutland*. We have already seen that *Christopher* left two sons, *Waldemar* and *Otho*. The former was at this time in *Germany*, and the latter made some efforts at the head of his family friends, to dispossess *Gerhard* of *Jutland*; but he lost his liberty in the attempt, and was confined in *Sedgburg* castle. *Gerhard*, upon this, offered to assist his nephew, the duke of *Sleswick*, in remounting the throne of *Denmark*, provided he would exchange his duchy of *Sleswick* for the province of *North Jutland*. The bargain was struck, but the *Jutlanders* refused to

to ſubmit; upon which *Gerhard* treated them like beaſts of burden, who have no will of their own, and might be tranſferred from one proprietor to another. *Nicholas Norevi*, a perſon of great reſolution, with no more than forty horſe, ſurprized *Gerhard* in his head quarters at *Randerſhuſen*, and after killing him with his own hands, he fought his way through the *Holſtein* guards, and eſcaped. He then collected together a body of brave *Danes*, attacked and took the places that were ſtill in poſſeſſion of the foreigners, but was killed in a victory which he obtained over the *Holſteiners*.

Waldemar the IIId.

The ſucceſs of the brave *Norevi* inſpired other *Danes* to take up arms. They found that all the meaſures they had taken againſt *Chriſtopher* had turned againſt themſelves, and they caſt their eyes upon his eldeſt ſon, *Waldemar*, who was ſtill in *Germany*. *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, on the other hand, being ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Schonen*, ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the holy ſee, to obtain the reſt of *Denmark*, which he offered to hold of the pope. The affections of the *Danes*, however, centered in the perſon of *Waldemar*, and he was favoured by the emperor, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. *Waldemar* of *Sleſwick* was in no condition to oppoſe the torrent, and likewiſe the ſtrong confederacy of *German* princes, formed in the other *Waldemar*'s favour, and a compromiſe was agreed to on all hands; by which *Waldemar*, who by this time had been declared king of *Denmark*, obtained his brother's liberty, and conſented to marry the duke of *Sleſwick*'s ſiſter. *Waldemar* having thus mounted the throne, confirmed the privileges of all his people, and applied himſelf to remove the miſeries that had been introduced during the late interregnum. In this he was greatly aſſiſted by the ſenſe his people had of their paſt miſeries, and he even made a conſiderable progreſs in bringing the ſons of *Gerhard* and his other great noblemen to part, upon very moderate terms, with the crown lands they poſſeſſed. Even the clergy taxed themſelves for the relief of the public, but the earl of *Vagria* ſtill kept poſſeſſion of his eſtates, and *Waldemar* beſieged *Calemburg*. The earl was ſupported by the *Holſteiners* and his other allies, and he defeated the king, but ſoon after their differences were referred to arbitration, by which *Waldemar* came to the poſſeſſion of *Calemburg*.

Civil wars of *Denmark*.

Succeſſes of *Waldemar*.

All the public ſpirited efforts of *Waldemar* could not clear his kingdom of the *Holſteiners*, though the *Danes* made ſeveral brave ſtruggles for that purpoſe, eſpecially one under the ſon of the brave *Norevi*, who, like his father, loſt his life gloriouſly fighting for his country. About the year 1342, *Waldemar* found himſelf under a neceſſity of entering into a convention with the princes of *Holſtein*; but it was of no long ſtanding, for the rooted averſion which the two people entertained for each other, renewed the war in all quarters, with inexpreſſible fury. *Waldemar* was obliged to temporize with all his neighbours, but eſpecially with *Magnus*, king of *Swe-*

1342.

den, who had endeared the *Schoeneners* to his government. The
1343. year 1343, and the following, were ſpent by *Waldemar* in his endeavours to recover his crown lands, and in ſome diſputes
1344. he had with the clergy; but in 1344, his government was greatly ſtrengthened by the birth of a ſon. He was ſtill too weak to attack either the *Holſteiners* or the earl of *Vagria*; and employed his arms in reducing the *Frieſlanders* to their duty. Next year, *Waldemar* gained a great point in concluding an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the duke of *Sleſwick*, whom the *Holſtein* princes, for that reaſon, treacherouſly decoyed into their power, and renewed their hoſtilities againſt the ſubjects of *Waldemar*, who forced them to deliver up to him the iſland of *Laaland* for eight thouſand marks. After this, *Waldemar* took a religious turn, made an expenſive, but fruitleſs expedition, to convert, by force of arms, the *Pruſſians* into *Chriſtians*, and ſold the fine province of *Eſthonia* to the *Teutonic* knights, becauſe they profeſſed to be the cham-
1346. pions of religion. In 1346, he built ſeveral religious houſes, and though he was then threatened with a rebellion by the earl of *Vagria*, he undertook, and actually executed a ridiculous pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, the expences of which were defrayed by the purchaſe-money of *Eſthonia*, to the great diſſatisfaction of his ſubjects. In this pilgrimage he was attended by ſome of his chief nobility; and upon his return, he freed his crown from ſeveral of its mortgages, partly by force and
1348. partly by compromiſes; but in the year 1348, his dominions
A plague in *Denmark.* were viſited with a dreadful plague, which, at the ſame time, deſolated the other kingdoms of *Europe*. *Waldemar* had been obliged, for the redemption of his mortgages, to raiſe three hundred thouſand marks; but that being far from ſufficient to diſcharge the whole, he laid before the ſtates of his kingdom an exact account of the expenditure of the money, and offered them the diſpoſal of the balance. This open manner of proceeding, won the hearts of his ſubjects ſo much, that they offered to enable him to redeem the iſle of *Schonen* from the king of *Sweden*. The two monarchs had an interview upon that head, and not agreeing, *Waldemar* was preparing to aſſert
An impoſtor. his right by arms, but he was obliged to divert them to the aſſiſtance of his brother-in-law, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, againſt an
Vol. IX. impoſtor, who, as we have already ſeen, pretended to be the
p. 35. marquis of *Brandenburg*. This was an undertaking more generous than prudent in *Waldemar*, who was ſhut up and beſieged by the duke of *Mecklenburg*, in *Stargard*, and muſt have been taken priſoner, had he not been relieved by an army of *Brandenburghers*. At laſt the impoſtor was obliged to diſappear, and the marquiſate of *Brandenburgh* was given to *Romulus*, its true heir.

An expedition into *Germany.* The emperor, *Charles* the IVth, would willingly have revenged himſelf for the concern that *Waldemar* took in this affair; but the latter ſtrengthened himſelf, by making a freſh alliance with the crown of *Poland*, and renewing his engage-

ments

ments with the *German* princes. About this time the dukedom of *Halland* fell by death to *Waldemar*, who annexed it to his crown; and in the year 1351, *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, being depoſed by his ſubjects, took refuge in *Schonen*, where he applied to *Waldemar* for aſſiſtance. *Waldemar* was at this time engaged in a diſpute with the nobility of *Jutland* and the princes of *Holſtein*, which he found means to accommodate, and would willingly have aſſiſted *Magnus*, if the latter could have been prevailed with to have ceded *Schonen*. *Waldemar*'s differences with his nobility, however, being compromiſed, or rather ſuſpended, *Magnus* and he adjuſted all their differences in a perſonal interview they had together. In 1352, he made an expedition into *Germany*, in which he accommodated all the differences between the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Stetin*, but was guilty of great inhumanities during an irruption he made into *Sclavonia*, where he is accuſed of having cut off the ears and noſes of his priſoners, for no other reaſon that we can find, but becauſe they were not *Chriſtians*. The next year was diſtinguiſhed by the birth of his daughter *Margaret*, who reigned afterwards ſo glorioufly over the three kingdoms of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, and obtained the title of the *Semiramis* of the north. The ſtory of his begetting her upon the perſon of his queen, (whom he had ſhut up in priſon, for her ſuppoſed incontinence) while he thought he was in the arms of one of her women, however improbable it may appear, has been adopted by the *Daniſh* hiſtorians. Before the end of this year, *Waldemar* compromiſed all his differences with the princes of *Holſtein* and his other great feodatories. He ſeems to have made uſe of the reſpite which this procured him, in buying peace of conſcience for his ſins, by extravagant acts of devotion, and by a ridiculous viſit which he this year paid to kiſs the pope's feet at *Avignon*. While he was plunged in this fanaticiſm, the king of *Sweden* created his favourite *Bennet Algoth*, duke of *Halland* and *Schonen*, in breach of the compromiſe that had been made between him and *Waldemar*; and, the ſame year, he publiſhed a general amneſty to all his people, and confirmed their liberties. Though the reaſons are not expreſſed, this was far from quieting the uneaſineſs of the ſtates, who ſuſpected that he was aſpiring to deſpotiſm, and diſliked ſome of the meaſures he took in reannexing ſeveral great fiefs to the crown. Their diſſatisfaction went ſo far, that ſome of them even refuſed to anſwer at the king's tribunal, and one *Nicholas Rond* was killed in reſiſting the royal officers.

1351.

1352.

Remarkable birth of the famous *Margaret*.

The differences between the courts of *Sweden* and *Denmark* ſtill continued, but *Waldemar*, impatient to have them ended, ſent one of his lords to *Stockholm*, with propoſitions on that head. He was arreſted on the road by *Eric*, who was joined with his father *Magnus* in the government of *Sweden*. While *Waldemar* was preparing to chaſtize this inſult, the *Jutlanders*, as uſual, again rebelled, and were backed by the duke of *Sleſwick*.

The *Jutlanders* and *Holſteiners* defeated.

wick. The *Holſteiners*, however, were the only gainers by this inſurrection, for they beat *Waldemar*, and took the town of *Odenſea* in *Fionia*. *Waldemar* levied freſh troops, and though the ſeaſon was then far advanced, he gave a total defeat both to the *Jutlanders* and the *Holſteiners*, and recovered all *Fionia*.

Waldemar reſtores his marine.

It is eaſy to diſcover, by the complexion of the *Daniſh* hiſtory at this time, that treaties and negotiations were matters of conveniency; that *Waldemar*, perhaps with ſome reaſon, thought himſelf little better than a cypher of a king, while his ſubjects held ſuch privileges; that the latter broke out into rebellion the moment they ſaw him embroiled with foreign princes, and that foreign princes commenced hoſtilities upon every diſpute he had with his ſubjects. The conſtant dangers ariſing from ſo undeſirable a ſituation, obliged *Waldemar* to keep a great army on foot, and too much to neglect his marine. About the year 1358, he became ſenſible of this diſadvantage, and equipping ſome ſhips, he would have ſubdued all *Sleſwick*, had he not generouſly diſcontinued hoſtilities, when that ducheſs threw herſelf at his feet, to intercede for her huſband. The duke's enemies about *Waldemar*'s perſon, perſuaded him to renew his hoſtilities, but he loſt a ſquadron of his fleet, which was taken by the peaſants in the port of *Wiſmar*. This loſs did not operate much to the prejudice of *Waldemar*, whoſe forts and armies were in excellent condition, and a general accommodation, to appearance, among all the northern powers, again took place.

1358.

1359. War with *Sweden*.

About the year 1359, queen *Blanche*, wife to *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, a woman whom hiſtory has branded with infamy, perſuaded her huſband to reſign *Schonen*, upon her obtaining certain terms for *Algoth*, to whoſe embraces ſhe had abandoned herſelf; but in this he was oppoſed by his ſon *Eric*, and the war was renewed between the two crowns, which gave the *Jutlanders* an opportunity of again rebelling, in which they were ſeconded by the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, who invaded *Denmark*, and ravaged the coaſts. *Waldemar* made the conqueſt of *Schonen* his chief object, and he once more obtaining poſſeſſion of it from *Magnus*, either by force or perſuaſion, reduced the inhabitants to ſubmit to his authority. In 1360, in a diet held at *Calemburg*, *Waldemar* renewed his capitulation with his ſubjects, and raiſed an army to puniſh the *Swedes* for their rebellion againſt *Magnus*, whoſe ſon *Eric* had been by this time poiſoned by his unnatural mother. *Waldemar*'s depredations in *Sweden* engaged the *Hanſe* towns to make an alliance againſt him, with the king of *Norway*, the *Mecklenburghers* and the *Holſteiners*; the conſequence of which was, that they took and plundered *Hafnia*, now called *Copenhagen*; but *Waldemar* defeated the fleet of the *Lubeckers*. A peace followed, but with no better effect than thoſe which had been already concluded, though *Waldemar*'s daughter *Margaret* was actually eſpouſed to the king of *Norway*. The *Hanſe* towns

1360.

grew again uneasy, and *Waldemar*, ignorant of the vast power attending trade, despised their preparations, till he saw them too formidable to be opposed, and at last he was obliged to accept the terms they prescribed. In 1364, *Waldemar*, who never was fixed in any situation, paid a visit to the imperial court at *Prague*, and we have already seen the vast services he did to the emperor, *Charles* the IVth. Upon his return from *Germany*, in 1365, he found that *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*, had been again deposed by his subjects, who placed his nephew, *Albert*, the second son of the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, upon his throne. *Waldemar* at first took part with *Magnus*, but could not resist the great offers made him by *Albert*, by securing to him the island of *Gothland*, the city of *Wisby*, the fortress of *Helsingburgh*, and many other towns and territories which had been dismembred from *Denmark*. Those great acquisitions served only to renew the troubles of *Albert*. 1364. Vol. IX. p. 38. &c.

Confederacy against *Denmark*.

The restless *Jutlanders* again broke into rebellion, and entered into a confederacy with the *Vandals*, the *Sleswickers*, the *Holsteiners* and the *Mecklenburghers*. At last, *Albert*, the new king of *Sweden*, joined them, and the allies, in fact, agreed among themselves upon a partition of the *Danish* dominions, after they should be conquered. The certainty of so powerful a confederacy, determined *Waldemar*, who perhaps was likewise broken in spirit, upon a very extraordinary expedient, but such as shewed him to be a great master in the affairs of government. He undertook a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in hopes that his enemies, whose views were incompatible with each other, would break among themselves; but in the mean while, he left full powers with his senate to act in his absence. In his journey to *Rome*, he applied to the emperor, who gave him his countenance, which was more than he received from pope *Gregory*. As *Waldemar* had foreseen, the confederates split among themselves; his senate made a better peace than he could have hoped for, and returning to *Denmark*, he concluded a treaty at *Stralsund*, which restored him to the greatest part of the places and territories which he had lost while the confederacy subsisted. The rest of *Waldemar*'s days were spent in a tranquillity he had never before tasted, and he died in 1375. Few princes in history possessed a greater variety of good and bad qualities than *Waldemar* did, but the former certainly preponderated, as the latter consisted chiefly in freaks of devotion, and personal amours.

Waldemar goes to *Rome*.

1375. His death.

Waldemar left behind him two daughters, the eldest, *Ingeburga*, was married to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, by whom she had a son, *Albert*; and the second, *Margaret*, who was then queen of *Norway*, had likewise a son, *Olaus*. The great nobility of *Denmark*, were by no means disposed to shew their power, by breaking into the order of hereditary succession, and through the management of *Margaret*, *Olaus*, who was no more than eleven years of age, was not only declared king, but his mother regent during his minority. This actually

Olaus king.

produced an alliance between the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and *Albert*'s uncle, the king of *Sweden*, and they made preparations for invading *Denmark*. The *Swediſh* fleet was ſhipwrecked, and *Albert* liſtened to terms of an accommodation. *Margaret*'s deputies acknowledged *Albert*'s hereditary right, but denied that the crown of *Denmark* was hereditary, and inſiſted upon the right which the ſtates had to give the crown to the ſon of the ſecond daughter. *Albert* was compelled to acquieſce, and died ſoon after, as did *Haquin*, king of *Norway*, (if he was not dead before) and thus *Olaus* wore both crowns. The prudence of *Margaret* counterbalanced the averſion which the *Danes* had to a union with *Norway*. She confirmed the people in their privileges; ſhe renewed the treaties that had been made during the late reign, and ſhe ſoothed the clergy.

1385. *Olaus*, in 1385, being then of age, received the homage of the ſtates of *Schonen*, but was thought to have committed a great overſight in granting the inveſtiture of the duchy of *Sleſwick*, which had reverted to his crown by the death of the late duke *Henry* without iſſue, to *Gerhard*, one of the princes

His death. of *Holſtein*. *Olaus* died when he was but twenty-two years of age.

Margaret The filling the throne of *Denmark*, eſpecially with a female, was a point of great difficulty, as it had no precedent, but the ſtates gave it to *Margaret*, in ſpite of all her numerous antagoniſts, and the refractory *Jutlanders* were the firſt who gave her their voices; for it is to be remarked, that the ſtates, on this occaſion, were aſſembled provincially, and not collectively. By her exquiſite addreſs and diſſimulation, ſhe brought the clergy entirely over to her party, and even prevailed with the *Norvegians* to follow the example of the *Danes*.

names her ſucceſſor, That ſhe might ſecure her power without ſharing it with a huſband, ſhe named, at the deſire and with the conſent of the ſtates, *Eric* of *Pomerania*, her eldeſt ſiſter's grandſon, to be heir to her crown, if ſhe had no iſſue of her own. The naming *Eric* to the ſucceſſion, ſerved only to rouſe his grandfather's, *Henry* of *Mecklenburgh*'s ambition, and he confederated with his brother *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, to dethrone her. *Margaret*, who had, by this time, fixed her eyes upon the crown of *Sweden* likewiſe, had a great party in that country, and the *Swedes* in general were diſſatisfied with *Albert*'s government, on account of his partiality for the *Germans*. In ſhort, the malecontents offered the *Swediſh* crown to *Margaret*, and ſhe accepted of it without heſitation, as ſhe did of the fortreſſes of *Oberſtein* and *Oreſtein*. From that time ſhe added that of

which brings on a war. *Sweden*, to her other titles. In this ſhe was partly juſtified by *Albert* having uſurped her titles. In a ſhort time, the *Swediſh* ſenate declared her their ſovereign, and *Albert* ſaw himſelf without a friend in that kingdom. He had recourſe to the *Holſteiners*, the *Mecklenburghers*, and the knights of the *Teutonic* order, while *Margaret* was aſſiſted by the duke of *Pomerania*, the father of her adopted heir. Each party raiſed a powerful

powerful army; a battle was fought at *Falkoping*, in which *Margaret* not only proved victorious, but took her competitor and his ſon *Eric* priſoners, with the prince of *Holſtein* and many other perſons of great diſtinction. The ſlaughter on the ſide of *Albert* was great, nineteen general officers having fallen in the battle; and *Margaret* loſt *Henry Parrow*, one of the four generals who commanded her army. This victory did not, however, fix the crown of *Sweden* on *Margaret*'s head. She found that the *Swediſh* promiſes were only to bring her army to protect them againſt their incenſed ſovereign. A numerous party of the *Swedes*, and all *Gothland*, were ſtill in the intereſt of *Albert*; but above all, the *Swedes* were jealous of ſeeing the *Danes* become their maſters, ſo that various pretexts were fallen upon to defer *Margaret*'s coronation. She was favoured by the indiſcreet zeal of *Albert*'s *Mecklenburgh* and *German* friends, who raiſed an army, and fitted out a fleet, which, under *John* of *Mecklenburgh*, raiſed the ſiege of *Stockholm*, and took ſome of the places which had declared for *Margaret*. Thoſe ſucceſſes inſtantly covered the ſea with pirates, who ravaged the coaſts of *Sweden*, and under pretence of reſtoring *Albert*, equally plundered his friends as his enemies.

This proceeding united the *Swedes* in favour of *Margaret*. The princes of *Staten* and *Rugen* declared for her, and performed their homage to her in the year 1391. Notwithſtanding this, a ſtrong *German* garriſon ſtill kept poſſeſſion of *Stockholm*, where they tortured, and at laſt burned, all the capital burghers, on pretence of their holding correſpondence with *Margaret*. Next year ſhe brought about an accommodation between the duke of *Sleſwick* and the princes of *Holſtein*, which cleared the northern ſeas of the barbarous pirates, and at laſt, after various conferences and negotiations, ſhe agreed to give *Albert* and his ſon their liberty, having been impriſoned almoſt ſeven years, upon condition of their reſigning all claim upon the crown of *Sweden*, and of their paying her ſixty thouſand marks of ſilver. After this, *Margaret* received the crown of *Sweden* with the ſame ceremonies with which ſhe was crowned in *Denmark* and *Norway*. *Eric*, her grand nephew, was confirmed in his ſucceſſion to the crown of *Sweden*, and the exceſſive kindneſſes which the queen ſhewed to churchmen, rendering her adminiſtration ſmooth and eaſy, ſhe found few or no difficulties in correcting or removing the abuſes which had crept into her kingdoms during the late times of confuſion; ſo that many writers have conſidered her as the legiſlator, as well as the *Semiramis*, of the north. Her great aim was to procure an incorporate union of her three kingdoms, which was to deſcend to her ſucceſſors. For that purpoſe, the ſtates of each kingdom ſent forty deputies to *Calmar*, where ſhe had appointed the general meeting. Hiſtory of the union of *Calmar*. 1391.

Calmar then exhibited the moſt auguſt ſcene, upon the moſt important ſubject, that had ever been ſeen in *Scandinavia*. The queen of *Denmark*, *Margaret*

Sweden and Norway,

queen preſented her ſucceſſor, young *Eric*, to the deputies, who eſtabliſhed his ſucceſſion by a fundamental law, and by the irreſiſtable power of her perſon and eloquence, her three kingdoms were conſolidated into one, by that famous act which has been ſince ſo well known under the title of the union of *Calmar*. After all, this famous union was no more than fœderal, it being found impracticable to melt down the ſeveral laws and uſages of the three kingdoms into one ſyſtem.

1397. By the firſt article of this union, the three kingdoms were to be governed by one king; but he was to be choſen alternately by one of the kingdoms, and confirmed by a general aſſembly, conſiſting of deputies from all the three. The ſecond article related to the equal diviſion of time, which every ſovereign was to ſpend in each kingdom, and the appropriation of the revenues of each kingdom for its own uſe. The third and laſt article provided, that each kingdom ſhould retain its own laws and forms of government, defray its own expences, keep up its own armies, and look upon the ſubjects of the other two kingdoms as ſtrangers, and therefore incapable of enjoying any poſt of power, truſt or profit. Every reader who is converſant in hiſtory, muſt be ſenſible that a union upon ſuch principles could not be permanent, and that it was no other than a partial execution of *Margaret*'s great ſcheme of an incorporate union.

without a riva'.

Notwithſtanding thoſe appearances in favour of *Margaret*, ſhe could not be as yet ſaid to have the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the *Swediſh* crown, as *Albert* was making vigorous preparations to dethrone her, till hearing of the death of his young ſon, *Eric*, when he loſt all ſpirit, and gave up all his pretenſions. *Margaret*, after this, had ſome diſputes with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, concerning the poſſeſſion of *Gothland*, which they pretended to hold in right of conqueſt; but they were accommodated by the mediation of the emperor; and about the ſame time ſhe finiſhed all her differences with the *Vandal* ſtates.

Her glory.

Margaret may now be conſidered as the moſt glorious queen that ever filled a throne, and the greateſt potentate in *Europe*. She acted as if ſhe owed her elevation to the friendſhip of the clergy, one of whom, the abbot of *Soora*, is ſaid not only to have directed her conſcience, but to have poſſeſſed her perſon.

1399. She reigned four years from the year 1399, in perfect tranquillity, if we except the following incident, which gave her, however, little or no diſquiet. Her nobility took umbrage at her vaſt partiality towards the clergy, and ſpirited up an impoſtor to perſonate her ſon *Olaus*. *Margaret* ſoon found out the impoſtor to be the ſon of that young prince's nurſe, and through her, that he became acquainted with a number of private particulars which gained him credit. She at the ſame time eſtabliſhed the certainty of the death and burial of the prince, beyond all contradiction, upon which the impoſtor was ſeized, tortured, and publicly put to death. It was about

An impoſtor.

this

this time that *Margaret*, ſenſible of her imprudence in having parted with the duchy of *Sleſwick* to the houſe of *Holſtein*, intrigued ſo well, during the minority of thoſe princes, that ſhe became, in effect, once more miſtreſs of the duchy. In the year 1406, *Eric*, who had been crowned king, married *Philippa* of *Lancaſter*, ſecond daughter to *Henry* the IVth of *England*; and we find that from this time *Eric* took a conſiderable ſhare in the affairs of government, eſpecially as the biſhop of *Oſnaburg*, who pretended to act as guardian to the young princes of *Holſtein*, began to be very troubleſome to *Margaret*, who about the ſame time quarrelled with her intimate friend, the ducheſs dowager of *Sleſwick*. It is probable that *Margaret* and *Eric* had laid a deſign to ſiege that duchy, and to reannex it to the crown, in which they were diſappointed, by the vigilance of the biſhop and the ducheſs dowager. Be that as it will, it is certain that *Adolphus* of *Schawenburg*, the *Holſtein* general, gave a ſignal defeat to *Eric*'s troops, which brought that prince to ſubmit to an arbitration of all their differences; but this was far from reſtoring the public tranquillity, and while a mixture of hoſtilities and negotiations was carrying on, *Margaret* died ſuddenly, in the fifty-ninth year of her age, after reigning about thirty-ſix years. 1406. Death of *Margaret*.

This princeſs undoubtedly poſſeſſed every great quality that could fit her for government. Her memory has been ſo unfortunate, as to be very differently repreſented by the *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* hiſtorians. The former magnify her virtues as well as abilities, the latter admit of her abilities, but give her few virtues. The truth is, that ſhe conſidered *Sweden*, after her acceſſion to that crown, as no better than a province to *Denmark*, and perhaps, too ungenerouſly, in ſeveral inſtances, infringed the terms of the *Calmar* union; but as queen of *Denmark*, ſhe exerted herſelf with a ſuperiority of genius equal to that of the greateſt of her predeceſſors. Beſides the abbot of *Soora*, ſhe was, towards the end of her reign, ſuſpected of an amorous intercourſe with a handſome *Swede*, one *Abraham Broderſon*, whom ſhe loaded with extraordinary honours and preferments; but no woman of her high ſtation, who, from her fondneſs of power, kept herſelf ſingle, ever eſcaped ſuſpicions or calumnies of that kind. Her character.

Eric the Xth, from the place of his nativity, was termed the *Pomeranian*, and he no ſooner became ſole ſovereign, than he trod in the footſteps of his illuſtrious predeceſſor. He ſoon ſhewed himſelf unequal to her genius, for when, by a little prudent management in calling together the ſtates of *Sweden*, and confirming their liberties, he might have endeared that people to his perſon, he left them abruptly, and went to *Denmark*, where the differences between him and the princeſs dowager of *Sleſwick*, remained under the arbitration of the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Brunſwick*. *Eric* refuſed to ſubmit to an arbitration that had been agreed to by his predeceſſor, and *Eric* the Xth.

looking

looking upon the princes of *Holſtein* as his feodatories, he ſummoned them to appear before a diet of the ſtates aſſembled at *Neoburg*. They appeared accordingly, and the ſtates pronounced the family of *Holſtein* to have forfeited all right to the duchy of *Sleſwick*, which from that time was to be reannexed to the crown. This award produced a confederacy among the *German* princes, of which *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh* was the head. *Eric* applied to the emperor *Sigiſmund*, who, in right of his paramount power, confirmed the ſentence pronounced by the ſtates of *Denmark* againſt the *Holſtein* family, upon which *Eric* entered the duchy of *Sleſwick* with an army, forced the *Lubeckers* to diſown their ſenate, which was in his intereſt, and thereby confirmed the emperor his friend. All the north was, at this time, in combuſtion, and the houſe of *Holſtein* was brought to the brink of ruin, when the *Vandals* and the petty princes of *Germany*, partly from hatred, partly from their jealouſy of *Eric*, confederated to ſupport it. Their proceedings were ſo vigorous, that *Eric* was in a manner beaten out of *Sleſwick*, and forced to return to *Denmark*; but he employed the winter of the year 1427, in recruiting his army and augmenting his fleet. It is ſaid the former conſiſted of a hundred thouſand troops, with which he inveſted the cities of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*. *Sleſwick* capitulated, but the biſhop of *Oſnaburg* prevailed with the *Hamburghers*, who were then rich and powerful, to declare for the *Holſtein* family; upon which *Eric* raiſed the ſiege of *Gottorp*, while the *Holſteiners* reduced many of its forts, and even recovered *Sleſwick*. The pope interpoſed, and propoſed an accommodation, to which neither party was averſe; but by various accidents, the conferences were broken off, and the war was renewed, with the utmoſt barbarity on both ſides.

Confederacy againſt him.

1427.

He takes *Sleſwick*.

Is defeated.

The *Holſteiners* proved victorious, and totally defeated *Eric* near *Immerſwed*. This event, as uſual, produced propoſals for an accommodation, to which the *Holſtein* princes durſt not ſeem averſe, for fear of diſobliging their friends who moved it, but ſtill hoſtilities went on with various ſucceſs, eſpecially by ſea, but in general, to the advantage of *Eric*'s enemies, till at laſt they became victorious on all hands. The princes of *Holſtein* became now too ponderous in the northern ſcale of power, and the cities of *Lubec*, *Wiſmar*, *Roſtock*, *Stralſund*, *Lunenburg*, *Gnipſwald* and *Anclam*, joined *Eric*, who was likewiſe befriended by the pope and the emperor. The houſe of *Holſtein*, ſupported by the *Hamburghers*, diſregarded all their menaces, but in the end, the differences between them and *Eric*, concerning *Sleſwick*, were referred to the emperor's determination. Prince *Henry*, who was then at the head of the houſe of *Holſtein*, refuſed to ſubmit to this arbitration, and the emperor pronounced ſentence in favour of *Eric*, to which the *Holſtein* princes were obliged to agree, at leaſt in appearance, for they ſoon after appealed to the pope, and hoſtilities recommenced. The princes continued to be ſupported by the *Hamburghers*,

burghers, who attempted to perſuade *Eric* to moderation; but he inſiſted upon ſtanding by the emperor's award, and in the year 1426, he again inveſted the cities of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*. The *Hanſe* towns and the *Vandal* ſtates at this time underſtood, that their only ſafety depended upon their maintaining a proper balance of power in the north, and again declared themſelves againſt *Eric*. They were at firſt unſucceſsful, but this ſerved only to impreſs them with the greater terror of *Eric*'s power, and to unite them more cloſely with the *Holſteiners*. The emperor *Sigiſmund*, the vaineſt and moſt meddling prince of his time, threatened the *Hanſe* towns with vengeance, but to no purpoſe. *Eric* himſelf offered any terms that could be agreed on, and at laſt a truce was concluded, though even that brought no intermiſſion of hoſtilities; for the *Holſtein* and *Vandal* ſhips ſtill continued their depredations upon the coaſts of *Denmark*. Their barbarities had the uſual effect, that of uniting all parties againſt them, and at laſt they offered to refer the complaints they had againſt *Eric* to the pope, or any impartial *German* prince, who ſhould be nominated by the emperor. During thoſe tranſactions, the *Holſteiners* and *Vandals* had embarked twelve thouſand men, with a view of attacking *Copenhagen*, which was ſo bravely defended by *Eric*'s queen, in his abſence, that their deſign failed. Soon after, the queen ſent a fleet to make repriſals upon the *Holſteiners*, but it was beaten; which, together with *Eric*'s reproaches, ſtung the queen ſo much as to occaſion her death, to the inexpreſſible grief and loſs of *Denmark*. At laſt, the cities of *Stralſund* and *Roſtock* broke off from the alliance againſt *Eric*, but the ravages of the other confederates ſtill continued, and they ſurprized and took *Flenſburg*, after a brave defence. The univerſal deteſtation of the *Vandal* and *Holſtein* piracies, encouraged the *Hollanders* and *Netherlanders* to fit out ſhips of a much ſuperior conſtruction to theirs, and far better navigated, by which the pirates were overawed, and the whole trade of the *Baltic* centered in the *Low Countries*.

Politics of the north.

Copenhagen beſieged.

About the year 1432, the *Vandals* and *Holſteiners* ſued for peace, and *Eric* agreed to a congreſs at *Swinburg*, but it was ſo far from being productive of any good, that the *Stralſunders* were cut out of all trade with *Denmark*. The *Danes*, however, found their coaſts more ſecure than before, and *Eric* this year concluded a treaty of commerce with the crown of *England*, which ſeems to have had very conſiderable effects in his favour.

1432. A congreſs.

While *Eric* was thus labouring to ſuppreſs the piratical ſtates of the north, which ought to have been a common cauſe to all his crowns, the *Swedes* complained that they were oppreſſed by the governors he had given them, particularly by one *Jeſſon Aſdah*. The *Dalecarlians*, the braveſt and hardieſt race of the *Swedes*, commiſſioned *Engelbert*, a noble patriot of their own province, to ſpread their complaints before the

War with *Sweden*.

the throne, which he did with ſuch intrepidity and manly freedom, that *Eric* ordered *Jeſſon* to be tried by commiſſioners, who found him guilty. *Engelbert* demanded he ſhould be puniſhed, but in a manner which *Eric* thought ſo diſreſpectful, that he ordered him to leave *Denmark*; and upon his return to the *Dalecarlians*, they took arms, placed *Engelbert* at their head, and declared for a change of government. The extirpation of the *Danes* out of *Sweden* was their main object; but upon their entering *Weſtmannia*, they paid ſo much regard to the remonſtrances of the ſenate, that they laid down their arms, on being promiſed their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, and *Jeſſon* removed. The terms not being immediately complied with, they reſumed them a ſecond time, and were a ſecond time perſuaded to lay them down, upon *Jeſſon* being actually removed. As thoſe great events will fall more properly under our hiſtory of *Sweden*, we ſhall touch upon them here only as they are connected with that of *Denmark*. *Eric*, who was then treating with the *Vandals* and *Holſteiners*, looked upon the *Dalecarlian* inſurrection with great indignation; but he was alarmed when he heard of its progreſs, and that *Engelbert* had reduced many of the principal places of *Sweden*, and that he had even taken upon him to order the ſtates to aſſemble. He equipped a fleet to chaſtiſe the inſurgents, but it was wrecked, and the ſhip which carried *Eric* was the only one that reached the port of *Stockholm*. All that *Eric* could do, was to procure a ſhort truce; and he was ſo well ſatisfied of the ſenate's being convinced that kings had a divine right to be perjured, and oppreſs their people, that he returned to *Denmark*, though his long reſidence there was one of the grievances complained of, and an actual breach of the union of *Calmar*.

Eric's fleet ſhipwrecked.

In 1435, *Eric* aſſembled a diet of the ſtates of *Denmark*, who adviſed him to return to *Stockholm*, and to give his people ſatisfaction, which he actually did; but it was only to gain time, for he ſoon violated every article he had ſworn to obſerve. He gave all the places of power and truſt in *Sweden* to his *Daniſh* favourites; and the better to enable him to eſtabliſh his deſpotiſm there, he made peace with the princes of *Holſtein* and the *Hanſe* towns, upon their own terms. Before he left *Denmark*, he aſſembled the ſtates, and propoſed his nephew, *Bogeſlaus* of *Pomerania*, to ſucceed him; but his requeſt was rejected by the ſtates, who very explicitely told him, that they alone had a right to name his ſucceſſor, and that if he aſſociated with himſelf any perſon in the government, ſuch aſſociation ſhould give that perſon no manner of right to the crown. *Eric* imagining he might gain his point by leaving his kingdom in confuſion, retired to *Pruſſia*, but ſoon after returned to *Denmark*, and gave the chief poſts there to the duke of *Pomerania* and other foreigners. He then carried his nephew, the duke of *Pomerania*, with him to *Sweden*, where, as will be ſeen in the hiſtory of that county, the diſ-

His perjury,

ſentions

ſentions which aroſe among the patriots proved ſerviceable to his affairs. During his abſence there, the *Danes* began to be, in their turn, uneaſy at their ſituation; and the diet then ſitting at *Calmar*, ſent deputies to *Eric* on that head; but their reception was ſo diſagreeable, that they entered into ſecret connections with the diſcontented nobility of *Denmark*, and reſolved to call *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria* to their throne. It ſeems to be certain, that *Eric*'s principal view in giving his chief places to foreigners, was to facilitate the ſucceſſion of *Bogeſlaus*, to whom, in 1438, he gave the iſle of *Rugen*. A general inſurrection all over *Denmark* followed upon this, but they conſiſted rather of peaſants againſt the nobility, than of both againſt the crown. This was thought to have been effected by the arts of *Eric*, for it is certain the nobles were driven out of *Denmark* into *Holſtein*, and *Eric* again made a kind of abdication of his crown, by retiring, with his treaſure, into the iſland of *Gothland*, where he lived with an aſtoniſhing indifference, with regard to all the revolutions impending over his kingdom. 1438. and abdication.

The government of *Denmark* being thus abdicated by its king, the ſtates ſent a letter of invitation, in which all their grievances were repeated, deſiring *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria* to accept of their crown, and ſtaying for an explicit anſwer. Some time after this letter was diſpatched, the ſenate of *Denmark* ſignified to *Eric*, that they had elected another king in his room. *Eric* then filled all *Denmark* with complaints and remonſtrances againſt the diſloyalty of his ſubjects, but without making uſe of any other argument, than that he was an anointed king, and that they certainly would bring upon themſelves the divine vengeance for diſobeying him. No regard was paid to his idle manifeſtos, for he was formally depoſed, and the throne filled up with *Chriſtopher*. *Oct.* 28, 1438. His depoſition by *Chriſtopher* the IIId.

Chriſtopher the IIId was not deſtitute of a claim of blood to the crown of *Denmark*. He was ſon to the duke of *Bavaria*, by his wife *Sophia*, *Eric*'s ſiſter. Upon his arrival at *Lubec*, he was declared protector of the kingdoms of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, a title which implies that the ſtates had ſome ſcruple about giving him the title of king during the lifetime of *Eric*, who ſtill reſided in *Gothland*. It was, however, made treaſonable for any man in *Denmark* to hold correſpondence with *Eric*, and the ſtates of *Sweden* agreed to concur with what had been done by thoſe of *Denmark*. To juſtify what they had done, they publiſhed manifeſtos through all the courts, cities and provinces of the north, recapitulating the particulars of *Eric*'s mal-adminiſtration, and added ſome new matters concerning his ſanguinary diſpoſition, and his diſregard of the pope. Thoſe manifeſtos had great effect, for we find none of the *Hanſe* towns, nor any of the antient enemies of *Denmark*, giving *Chriſtopher* any diſturbance on *Eric*'s account. Notwithſtanding this, it is very uncertain whether he had yet taken the title of king. It is moſt reaſonable to think he had

not,

not, for the foreign governors ſurrendered their fortreſſes not to him, but to the ſenate, who adminiſtered to him an oath of office; one part of which required him to conſent to whatever ſhould be agreed upon at the enſuing diet at *Calmar*. The diſtractions of *Sweden*, and the intrigues of *Eric*'s friends, who were ſtill very numerous, adjourned the diet from time to time, but at laſt it met at *Abroga*, where *Canutſon*, the grand maſter of *Sweden*, agreed upon certain terms, which the *Daniſh* deputies obliged themſelves ſhould be confirmed by *Chriſtopher*. *Chriſtopher* appeared at the diet in perſon, and approved of all that had been done by *Canutſon*; and after this we find him acting as king, both of *Denmark* and *Sweden*. The firſt exerciſe of his new dignity, was his granting, at the requeſt of the ſenate, to *Adolphus*, the chief of the houſe of *Holſtein*, the duchy of *Sleſwick*. *Chriſtopher* then ſet out at the head of an army to quell the turbulent *Jutlanders*, who refuſed to pay the taxes, becauſe *Eric* was ſtill alive. This he effected, but not without great difficulty and bloodſhed; and from thence he repaired to *Sweden*, where he was crowned at *Stockholm*.

He is recognized by the *Swedes*,

and crowned king of *Norway*.

The condition of *Eric* was, at this time, unprecedented. He remained unmoleſted in *Gothland*, where he fortified himſelf in *Wiſby*, and opened ports, not only for his own ſhipping, but to pirates of all denominations, who did incredible damage to the *Swedes*. To the amazement of all the world, this conduct was not reſented by *Chriſtopher*, who at firſt treated it in a jocular manner, till the voice of his ſubjects compelled him to paſs over to *Gothland* at the head of an army, where all that paſſed was a friendly interview between him and his uncle *Eric*. This forbearance can only be accounted for by the tenderneſs which *Chriſtopher* might ſtill retain for his uncle's perſon, or (which is more likely) by his conniving at the depredations made upon the *Swedes*. In 1443, *Chriſtopher* was crowned king of *Norway*, and afterwards of *Denmark*, by the archbiſhop of *Lunden*. The commencement of his reign was very popular in *Denmark*, but he is accuſed of having always ſhewn a predilection in favour of that country. Hiſtorians ſpeak of a congreſs of *German* princes held this year at *Wiſmar*, to which *Chriſtopher* repaired in the habit of a pilgrim; and next year, he married the princeſs *Dorothea* of *Brandenburgh*, which explained his incognito expedition. *Chriſtopher*, after his marriage, is accuſed of having been partial, in prejudice of his own ſubjects, to the *Brandenburghers* and *Germans*. His conduct, in this particular, was loudly complained of by the *Danes*, and he wiſely removed the grounds of that complaint, both in *Denmark* and *Sweden*. He was proceeding, by many popular meaſures, to regain the affections of both people, when he died without iſſue in 1448. The memory of this prince is as much extolled by the *Daniſh*, as it is vilified by the *Swediſh* hiſtorians.

1443.

His marriage,

and death. 1448.

Upon

Upon the death of *Chriſtopher*, the *Swedes* pleaded that the union of *Calmar*, being ſo often fundamentally broken through, was at an end, and the ſtates of *Denmark* made an offer of their crown to *Adolphus*, the old duke of *Holſtein* and *Sleſwick*; but that prince conſidering if he accepted it, his duchies would become no more than acceſſions to *Denmark*, recommended to their choice *Chriſtiern*, his nephew, ſon to *Theodoric*, count of *Oldenburg*, whom the deputies accordingly choſe, while *Charles Canutſon* was choſen and crowned king of *Sweden*. The *Danes* complained of this proceeding, and *Charles*, that he might oblige his new ſubjects, invaded *Gothland*, and beſieged *Eric* in *Wiſby*. That prince, old as he was, made a noble defence, and having loſt the town, ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, and when he was reduced to the laſt extremity, by his addreſs and pathetic eloquence prevailed with the *Swediſh* generals to grant him a truce for ſome days, during which, *Eric* laid in ſuch ſtores of proviſions, that the place was again in a ſtate of defence, and he refuſed to ſurrender it, though *Charles* ordered his generals to give him his own terms. In the mean while, *Chriſtiern* and the ſtates of *Denmark* were fitting out a fleet to relieve *Eric*, ſo uncertain are human events; for the ſame prince whom the *Danes* had dethroned for his tyranny, was aſſiſted and delivered by them in his diſtreſs. The command of the *Daniſh* fleet was given to *Olaus Alexſon*, to whom *Eric* gave up the citadel of *Wiſby*, and at his own requeſt was carried to *Burund*, from whence he removed to *Pomerania*, though greatly affected with the politeneſs and humanity of *Chriſtiern* and the *Daniſh* nobility, who offered him a reſidence in any part of *Denmark* he ſhould chuſe. There, *Eric* cloſed his life in obſcure tranquillity. The lives of few princes were more chequered than that of *Eric*; with great courage, he was generally unfortunate in the field; and with vaſt abilities, he was often out-witted in the cabinet by thoſe whom he deſpiſed. In fact, this contempt of others, ſeems to have been the rock on which he ſplit, and he was ruined by his own refinements. His life and ſituations were as extraordinary as any we meet with in hiſtory.

Interregnum.

Canutſon king of *Sweden*.

Chriſtiern of *Oldenburg*, choſen king of *Denmark*.

Eric's death.

Notwithſtanding the departure of *Eric*, which, we have reaſon to believe, was with the conſent of the *Swedes*; the latter muſt have taken the citadel of *Wiſby*, had not the garriſon been ſeaſonably relieved by *Chriſtiern*, who then beſieged and took the town. This expedition was conducted by *Chriſtiern* with equal valour and prudence, and gained him great reputation. As he had not loſt hopes of mounting the throne of *Sweden*, he generouſly ſet all his *Swediſh* priſoners, who were numerous and of great quality, at liberty; and upon his return to *Denmark*, he married *Dorothea*, his predeceſſor's widow. In the mean while, the king of *Sweden* conquered *Norway*, and was crowned at *Drontheim*. Notwithſtanding this diſagreeable event, *Chriſtiern* in ſeveral congreſſes and meetings he had with the *Swediſh* deputies, endeavoured to revive

War in *Sweden*.

vive the union of *Calmar*, and he found that his application was far from being ineffectual. The *Swedes* longed for peace, and hated the tyranny of *Charles*, and their deputies promiſed not only the reſtitution of the crown of *Norway* to *Chriſtiern*, but to oblige *Charles* to ſubmit his title to that of *Sweden* to a fair diſcuſſion. *Charles* fell into a violent paſſion when he heard of thoſe proceedings, and confiſcated the eſtates of the plenipotentiaries and deputies, who had treated with *Chriſtiern*, which ſerved to attach the ſufferers the more firmly to that prince. *Chriſtiern*, in the mean while, called a diet in *Zealand*; but found the members unwilling to enter into any more than a piratical war, which diſtreſſed *Sweden*, without doing any ſervice to *Denmark*. Their depredations were ſeverely revenged by *Charles*, who, at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, carried fire and ſword through *Schonen*, and would have taken *Lunden* itſelf, had he not been bravely oppoſed and defeated by *Tycho*, its archbiſhop; and by a lady who held the caſtle of *Wetcheffle*. Thus was *Charles*, who was himſelf a renowned warrior, driven out of *Schonen*, where he had been guilty of incredible cruelties, by a prieſt and a woman. *Chriſtiern*, who was at *Wiſmar* when this irruption happened, prepared to revenge it, and his admiral *Olaus Axelſon*, actually beſieged *Stockholm* with a fleet, while *Chriſtiern* with an army reduced *Weſt Gothland*, and ſtrengthened his party in *Sweden*. While *Charles* was marching to oppoſe him, he heard of the ſiege of *Stockholm*, which he immediately relieved, and then marched into *Weſt Gothland*, where *Charles*, who was ſurrounded with dangers and difficulties, ſoon loſt a great part of what he had acquired. *Chriſtiern* acted on the defenſive, but gained more than he had loſt, by the unpopularity which *Charles* incurred, through the vaſt taxes which he raiſed upon his ſubjects, to defray the expences of the war.

Stockholm relieved,

1455. In 1455, *Chriſtiern* led his army again into *Sweden*, where he took the iſland of *Oeland*, and the town of *Borkholm*. But war was leſs the buſineſs of *Chriſtiern*, at this time, than intrigue; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that he received aſſurances from the whole body of the *Swediſh* clergy, that they would aſſiſt him in re-eſtabliſhing the union of *Calmar*; and the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, laying aſide his ſacerdotal habit, and drawing his ſword, ſolemnly abjured all allegiance to *Charles*. The event was, that the prelate beat *Charles*, and drove him into *Stockholm*, from whence he fled to *Dantzic*, and the ſtates of *Sweden* unanimouſly invited *Chriſtiern* to fill his throne, to which he was accordingly raiſed.

and *Chriſtopher* raiſed to the three crowns.

The three kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, being thus re-united in the perſon of *Chriſtiern*, he began his reign over them all, by the moſt ſalutary regulations; and in the mean while, *Sleſwick*, by the death of duke *Adolphus*, reverted to his crown. He afterwards purchaſed, from different claimants, the duchy of *Holſtein*, which he was the better enabled to do, by his diſcovering and ſeizing the treaſures which his

his competitor *Charles* had left concealed in the hands of the *Dominicans*. In 1461, *Chriſtiern* obliged the pope's legate to give him half the money he had raiſed in *Sweden*, on pretence of a war againſt the infidels; and the two following years were ſpent by *Chriſtiern* in accommodating differences with his neighbours. The *Swediſh* patriots, at the head of whom was the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, who had been ſo inſtrumental in placing *Chriſtiern* on that throne, complained that *Chriſtiern*'s long reſidence in *Denmark*, was an infraction of the union of *Calmar*, which *Chriſtiern* underſtanding, returned ſo ſuddenly to *Stockholm*, that he ſurprized the archbiſhop, and ſent him priſoner to *Denmark*, which was the greateſt ſtain of his reign, becauſe the prelate was innocent of what was laid to his charge. His friends, however, beſieged *Chriſtiern* in *Stockholm*, and it was with difficulty that he eſcaped, without any attendants, back to *Denmark*. Returning with an army, *Katil*, biſhop of *Linkoping*, who was at the head of the archbiſhop's friends, again defeated, and drove him into *Stockholm*, where he would have taken him priſoner, had he not been carried off by his ſhipping. *Katil* offered to lay down his arms, if *Chriſtiern* would conſent to releaſe the archbiſhop, who was his uncle; but that being refuſed, *Charles Canutſon* again mounted the throne of *Sweden*; and not having profited by experience, he again loſt it; and *Chriſtiern* ſeeing his error, releaſed the archbiſhop in the moſt honourable manner. In the year 1465, *Chriſtiern* was involved in a diſpute with *Gerhard*, earl of *Oldenburg*, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſucceſs, while the archbiſhop of *Upſal* forced *Charles* to renounce the crown of *Sweden*, and ſent him priſoner to *Finland*; but as the *Swedes* had renounced their allegiance to *Chriſtiern*, *Axelſon*, who was father-in-law to *Charles*, was declared protector of the kingdom, though the archbiſhop was in the intereſt of *Chriſtiern*, who after a ſurprizing inactivity, returned with an army to *Sweden*, and totally defeated *Axelſon*. After this, *Chriſtiern* returned to *Denmark*, where he had ſo many differences to make up, that *Axelſon*'s party ſtill refuſed to admit him to the throne of *Sweden*, of which *Steen-Sture* was choſen regent.

1461.

1465.

Chriſtiern, towards the latter end of his reign, ſeems not to have been much in earneſt to recover the *Swediſh* crown, which he found ſo difficult to keep; and his ſole ſtudy was to promote the intereſt of *Denmark* and *Norway*. In 1472, *Chriſtiern* viſited the emperor *Frederic* III. who gave him the inveſtiture of the country of *Dithmarſh*; and having been entertained with ſingular honours at *Rome*, he returned to *Denmark*, where he founded the univerſity of *Copenhagen*. In 1475, he married his eldeſt ſon to the princeſs *Chriſtina*, daughter of the elector of *Saxony*; and it is ſaid, that about this time, he inſtituted the order of the elephant. He is accuſed of taking a ſudden turn towards cruelty and deſpotiſm at the end of his reign. It is certain, that he endeavoured to revive the union of *Calmar*, but the *Swedes* never would accept of him for their

He turns a tyrant.

1472.

1475.

king, though they promiſed, after his deceaſe, to chuſe his eldeſt ſon *John*. *Chriſtiern* died in 1481, with the character of having been an amiable and accompliſhed prince, though too illiterate, and too liable to be impoſed upon. He reigned over *Denmark* about thirty-three years. Of the three children whom he left behind him, his eldeſt ſon *John*, in his own life-time, was elected his aſſociate, and was crowned king. His ſecond ſon *Frederic*, who was duke of *Sleſwick*, ſucceeded to the *Daniſh* crown likewiſe; and his daughter *Margaret*, was married to the king of *Scotland*.

1481.

His death.

John king of *Denmark*.

John ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Denmark*, and proved an excellent prince; but found great oppoſition from the *Swedes*, in performing their promiſe of electing him their king. He conſulted his mother *Dorothea*, an excellent and prudent princeſs, in all his meaſures, and ſhe adviſed him to confine his ambition to the improvement of *Denmark* and *Norway*, without aſpiring to reign over ſo turbulent a people as the *Swedes*. The latter, however, met him more than half-way, and *John* was over-perſuaded to enter into a treaty with the adminiſtrator, in which he was duped. In the hiſtory of *Sweden*, we ſhall have occaſion to mention his diſputes with the adminiſtrator of that country concerning *Gothland*; but in the year 1494, he was ſeized with a lunacy, which however ſoon went off. Finding himſelf trifled with by *Steen-Sture*, adminiſtrator, and regent of *Sweden*, he prepared to do himſelf right by force of arms; but a noble fleet which he had provided for that purpoſe, was wrecked; upon which, *Steen-Sture* diſclaimed all his former engagements. *John* had the addreſs to prevail with the *Muſcovites* to invade *Sweden*; and while *Steen-Sture* went againſt them with an army, *John*'s friends exerted themſelves ſo effectually in his abſence, that *Steen* was depoſed from the regency. This, however, was far from giving *John* the crown of *Sweden*, and he raiſed an army of *Banditti*, who ſerved for plunder, and were moſtly *Germans*. With them *John* took *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, and filled all *Sweden* with their ravages. *John*'s chief object was the ſiege of *Stockholm*; but in the mean while, the regent applied to the brave *Dalecarlians*, who marched to the ſiege, but were defeated with great ſlaughter; upon which, *John* was admitted into that capital, where he pardoned the regent, and was crowned king.

1494.

He enters *Stockholm*,

and is defeated by the *Dithmarſians*.

John then turned his arms againſt the inhabitants of *Dithmarſh*, the ſmall diſtrict which we have already mentioned to have been given by the emperor *Frederic* to the late king, and who being fond of liberty to enthuſiaſm, had refuſed to ſubmit to the *Danes*. The army which *John* led againſt thoſe determined people, conſiſted of *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Norvegians* and *Holſteiners*, and was ſo numerous, that his prelates and generals had already partitioned the ſpoil amongſt themſelves. Happily for thoſe ſons of liberty, a ſpirit of jealouſy and diſcontent began to prevail among his great men, and their confidence

fidence was encreaſed by *John*'s taking their city of *Meldorp*, the capital of the diſtrict. The *Dithmarſians* retired into the heart of their country, and *John* followed them with all his army, which was well provided with cannon. The *Dithmarſians*, however, gave him a total defeat, and killed four thouſand of his beſt troops upon the ſpot, beſides thoſe who were wounded and made priſoners, ſo that *John* was obliged to agree to a peace with the *Dithmarſians*. His defeat, however, again loſt him the crown of *Sweden*, for *Steen-Sture* received the regency, and excited great diſturbances in *Norway*, where the people likewiſe diſclaimed their allegiance to *John*. They choſe one of their own nobility, *Canute Adolphus*, for their head, and he was aſſaſſinated, as was thought, by order of *John*; upon which, the *Norvegians* carried on war againſt the *Danes*, with an animoſity which fell little ſhort of frenzy. We are now arrived to the year 1503, when *John* found himſelf involved in a variety of difficulties and diſtreſſes. He had left his queen to defend *Stockholm*, which ſhe did with unparalleled courage; but was at laſt obliged to capitulate, and ſhe was made priſoner, contrary to the articles of capitulation. It is thought, that the liberty of this brave princeſs was ſacrificed to an amorous indulgence, in which *John* indulged himſelf with another lady. After this great misfortune, *John* underſtood that *Lubec* and the other *Hanſe* towns, were inclined to favour the regent, upon which he ſent them the biſhop of *Odenſee*, who laid before them at large all *Sture*'s perfidious conduct. His eloquence had no effect upon the *Lubeckers*, and *John* immediately cut off their trade, and that of the *Hanſe* towns with *Sweden*. The finances of the *Lubeckers* were then but in an indifferent ſtate; but the hatred of the common people towards *John*, was ſo violent, that their regency was forced to agree to a war, tho' they ſoon dropt their preparations, and *John*, upon the mediation of the duke of *Holſtein*, turned the great armaments he had made, againſt the rebellious *Norvegians*. He committed the care of that war to his ſon, prince *Chriſtiern*, who defeated both the *Swedes* and the *Norvegians*, and in one campaign reduced all the kingdom. The ſeverity with which he treated the vanquiſhed, becauſe they were rebels, filled the whole country with inexpreſſible terror, and he carried his victorious arms into *Sweden* itſelf, where he took *Elſburg*.

1503. His difficulties and diſtreſſes in *Sweden*.

Succeſs and ſeverity of his ſon *Chriſtiern*,

While he was lying there, *Sture* advanced with an army, and had it not been for his own vanity and imprudence, or that of the general who commanded for him, the whole *Daniſh* army muſt have been cut off; but the *Swede* diſdaining to ſurprize an enemy, ordered his trumpets to ſound before the charge, which alarming *Chriſtiern*, the *Swedes* were defeated with the loſs of half their cavalry. The prince then took *Oreſtein*, and gave no more quarter to the *Swediſh* rebels, as he called them, than he had done to the *Norvegian*. *Eaſt Gothland* next felt his fury, and he aſſigned quarters of refreſhment to his troops in *Schonen*. *Sture*, in the mean time, had perſuaded the *Lubeckers*

who eſcapes through the vanity of *Sture*'s general.

beckers with a conſiderable ſquadron to join him, and had made a great progreſs againſt the *Danes*. *Sture*'s buſineſs was to gain time; but he trifled ſo egregiouſly concerning the queen's liberty, that the pope's legate, who held a congreſs at *Lubec* for reſtoring the peace of the north, threatened him and his adherents with excommunication, unleſs he ſet the queen free, and reſigned the regency. The odium into which *Sture* had fallen by his treachery to the queen, compelled him to agree with the firſt condition, and while the ſecond was under debate, *Sture* died, in 1504; but was ſucceeded in the regency by his ſon *Suante Sture*. His election exaſperated *John* beyond all meaſure, and the duke of *Mecklenburgh* having declared war againſt *Lubec*, the *Lubeckers* ſubmitted to *John*, upon his own terms; but the other *Hanſe* towns held out.

1504.

Sture's adherents condemned.

The two *James's*, the IIId and IVth of *Scotland*, had been uſeful allies to *John*, and did him great ſervices in reducing *Norway*. As *John* was preparing to turn his whole ſtrength againſt *Sweden*, an embaſſador arrived from *Scotland* to act as mediator between the two parties, and it was agreed that *Calmar* ſhould be the place where the deputies of the three kingdoms ſhould attend. Thoſe from *Sweden* did not appear, and *John* prevailed with the deputies of *Denmark* and *Norway*, to pronounce ſentence of confiſcation and deprivation againſt all the adherents of *Sture*, if *John* was not, by a prefixed time, put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Sweden*. This ſentence was afterwards confirmed by the emperor, and the aulic council, printed and publiſhed through all the north. Notwithſtanding this, it may be juſtly queſtioned, whether the congreſs had a right to pronounce, or the emperor to ratify, ſuch a ſentence. *John* held the ſovereignty of *Sweden* only conditionally, and if he broke the terms, the *Swedes* were free from their allegiance; nor could all the powers on earth condemn them, at the tribunal of juſtice and liberty.

1506.

The *Lubeckers* declare againſt him,

John proceeded as if he had an undiſputed right to carry the ſentence into execution, and ſuch was the awe, that the ſolemnity of the ſentence carried with it, that *Sture* was forced to apply for peace; when all of a ſudden, the *Lubeckers* declared themſelves for the *Swedes*, ſtung, perhaps, by the ſeverity of *John* in matters of commerce and intercourſe with his rebels, which equally affected the *Lubeckers* as the other *Hanſe* towns. This renewed the war between *John* and the regent with ſuch various ſucceſſes, that the former, exaſperated as he was, would have treated of peace, had not *Sture*, inſtigated by the *Hanſe* towns, rejected all terms of accommodation. The reaſons for his obſtinacy, lay deeper than *John* was aware of: His enemies had bribed the needy emperor, *Maximilian*, to fall off from his friendſhip with *John*, and it became now a popular topic in *Germany*, that the re-union of the three crowns might prove fatal to the balance of power in the north. *John*, on the other hand, applied to his allies, and prevailed with the *French* king to intercede with the emperor in his favour;

but they ſue for peace.

vour; ſo that in a ſhort time he fitted out ſo powerful a ſqua- 1509.
dron, that he blocked up the mouth of the *Trave*, and compelled the *Lubeckers* to ſue for peace. *Sture*'s party was daunted by *John*'s vigorous meaſures, and offered to give him ſecurity that either he or his ſon ſhould be placed upon the throne of *Sweden*; but their tameneſs was diſclaimed by *Sture*, who was encouraged by the ſevere treatment of *John* towards the *Lubeckers*, which had obliged them to reſume their arms. *John*, by this time, finding the reſources of the *Hanſe* towns to be inexhauſtible, was tired of the war, and reſolved to employ all his preparations and ſucceſſes, to get a good peace. Conferences were again opened between him and the ſenate of *Sweden*, but all the meaſures concluded on came to nothing, through the ſpirit of *Sture*, ſupported by the *Lubeckers* and the *Hanſe* towns. They invaded his dominions, and he was obliged to convert the largeſt veſſels of his allies, which were in his ports, into ſhips of war. The *Lubeckers* were repulſed at *Mona* and *Langland*, and the *Swedes* were defeated in *Halland*. The foreign ſhipping employed by *John* diſtreſſed the *Lubeckers*, but without daunting them; and their regency, in conjunction with the *Swedes*, continued their deſcents upon the *Daniſh* coaſts, ſo that the whole was a mean, piratical, indeciſive war. The *Swedes*, however, in 1511, took *Borkholm*; but 1511.
the *Daniſh* fleet defeated that of *Lubec*, near that place, and recovered a rich *Dutch* fleet, which had been taken by the *Lubeckers*; thoſe events gave the *Danes* an undiſputed ſuperiority in the northern ſeas.

In the year 1512, died *Suante Sture*, and the *Swedes* were 1512.
divided concerning his ſucceſſor, one party favouring his ſon *Stenon*, as the other, which was headed by the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, did *Eric Troll*. The death of *Suante* diſcouraged the *Lubeckers* ſo much, that they made a final peace with *John*, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in recovering the crown of *Sweden*. The *Swedes*, deſerted by their moſt powerful ally, ſent *John* their deputies likewiſe; and to gain ſome reſpite from war, which had continued without intermiſſion above twelve years, it was agreed that either he or his ſon ſhould mount the throne of *Sweden*, or that the *Swedes* ſhould pay them a tribute of thirty thouſand marks. We cannot ſuppoſe that *John* had any great reliance on the faith of ſo vague a treaty; but he employed the leiſure it gave him, in reforming the morals, and cultivating the minds of his ſubjects, which were ſtill too deeply tinged with barbariſm. Being ſenſible of the advantage of letters for poliſhing the manners of mankind, he gave great encouragement to the univerſity, which his father had founded at *Copenhagen*, and prohibited youth to be ſent out of his dominions for education, nor could they repair even to *Upſal*, (then the great ſeminary of learning in the north) unleſs they had ſtudied three years at that of *Copenhagen*. As a mark of his regard for learning, he gave great encouragement to the art of printing through all his dominions, eſpecially at *Copen-*

Death and character of *John*.

hagen, where it made an early and considerable progress. This excellent prince's death (for such he was) was occasioned by a fall from his horse in *North Jutland*, and he died after giving an excellent advice to his son, on the 20th of *February* 1513. The personal merits of this prince, were amiable and unexceptionable. By his own example, even in dress, he united the simplicity and sincerity of the antient *Danes*, with the refinements of modern times; in private life, plain; in public, magnificent; and so tenacious of his faith, that he never chose to break it, though others broke theirs to him. With regard to his political qualities, we suspect him of laying too great stress on the duties of allegiance on the part of the people, without reciprocal returns on that of the prince; but this seems to have been owing to his education, and was, in fact, his family failing; nor do his warmest apologists clear him from having infringed the treaty of *Calmar*, which undoubtedly was the fundamental law of his government over the *Swedes*, and the breach of it justified them in their most violent opposition.

1513.

Christiern II.

The reputation of *Denmark* was high at the time of *John*'s death, especially as his son and successor *Christiern*, had already given proofs of a great military genius. Though he did not much rely upon the agreement lately made between the *Swedes* and his father, yet his alliances were so respectable, and his troops in such good order, that he was not afraid of the *Swedes* acting offensively, and therefore he made a journey to the *Low Countries*, where he demanded and obtained in marriage *Isabella*, the sister of the archduke, afterwards the emperor *Charles* the Vth; and she was conducted to *Denmark*, where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. It is to *Christiern*'s fondness for his bride, that the *Danes* owe the introduction of hortulane improvements, and the culture of foreign fruits in their country. *Christiern* then applied to the affairs of commerce, and no sooner had he settled them, than he turned his attention to *Sweden*. *Christiern*, the most despotic and most inhuman prince, by nature, of any in his time, secretly wished that he might reign over *Sweden* by conquest, rather than by compact, that he might have an opportunity to gratify his rage for blood. He gave young *Troll*, who had succeeded to the see of *Upsal*, a large sum of money to favour his interest; and no sooner was *Troll* arrived in *Sweden*, than he published his anathemas against *Sture*, who had succeeded his father as administrator. A legate from the pope, after raising large contributions in *Denmark*, was proceeding to *Sweden*, and was seemingly perverted to *Christiern*'s interest by the same arguments; but he betrayed him to *Sture*, when *Christiern* was making the greatest preparations for the conquest of *Sweden*. Before he set out, *Christiern* brought to a trial his favourite minister *Foburgh*, on a charge urged against him by *Torbern*, bailiff of the citadel of *Copenhagen*, of having intrigued with the king's mistress *Columbule*. *Torbern* not only openly accused, but privately

He marries *Isabella* of *Austria*.

privately put to death *Foburgh*, and was himſelf arreſted and tried for the ſame crime, but acquitted by the ſenate, becauſe no crime appeared againſt *Torbern*, but his having confeſſed that he had ſollicited *Columbule*'s favour. *Chriſtiern* hearing of their determination, gave a looſe to his ſanguinary diſpoſition. He ſurrounded the ſenate houſe with a body of armed ruffians, and though all his courtiers, with his queen at their head, threw themſelves at his feet, to divert his cruel purpoſe, he forced the ſenators to condemn *Torbern*, and he was executed accordingly. His deſpotic diſpoſition.

This dreadful proceeding alarmed all the civilized part of *Denmark*; but the introduction of *Lutheraniſm* into that country, in 1517, diverted the public to other objects. *Chriſtiern* was out of humour with the ſee of *Rome*, on account of the legate's treachery, and the vaſt ſums he carried out of his kingdom. He had ordered a biſhop of *Odenſee* to be confined, he had ſeized ſeveral rich benefices, and ſeemed well diſpoſed towards *Lutheraniſm*. The nobility and clergy equally ſhewed their diſapprobation of *Chriſtiern*'s conduct, but he relied on the ſtrength of his foreign alliances, and he ſent a fleet to *Sweden*, which delivered the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, who had been beſieged by the adminiſtrator in the fortreſs of *Steka*. *Chriſtiern*'s connections with the houſe of *Auſtria*, the heads of which have ever been the patrons and protectors of deſpotiſm, ſaved *Chriſtiern* on this occaſion from the reſentment of his people, by compelling the pope to take his part. It is true, his holineſs thundered out his excommunications againſt the *Lutherans*; but that was a matter of indifference to *Chriſtiern*, who had countenanced them only through conveniency, while the adminiſtrator of *Sweden*, and all his party, were excommunicated at the ſame time; and the execution of the churches ſentence was committed to *Chriſtiern*. His cruelties.

He was then entirely under the power of a *Flemiſh* old woman, *Sigebrette*, mother to his late miſtreſs *Columbule*, who had been poiſoned, and by her advice the king raiſed money for carrying on the war againſt the *Swedes*, in a moſt unheard of, oppreſſive, manner, but without daring to treſpaſs too far upon the properties of the clergy. He received, however, from *Francis* I. four thouſand auxiliary troops; and from the houſe of *Auſtria* three hundred thouſand marks, as his wife's fortune. The juncture was favourable for *Chriſtiern*, as his friendſhip might be of the utmoſt conſequence in the competition that was then depending between *Francis* and *Charles* for the empire. Fortified with thoſe aſſiſtances, *Chriſtiern* prepared to renew the war with *Sweden*, and made one *Crumpen*, an excellent officer, the miniſter of his vengeance, by giving him the command of his troops. Four deſperate battles were fought, and the *Danes* remained victorious. The archbiſhop of *Upſal* took part with *Chriſtiern*, and all the time that *Crumpen* would give to the ſtates of *Sweden*, whether they would join the king or elect a new adminiſtrator, was eleven days. The ſtates knew it was in vain to He is governed by an old woman.

conteſt *Crumpen*'s will, who appeared in behalf of his maſter in the aſſembly, and *Chriſtiern* was choſen and crowned king of *Sweden*, though *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and other ſtrong places were held by the widow of the adminiſtrator, who had been killed in one of the late battles.

He maſſacres the *Swediſh* ſenate and nobility.

Chriſtiern was above uſing any argument but the ſword, when he had power; and upon his return from *Sweden* to *Denmark*, he ſilenced all oppoſition of the people and ſenate, who in his abſence had murmured at the manner equally ridiculous and infamous, with which he was governed by *Sigebrette*, even to her attempting to raiſe a barber, who was her paramour, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of *Lunden*, and procuring *Chriſtiern*'s recommendation of him to the pope. Her violent counſels even accelerated the natural impetuoſity of *Chriſtiern*, to commit the moſt ſhocking acts of cruelty and deſpotiſm; and ſhe ſuggeſted to him the infernal project of murdering all the ſenate and nobility of *Sweden*, which he afterwards executed, as ſhall be ſeen in the hiſtory of that country. It is ſufficient to ſay here, that *Chriſtiern*, under pretence of their being excommunicated, murdered, without any form of trial, ninety-four ſenators and prelates in one day. The more he taſted of blood, the more he thirſted after it. After maſſacring the citizens of *Stockholm*, every ſtage of his march back to *Denmark*, might have been traced by the marks of blood and ruin; nor were even eccleſiaſtics exempted from his cruelty.

Guſtavus Vaſa appears.

At this time it was, that the famous *Guſtavus Vaſa*, the ſon of *Eric*, who had been butchered by *Chriſtiern*, emerged from the mines of *Dalecarlia*, to be the deliverer, ſovereign, and glory of his country; but the particulars of his hiſtory muſt be reſerved for that of *Sweden*. *Chriſtiern* was ſo unmanly as to threaten to put the mother and ſiſters of *Guſtavus* to death; but even that tender conſideration made no impreſſion upon his patriotiſm, for he put to the ſword the partizans of *Chriſtiern*, whether *Swedes* or *Danes*, wherever he found them; and he compelled *Theodore*, who was *Chriſtiern*'s general, and the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, to ſhut themſelves up in *Stockholm*. *Chriſtiern* durſt not carry his troops out of *Denmark*, where public diſcontents were every day encreaſing, to the relief of his *Swediſh* friends. All of a ſudden *Theodore* and the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, who had fled from *Stockholm*, preſented themſelves before him. *Chriſtiern* ordered *Theodore* to be tortured and put to death, and the mother and ſiſters of *Guſtavus* to be ſewed up in ſacks, and thrown into the ſea; which barbarous commands were executed: But ſome ſay, that they died in priſon, under the tortures they ſuffered by his command. No quarter was given on either ſide after this.

1522. In 1522, *Chriſtiern* ſent his firſt admiral *Norby* with a fleet to relieve *Stockholm*, then beſieged by *Guſtavus*. *Norby* had himſelf an eye on the crown of *Sweden*; but landing his men, he was defeated by *Guſtavus*, though he threw ſome ſtores and reinforcements into *Stockholm* before his return to *Denmark*.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus engaged the fleet of the *Lubeckers* in his favour; but he found himſelf, at that time, unable to take *Stockholm*. He was favoured by the general diſcontents of *Denmark*, which ſerved only to encreaſe the ferocity of *Chriſtiern*, who demanded *Holſtein* from his uncle, duke *Frederic*, whoſe prudence found means to elude the king's injuſtice. But while *Chriſtiern*'s frenzy of cruelty was at its height, the *Jutlanders* took arms, and being ſeconded by the voice of all *Sweden*, *Chriſtiern* was formally depoſed from the throne by an aſſembly of the nobles, held at *Wybourg*. It is ſaid upon good authority, that *Chriſtiern* knew nothing of his depoſition, till he diſcovered the parchment upon which it was engroſſed, and which had been left in his chamber by *Munce*, the chief juſtice of *Jutland*, who dined with him that very day, but made his eſcape. *Chriſtiern*, after this, from being dreadful and deteſtable, became abject and deſpicable. Though he was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *Copenhagen*, *Norway*, and many iſlands and places of great importance, yet he loſt all ſpirit, and deſcended to harangue even the peaſants with tears in his eyes, for his reſtoration. Finding all his efforts vain, he equipped twenty ſhips, to which he committed himſelf, his wife, his children, his treaſures, and the infamous *Sigebrette*, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage, he landed at *Weſel*.

Chriſtiern depoſed from the throne of *Denmark*.

The ſtates of *Denmark* did not long deliberate in conferring the crown upon *Chriſtiern*'s uncle *Frederic*, duke of *Sleſwick* and *Holſtein*; and *Magnus Gye*, *Chriſtiern*'s governor of *Copenhagen*, being diſappointed in the ſuccours he expected from *Germany*, ſurrendered that capital in 1524. After this, the *Norvegians* recognized *Frederic* for their king. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that *Frederic*, at this time, ſhould harbour a thought of reviving the union of *Calmar*, after the great things that *Guſtavus* had done to render *Sweden* independent; but it is certain, that he was inſtigated by the exiled archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and he even complained to the ſenate of *Sweden* of the injuſtice that had been done him, and the violation of the union of *Calmar*, by the election of *Guſtavus*. The moderation of that prince preſerved his own dignity and the faith of nations from being violated when ſo unreaſonable a ſpeech was made. He treated the *Daniſh* embaſſador with the utmoſt politeneſs and magnificence; and the ſtates, to take from *Frederic* all hopes of ſucceſs, declared to his miniſter, that out of the great and perſonal regard they bore to *Guſtavus*, they were reſolved to inveſt him with greater powers than had ever been exerciſed by any former king of *Sweden*. *Frederic*'s good ſenſe led him eaſily to perceive, that it was more proper for him to have *Guſtavus* for his ally than his enemy, eſpecially as both of them were convinced that they were equally obnoxious to *Chriſtiern*, and that his brother-in-law, the emperor, would leave nothing unattempted to replace him on his throne. In ſhort, a league offenſive and defenſive was entered into between the two reigning monarchs; and *Frederic* ſent back the adminiſtrator's

1524. *Frederic* III. endeavours to revive the union of *Calmar*.

Peace between *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

adminiſtrator's brave widow, and all the other *Swediſh* priſoners, who had been long confined in *Denmark*.

Norby ſubdued.

It was not long before this newly cemented alliance received a ſhock by the practices of *Norby*, the *Daniſh* admiral, who was governor of the iſle of *Gothland*, and exerciſed piracies againſt the ſubjects of *Lubec*, and the *Hanſe* towns. At their requeſt, *Guſtavus* attacked him by land, the *Lubeckers* blocked him up by ſea; and *Frederic* fearing that ſo fine an iſland might fall into the hands of the *Swedes*, applied to the *Lubeckers* to withdraw their aſſiſtance from *Guſtavus*, and undertook at the ſame time, that *Norby* ſhould diſcontinue his piratical practices. His negotiation was attended with ſucceſs. *Wiſby*, the chief place of the iſland, which was beſieged, was relieved through the connivance of the *Lubeckers*; but *Norby* refuſed to return to his allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*, and was no ſooner at liberty, than he declared himſelf independent, and ravaged the *Daniſh* coaſts. He was defeated by *Rantzau*, with the loſs of four thouſand men; and *Norby*, after many other loſſes, renewed his offers of ſubmiſſion to *Frederic*; but would have again prevaricated, had not *Frederic* forced him to ſurrender *Wiſby*, and evacuate the iſland, which was thus narrowly ſaved from falling into the hands of the *Swedes*.

Frederic declares himſelf a proteſtant. 1527.

Nothing had prevented the emperor *Charles* from attempting to reſtore *Chriſtiern*, but the other more momentous affairs he was engaged in; though ſome feeble attempts of that kind were made by *Margaret* of *Auſtria*. About the year 1527, *Frederic* declared for liberty of conſcience to proteſtants equally as to the *Roman* catholics, and he himſelf made uſe of the liberty he granted to others, by embracing the reformed religion. No nation had ſmarted under the tyranny of eccleſiaſtics more than *Denmark*; and after the king had declared himſelf in favour of proteſtantiſm, its progreſs was incredibly rapid. The bigotted houſe of *Auſtria* made uſe of this as an argument with the *Roman* catholics for reſtoring *Chriſtiern*; but all their attempts, though ſome of them were formidable, were defeated. The *Flemiſh* ſquadron that was in *Chriſtiern*'s ſervice, was deſtroyed to a ſhip, and *Chriſtiern* himſelf, who was carrying on the operations by land, was forced to ſhut himſelf up in the town of *Congel*, where he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to *Gylhenſtiern*, biſhop of *Odenſee*, who promiſed him better terms than he had power to fulfil, for *Frederic* ſhut the royal priſoner up in the caſtle of *Sunderburg*. *Frederic* died that ſame year, 1533, with the character of having been a wiſe and moderate prince, and the glory of being the father and patron of proteſtantiſm in *Denmark*.

Chriſtiern the IId's fleet ſhipwrecked.

He is made a priſoner. 1533.

Chriſtiern III.

A liberty of conſcience and his own example, was all the legal encouragement that *Frederic* had given to the proteſtant religion; for the *Roman* catholic prelates and clergy at the time of his death, were poſſeſſed of their great temporalities, and oppoſed the elevation of *Chriſtiern*, *John*'s eldeſt ſon, to the throne, becauſe he was a proteſtant. Their influence was ſo

powerful,

powerful, that they procured an adjournment of the diet and of the election, and even propoſed to exclude *Chriſtiern* from the throne in favour of his younger brother *John*, whom they were in hopes to educate a *Roman* catholic. This indeciſion, the interruption which the *Lubeckers* gave to the trade of *Denmark*, the intrigues of the houſe of *Holſtein*, and of the *Roman* catholics, in favour of the impriſoned *Chriſtiern*, brought *Denmark* to the brink of ruin. Prince *Chriſtiern*'s general *Rantzau*, defeated the *Lubeckers*, and made that prince maſter of the *Trave*; but the *Lubeckers* and their allies, in the mean while, conquered great part of *Denmark*. At laſt, prince, who by ſome is called duke, *Chriſtiern*, was choſen king by a majority of the ſtates, who were weary with the long ſtate of anarchy and civil diſtraction they had ſuffered. Notwithſtanding his election and coronation, the *Lubeckers* and *Chriſtopher*, count of *Oldenburg*, declared for *Chriſtiern* II; but the third *Chriſtiern*'s cauſe was eſpouſed by *Guſtavus*, king of *Sweden*, though the count of *Oldenburg* reduced *Fionia* to the allegiance of *Chriſtiern* II. It was owing to the valour and conduct of *Rantzau* and *Eric Banner*, that *Chriſtiern* III. was enabled to keep poſſeſſion of the throne, for *Copenhagen* was in the hands of the count; and the power of the clergy, together with the factious diſpoſitions of the nobility, threatened ſome dreadful revolution, when *Guſtavus* of *Sweden* appeared on the frontiers of *Denmark*, in favour of *Chriſtiern* III. His arrival changed the face of affairs. The count and the *Lubeckers* were entirely defeated, and the enemies of *Chriſtiern*, among whom were the *Mecklenburghers*, ſplit among themſelves, ſo that *Chriſtiern* III. by the aſſiſtance of *Guſtavus*, was enabled to form the ſiege of *Copenhagen*.

Diſputes about the ſucceſſion to the crown.

While this ſiege was carrying on, the emperor *Charles* V. formed a project for rendering *Sweden* and *Denmark* fiefs of the empire, to be held by the elector palatine. This produced a perſonal interview between *Guſtavus* and *Chriſtiern* III. but the reſult is not known. It is, however, certain that the emperor embroiled the affairs of *Chriſtiern* III. in ſuch a manner, that he gained the clergy of *Norway* to his ſide. *Chriſtiern* was beſet with difficulties on every hand, eſpecially after he had made a peace with the *Lubeckers*, without conſulting *Guſtavus*, who immediately ordered his troops to withdraw out of *Denmark*; but was eaſily prevailed upon to accept of *Chriſtiern*'s apology, on account of the neceſſity he was under for acting as he did. The ſubmiſſion of *George Munter*, a great partizan for the imperialiſts, and governor of *Malmoe*, was of deciſive ſervice to *Chriſtiern* III. for it was owing to his perſuaſion that the inhabitants of *Copenhagen*, after ſuffering incredible miſeries during the ſiege of their city, ſurrendered themſelves to *Chriſtiern*, in 1536. The count of *Oldenburg* was taken priſoner on that occaſion, and pardoned by *Chriſtiern* on account of his conſanguinity.

Chriſtiern reduces *Copenhagen*, 1536.

It

and abolishes the *Romish* religion in *Denmark*.

It was easy now for *Christiern* to foresee, that the difficulties he had to encounter with against princes so bigotted to the *Roman* religion, as those of *Austria*, left him no alternative but that of his own preservation, or the extinction of the temporalities of the *Romish* bishops, which could not be done without a thorough reformation in matters of religion. In this, he was seconded by his nobility, who were naturally enemies to the prelates, and setting all considerations of their sanctity aside, by a decree of a diet held at *Odensee*, the persons of all the bishops of *Denmark* were ordered to be arrested, their estates to be vested in the crown, and their temporalities for ever abolished. It is surprizing with what tranquillity this important decree was executed; but it was questioned, at that time, whether it was sound policy in *Christiern*, entirely to remove the barrier that could protect the crown from the overgrown power of the nobility. Our opinion is, that *Christiern* could act no otherwise than he did, considering the powerful pretenders he had among the *Roman* catholics to his crown, and the vast opportunities they had of associating themselves with a popish prelacy against a protestant prince. The only remedy which *Christiern* could have applied, perhaps, was impracticable; that of vesting protestant prelates or ecclesiastics with a part, or the whole of the power and property taken from the *Roman* catholics.

His differences with *Gustavus* of *Sweden*,

The affairs of *Norway* next drew *Christiern*'s attention; but the archbishop *Olaus*, his capital enemy there, no sooner heard of his preparations to reduce it, than he withdrew to *Holland*, and the people returned to their allegiance. This great point being effected, *Christiern* ordered a protestant profession of faith to be drawn up, and to be tendered to the inferior clergy, leaving them at liberty either to embrace it, or to leave the kingdom, which many of them did; and from that period we may date the firm establishment of protestantism in *Denmark*. This alteration in religion was so far from being attended with any commotions, as happened in other countries, that *Denmark* enjoyed an unusual state of tranquillity for two years after it took place. *Christiern* employed this interval in salutary regulations for the good of his people, and in making friends of the *Hamburghers*, who obliged the elector palatine to evacuate the duchy of *Holstein*, which he had invaded with fire and sword. *Gustavus* of *Sweden*, magnanimous as he was, could not without uneasiness see the desirable situation of *Christiern*, especially as the latter had never formally renounced his
1539. claims to the *Swedish* crown. About the year 1539, *Gustavus* complained of various insults and injuries which had been done to his subjects by *Danish* soldiers and sailors, and made a demand of large sums of money which he alledged were due to him from *Christiern*. It is probable, that such an intricacy of claims might have produced a quarrel between the two crowns, had not their common danger from *Germany* kept them

them united. *Chriſtiern* knew this, and gave very little way to the *Swedes*. At laſt thoſe two potentates had a perſonal conference, in which they found it their mutual intereſt to fix the term of five years, within which all their differences were to be adjuſted, except that relating to *Gothland*, which was referred to a future diſcuſſion. It was at this interview that *Chriſtiern* made *Guſtavus* fully ſenſible of the emperor's deſigns upon both the crowns, that the elector palatine was only his agent, and that their natural ally was *Francis* the Iſt of *France*, the inveterate and powerful enemy of *Charles*, and with *Francis* they actually concluded a treaty. This meaſure was attended by ſome repriſals, which the governors of the *Netherlands* made upon the *Hamburghers*, whom they conſidered as the ſubjects of the *Danes*, but the quarrel went no farther than the commiſſion of ſome piratical acts on both ſides.

About this time, *Chriſtiern* ſent to *Sweden* troops, and ſome money, which enabled *Guſtavus* to quell a rebellion which had been fomented againſt him by the imperial court, and omitted nothing that could teſtify his friendſhip and gratitude for *Guſtavus*. *Chriſtiern* even publiſhed a manifeſto, ſhewing that he looked upon the intereſt of *Sweden* and *Denmark* to be the ſame; and we are told that he fitted out a fleet, carrying ten thouſand men, to be employed againſt the emperor in the *Netherlands*, but that it was wrecked or forced back by ſtreſs of weather. After this, *Charles* diſcontinued all his hoſtilities and intrigues againſt *Chriſtiern*, and both princes entered into treaties, which rendered the remaining part of *Chriſtiern*'s reign tranquil. In 1544, he divided *Holſtein* between his two brothers, *John* and *Adolphus*, in expreſs contravention of the act of his acceſſion; but though the nobility complained loudly of this diſmemberment, *Chriſtiern* remained firm to his purpoſe, and the execution of it was attended with no diſagreeable conſequences, at leaſt, for that time. whom he aſſiſts. 1544.

Chriſtiern the IId was ſtill alive, and a priſoner; but in the treaty of *Spire*, concluded between *Chriſtiern* the IIId and the emperor, his cauſe had been entirely abandoned by the latter, upon *Chriſtiern* promiſing to grant him ſome indulgences, and to enlarge his confinement, provided he made an ample renunciation of all his claims upon the crown of *Denmark*, which *Chriſtiern* the IId accordingly did, in the moſt comprehenſive form. The glory and tranquillity which *Chriſtiern* enjoyed through this renunciation, was ſomewhat affected by the *Swedes* having rendered their crown hereditary in the family of *Guſtavus*, which deſtroyed the poſſibility of reviving the union of *Calmar*. *Chriſtiern* expreſſed his diſſatisfaction no otherwiſe, than by ordering money to be ſtruck with the impreſſion of the three crowns that had been worn by his predeceſſors; nor could all the remonſtrances of *Guſtavus* prevail upon him to alter his deviſe, which is now the arms of *Denmark*, if it was not ſo before. *Chriſtiern* the IId renounces the crown of *Denmark*.

In 1547, while *Denmark* was enjoying 1547.

enjoying a profound peace, *Chriſtiern*'s eldeſt ſon, *Frederic*, was recognized as his ſucceſſor, by being crowned king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and the *Vandal* ſtates depending on the crown of *Denmark*, were confirmed in their privileges. The reſt of *Chriſtiern*'s reign was ſpent in the internal regulations of his government, and in improving the kingdom, which now bounded all his wiſhes; for he refuſed the ſovereignty of the city of *Revel*, when offered to him by its magiſtrates. He died on the 1ſt of *January* 1558, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign; the happieſt prince of his age, and the beſt deſerving to be ſo, if we except, perhaps, his illuſtrious contemporary, *Guſtavus* of *Sweden*.

Death of *Chriſtiern* the IIId. 1558.

Frederic the IId began his reign by ſubduing and reducing the *Dithmarſians*, a conqueſt that could be glorious to his arms only by the defeat which that brave, but barbarous people had given to his predeceſſor *John*. In 1561, ſome differences broke out between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which was now governed by *Eric*, the ſon of *Guſtavus*, but they were terminated by a peace between the two crowns. A dark conſpiracy, formed among the princes of the north, broke out at this time, which gave ſo much umbrage to *Frederic*, that he ordered the *Swediſh* embaſſadors to be arreſted in his country, through which they were paſſing, under a ſafe conduct, into *Germany*. It is hard to ſay on which ſide the juſtice of this war lay. *Eric* complained of *Frederic*'s having ſeized part of *Finland*, during a late irruption of the *Muſcovites* into that country, and that a large ſum of money was ſtill due from *Denmark* to *Sweden*. *Frederic*, on the other hand, was uneaſy at the claims which he had upon *Sweden* being poſtponed, and both nations were now rivals for commerce. The *Lubeckers* declared for *Frederic*, but their joint fleets were beat by that of *Sweden*, and the *Daniſh* admiral, *Brakenhuiſen*, was made priſoner. We are inclined to believe that a treaty of marriage, the particulars of which will be ſeen in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, between *Eric* and queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, and which was pretty far advanced in the time of the late *Guſtavus*, did not a little contribute to excite the jealouſy of the northern powers towards *Eric* at this time, for a confederacy was formed againſt him, conſiſting of *Denmark*, *Muſcovy*, *Poland*, and ſome of the *Hanſe* towns, beſides *Lubec*. *Eric* would have gladly compromiſed his differences with *Frederic*, but the latter had now an army of above forty thouſand troops on foot, and a ſtrong armament at ſea, and did not vouchſafe to give even an anſwer to *Eric*'s complaints and remonſtrances. After war had been formally denounced by *Frederic*, he took *Elfſburg*, and, winter ſucceeding, the elector of *Saxony* and the prince of *Heſſe*, who were *Eric*'s friends, offered their mediation between the two monarchs, but, though a congreſs was appointed, it was without effect; for *Eric* thought himſelf a match for *Frederic*. His fleet, however, was compleatly defeated by the combined ſquadrons of *Lubec* and *Denmark*, and half

Frederic the IId. 1561.

His wars with *Sweden*,

half of it deſtroyed; but a detachment of his army took *Drontheim* and *Sleenwyckholm* in *Norway*, without being able to hold them, for the *Swedes* were driven out by the viceroy.

Eric, at this time, was ſupported from *Germany*, and many of the *Hanſe* towns, *Stralſund* in particular, took his part. His fleet being reinforced, ſurprized and defeated that of *Denmark*, and in a bloody obſtinate engagement, wherein the whole naval power of both crowns was employed, and which laſted for ſome days, the *Swedes* remained victorious. The war by land was carried on by the two princes with equal fury, in *Schoonen*, *Bleking*, and *Smalandia*. The *Swedes* took *Wardeburg*, and the *Danes* endeavouring to retake it, a general battle enſued, in which the *Swedes* were commanded by *Eric*, but were defeated, with the loſs of ſeven thouſand men killed, while the loſs of the *Danes* was ſo great, that they could do no more than keep the field. This war was continued during the years 1565 and 1566, with circumſtances of barbarity that were ſhocking to humanity. The *Danes* had the advantage by land, and the *Swedes* by ſea; and we are told of one ſtorm, in which nine thouſand *Danes* periſhed in eight ſhips; but this loſs was in part compenſated by an epidemical diſtemper which broke out among the *Swediſh* troops, which however did not hinder *Eric* from making a very unadviſed irruption into *Norway*, where he was defeated by the *Danes*, and loſt great part of his army; ſo that, upon the whole, *Frederic* ſeems to have had the advantage in the war. In 1567, the *Daniſh* general, *Rantzau*, made an irruption into *Smalandia*, where, after reducing many places, he obtained two glorious victories over the *Swediſh* generals.

terminated to his advantage.

1565.
1566.

1567.

In 1568, *Eric* being depoſed by his brother, *Frederic* granted a truce to *Sweden* for ſix months, but upon terms preſcribed by himſelf; and this truce was followed by a definitive peace, that gave back to *Frederic* all his ſhips which had been taken in the war, and beſides a vaſt number of other places which were ſurrendered to the *Danes*, they were left in undiſputed poſſeſſion of *Gothland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, and *Bleking*. The *Swedes* likewiſe engaged to pay a conſiderable ſum towards the war, and the *Danes* obtained other very honourable and advantageous terms, both for themſelves and their allies. *Frederic*, perhaps, failed in his politics in forcing the *Swedes* to agree to a peace ſo diſadvantageous, and ſo diſgraceful to themſelves. The proceedings of the embaſſadors who made it were diſowned by the voice of the nation, and the war was renewed, or rather continued, with equal fury as before. As the bloody fruits of it were equally ruinous to both crowns, without bringing any real advantage to either, a new negotiation was agreed on, and actually concluded, not much different from the preceding. *Livonia* having revolted to the duke of *Holſtein*, he, with the conſent of the czar and the king of *Denmark*, had been declared king of that country. After this peace was concluded, *Frederic* married the princeſs *Sophia*,

1568. He makes a good peace.

Sophia, daughter to the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and assisted his father-in-law in a quarrel he had with the cities of *Rostock* and
1575. *Hamburgh*. In 1575, *Frederic* compromised some differences that had happened between his troops and the *Muscovites*, who behaved with unparalleled barbarity in *Livonia*; and *Denmark*, after this, enjoyed for some years an uninterrupted state of tranquillity, which rendered *Frederic* very respectable in
1582. the eyes of foreigners; for we find that in 1582, queen *Elizabeth* of *England* sent him the order of the garter by the lord *Willoughby*, but could not prevail upon him to mitigate the high duties paid by her subjects in the navigation of the *Sound*. Next year, not only the *English*, but the *Dutch*, the *Lubeckers*, and the *Hanse* towns, complained of the same impositions; and when the latter applied to the emperor, as lord paramount of *Denmark*, *Frederic* ordered the taxes to be doubled, though he afterwards restored them to the same footing as before, not chusing to render the *Lubeckers* his enemies.

He sells *Courland*. About this time died, without issue, *Magnus* duke of *Courland*, and his succession was disputed between *Frederic* and the king of *Poland*. Their differences were referred to the duke of *Prussia*, one of the most artful princes of his time, who prevailed upon *Frederic* to accept of a sum of money instead of the duchy, though it certainly belonged to him, and with the king of *Poland*, to suffer it to remain in his hands, by which he made a noble addition to his other dominions. In

James the VIth, king of *Scotland*, marries his daughter. 1589, *James* the VIth of *Scotland*, married the princess *Anne*, daughter to *Frederic*, who appears to have entered much deeper than his predecessors ever had done, into the politics of other *European* princes. He kept embassadors at all their courts, and his was filled with theirs. Not only queen *Elizabeth*, but the *Spaniards* traversed this match with all their

His death. art, but without making any impression upon *Frederic*, who was flattered with the prospect of being father-in-law to the first king of *Great Britain*. With regard to *James*, it is certain he could not, in point of interest, have made a better choice, especially as he was apprehensive that his succession to the crown of *England* might be disputed, in which case *Frederic* would have been the most unexceptionable ally he could have had, as being a protestant. About this time *Frederic* died, in the 29th year of his reign, and the 54th of his age. He had all the great and virtuous qualities of his father, but his manners were more polished, and his court more magnificent.

Christiern the IVth. *Christiern* the IVth, at the time of his father's death, was but eleven years of age, and the care of the government was committed to four regents. Its tranquillity was secured by the distractions which prevailed in *Sweden* and the neighbouring countries, which left the regents at liberty to give an excellent education to their young monarch, who, in 1596, married

a brutal prince. *Anna Catharina*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburgh*. *Elizabeth* of *England* sent the lord *Zouch* to compliment *Christiern*

tiern upon his marriage, and to inſiſt upon his remedying ſome hardſhips which her trading ſubjects ſuffered in *Denmark*, but was ſo far from receiving any ſatisfaction, that his *Daniſh* majeſty wrote her a letter to inform her, that ſhe might take it as a favour that the ſhips, as well as the effects of her ſubjects trading in his dominions, were not confiſcated. This letter was followed by a *Daniſh* embaſſador, (in *Rymer*'s collections, named *Oragius)* who demanded, in pretty high terms, ſatisfaction for the injuries the *Danes* had ſuffered from the *Engliſh*, whom he called the younger brothers of the *Danes*. Though that great princeſs was not uſed to ſuch a freedom of language, yet ſhe thought proper to appoint a commiſſion to examine into the true ſtate of the caſe.

His wars with *Sweden.*

Such a proceeding, towards the moſt reſpectable character of a crowned head of any in the world, may give us ſome idea of *Chriſtiern*'s natural diſpoſition, which was fierce, vindictive, luſtful, and barbarous beyond belief. Upon the acceſſion of *James* to the crown of *England*, he ſent *Chriſtiern* the order of the garter, with a commiſſion to ſtand godfather to his young ſon; and in *July* 1606, *Chriſtiern* paid a viſit to *James* at *London*. During his reſidence there, he behaved with unparalleled brutality, eſpecially towards the counteſs of *Nottingham*; and the vices of him and his attendants, eſpecially that of drinking, ſhocked the *Engliſh*. In 1609, a war broke out between *Denmark* and *Sweden*. Both princes had their complaints to colour their real views, which were each to reannex to his own crown what the other had taken from it. *Chriſtiern* complained of *Charles* having taken the titles of king of *Lapland*, which he alledged belonged to *Norway*; and upon this ridiculous pretext, in 1611, he beſieged and took *Calmar*, where he put to the ſword every living ſoul he found in the place. *Chriſtiern* left the ſiege of the citadel to his general, *Lucas Crab*, and returned to *Copenhagen*, but *Crab* was beaten, the ſiege was raiſed, and the *Swedes* took *Chriſtianſtad*. *Chriſtiern* ſoon recovered this loſs, by many advantages he got over the *Swedes*, eſpecially in taking the citadel of *Calmar*, and reducing *Borkholm* and the iſland of *Oeland*. But a genius now roſe in the north, which was to eclipſe that of *Chriſtiern*, and all the military characters of that age.

1606.

1609.

1611.

He is choſen head of the proteſtants in *Germany.*

This was the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*, whoſe father's life was thought to have been ſhortened by melancholy. *Guſtavus* drove the *Danes* out of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, and diſſipated their army. It is hard to ſay what the conſequence might have been, had not *Guſtavus* been embroiled with the *Muſcovites*, and had not *Chriſtiern*'s brother-in-law, the king of *England*, mediated a peace between him and *Guſtavus*, upon much better terms than *Chriſtiern* had a right to expect. This peace produced another viſit of *Chriſtiern* to *London*, without any other viſible reaſon than to thank *James* for his mediation, and to enjoy the luxuries of eating and drinking, which he could not find in his own country. The war ſtill continuing

between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia*, *Denmark* proſpered ſo greatly in her trade, as to become the object of envy to her neighbouring powers. The reader, in other parts of this hiſtory, has been made acquainted with the jealouſy which the northern courts now entertained of the houſe of *Auſtria*, eſpecially as to the ſucceſſion to the duchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. In 1621, upon the defeat of the elector palatine, who had aſſumed the title of king of *Bohemia*, a league was formed at *Siegeberg*, in which the kings of *Great Britain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, the ſtates of *Holland*, and almoſt all the proteſtant princes of the empire, were parties againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*. *Chriſtiern*, who was then the moſt powerful prince in the north, was at the head of this league, the progreſs of which has been already related in the hiſtory of *Germany*. It is allowed on all hands, that *Chriſtiern* exerciſed his new dignity with unexceptionable courage, zeal, and no ſmall ſhare of military abilities; and if he was unſucceſsful, it was owing to his being oppoſed by *Tilly* and *Wallenſtein*, then thought to be the two greateſt generals of the age. He even ſometimes foiled them, and kept the field, though he received an unfortunate wound in his head. When he was driven out of *Germany* into his own country, he diſputed with theſe two generals every inch of ground they gained, till at laſt, his men, daunted by their defeats, loſt all ſpirit. The ſtates of his kingdom interpoſed, the emperor diſregarded all they could offer, and this raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of indignation among the *Danes*, that in 1628, the emperor, at the conſent of his catholic electors, conſented to treat at *Lubec*, where *Chriſtiern*'s deputies acted with ſo much ſpirit, that he recovered all he had loſt, excepting ſome places that were ceded to the houſe of *Holſtein*, particularly the iſland of *Femeren*. Thoſe ceſſions diſguſted *Chriſtiern* with that houſe, but his ſubjects were ſo well pleaſed with the peace of *Lubec*, that he durſt not enter upon hoſtilities, and *Chriſtiern* applied himſelf to rebuild *Gluckſtadt*, and to reinforce the cuſtoms and payments due to his government. The meaſures he took for thoſe purpoſes, gave umbrage to the *Hamburghers*, and a war broke out between them and the *Danes*, to the advantage of the latter, till the proteſtant princes prevailed upon *Chriſtiern* to liſten to an accommodation.

Though *Chriſtiern* was in his heart a proteſtant and an honeſt man, yet he was not proof againſt the ſtings of jealouſy, when he heard of the wonderful exploits that had been performed by his neighbour of *Sweden*. Being open in his temper, his diſguſt became ſo viſible, that the imperialiſts did not fail to fill him with ſurmizes; and *Pappenheim*, the imperial miniſter, even offered to put the duchy of *Bremen* into his hands, if he would declare againſt *Guſtavus*. The ſtates of *Denmark* interpoſed, and in a manner obliged *Chriſtiern* to renew his good underſtanding with *Sweden*. In the year 1632, the aſtoniſhing ſucceſſes of *Guſtavus* awakened *Chriſtiern*'s jealouſy

Vol. IX. p. 145.

1621.

Ibid. p. 151. & ſeq.

Is brave, but overmatched.

1628.

He is jealous of *Guſtavus Adolphus*.

1632.

louſy afreſh, and he offered himſelf as a mediator, to put a ſtop to the miſeries of *Germany*, but his mediation was rejected by the king of *Sweden*, who thought them partial to the imperialiſts. *Chriſtiern* being diſappointed in this project, applied himſelf to the means of preventing the too great aggrandizement of *Guſtavus* in the north, in which he was flattered with the aſſiſtance of *Spain* and the duke of *Holſtein*, who perſuaded him that it was practicable for him to ruin the *Dutch*, and to conquer *Sweden*. The principles upon which this plan reſted, were romantic to the laſt degree, for the duke of *Holſtein* actually attempted to cut a canal through an iſthmus which divides the *Baltic* from the ocean, in order to open an immediate communication with *Perſia*, to which country he ſent a famous embaſſy on that account. The project between him and *Chriſtiern* was agreed upon, but the *Spaniards*, who had been principals in the execution of the ſcheme, were beaten at ſea by the *Dutch*. This affair coſt *Chriſtiern* large ſums of money in maintaining fleets and armies, but gave no kind of diſquiet to the *Spaniſh* miniſtry, who laughed at the affected ſecrecy with which the whole was carried on. At laſt the *Swedes* took an opportunity of revenging themſelves, and all of a ſudden their famous general, *Torſtenſon*, made a ſudden irruption into *Holſtein*, even while deputies were met from almoſt all the powers of *Europe* at *Oſnaburg*, for the eſtabliſhment of a general peace. *Torſtenſon*'s progreſs was ſo rapid, that he took *Kiel*, *Ranſburg*, and *Rantzau*, forced the duke of *Holſtein*, in the moſt mortifying manner, to abandon his connections with *Denmark*, and conquered almoſt all *Jutland*. *Chriſtiern* certainly brought this chaſtiſement upon himſelf and his ally, by his underhand connections with the houſe of *Auſtria*, which aroſe from his jealouſy of the *Swedes*, and which all his caution could not conceal.

Holſtein invaded.

Chriſtiern was far from being wanting to himſelf when this ſtorm fell upon him. His diſpoſitions were ſo vigorous and juſt, that he diſappointed the *Swedes* in their attempts upon the other parts of his dominions, and his marine gave many ſevere blows to the commerce of *Sweden*. Old as he was, he filled all *Europe* with his manifeſtos, which were ſtrongly and plauſibly penned, againſt the injuſtice of the *Swedes*, and prevailed with the imperial court to ſend count *Gallas* with an army to his aſſiſtance, while in his own perſon he undertook a war of diverſion, and beſieged *Gottenburg*. That important place muſt have fallen into his hands, had not count *Horn* and a *Dutch* fleet relieved it, but *Chriſtiern*'s attempt anſwered ſo far, that it obliged the *Swedes* to evacuate *Fionia*. While war was thus raging in the north, the *French* and *Dutch* offered their mediation. *Chriſtiern*, whoſe fire, courage and ſpirit ſeemed to grow with his age, rejected it, and throwing himſelf on board his fleet, he engaged that of *Sweden* with unparalleled intrepidity. He expoſed his perſon equally with the meaneſt of his ſailors; he received two wounds, one in his eye by a

Vigorous conduct of *Chriſtiern*,

muſket, the other in his ear by a cannon ball. Though his ſhip was a wreck, he could not be perſuaded to leave the line, and he muſt have deſtroyed the enemy's fleet, had not his wounds rendered his officers ſo cautious, that it gave *Fleming*, the *Swediſh* admiral, an opportunity of retiring in the night-time to *Chriſtianpreſs*. Next day *Chriſtiern* inſulted the *Swedes* in their harbour, where *Fleming* was killed by a cannon ball, but *Chriſtiern* not being able to draw them to a ſecond engagement, returned with part of his fleet to *Copenhagen*, and left the other part under his admiral, *Ghed*. *Wrangel* was now the *Swediſh* admiral, and he in his turn inſulted *Ghed*, who refuſed to fight him, for which *Chriſtiern* afterwards ordered him to be tried, and executed. Though the conferences for a peace were then far advanced at *Munſter* and *Oſnaburg*, yet all the interpoſition the mediators could employ, did not divert *Chriſtiern* from again trying his fortune by ſea againſt the *Swedes*. An engagement happened off the iſland *Femeren*, where the *Daniſh* fleet was not only beaten, but deſtroyed; four thouſand men were killed, and only two ſhips eſcaped, the reſt being taken, ſunk, and run aſhore. Even this diſaſter did not prevail upon *Chriſtiern* to lower the duties of the *Sound*, which rendered the commercial part of *Europe* his open or ſecret enemies; nor could all the addreſs of *Tuillerie*, the *French* embaſſador, have diſpoſed him to peace, if he could have depended upon the promiſes made him by the imperialiſts.

whoſe fleet is deſtroyed.

A peace.

Chriſtiern, at laſt, ſeeing himſelf and his dominions on the verge of ruin, and that a *Dutch* fleet had arrived in the *Sound* to the aſſiſtance of the *Swedes*, conſented to a peace which had been negotiated at *Broſembroo*. By this treaty, the *Swedes* gave up the conqueſts they had made in *Denmark*, but *Chriſtiern*, on the other hand, was obliged to give up *Gothland*, *Oſel*, and *Jemperland*, and to give the *Swedes* poſſeſſion of the province of *Halland* for thirty years, as a pledge for the obſervation of the treaty, and likewiſe to lower the duties of the *Sound*. Soon after the concluſion of this peace, *Chriſtiern* died, on the 28th of *February* 1648, after reigning ſixteen years, and living ſeventy-one. He was a violent, but magnanimous, prince, and inherited many of the great qualities, but more of the failings, of his anceſtors. His jealouſy and hatred of *Sweden* formed the chief ſources of his misfortunes; but it is admitted on all hands, that while he was at the head of the proteſtant confederacy in the north, no prince ever behaved with greater zeal and good faith than he did. He had a natural ſon, *Waldemar*, whom he had by a beloved miſtreſs, and who was impriſoned in *Ruſſia*, to which court he repaired in order to marry the czar's daughter, becauſe he refuſed to conform to the *Greek* church; and his captivity greatly affected *Chriſtiern*.

1648. Death of *Chriſtiern*.

Frederic the IIId.

Frederic the IIId was the only legitimate ſon of *Chriſtiern* the IVth, but a ſtrong party of the nobility who were inſa-

tiably

tiably bent upon the enlargement of their own power, was for calling *Waldemar* to the crown, for two reaſons; firſt, to ſhew that they could diſpoſe of it as they pleaſed; and ſecondly, becauſe they thought they could oblige him to grant them what terms they pleaſed. The voice of the people, however, was for *Frederic*, and his party among the nobility was ſo numerous, that his right was acknowledged. Among the firſt of his public acts, was his receiving two hundred thouſand rix dollars, and concluding a treaty, by which he was to have a hundred and fifty thouſand florins a year from the *Dutch*, for the free paſſage of the *Sound*. The empty ſtate of the treaſury compelled *Frederic* to agree to this treaty, by which he was a conſiderable ſufferer; and he raiſed himſelf enemies among the northern powers, who thought that the *Dutch* had already ingroſſed too much of the trade to the *Baltic*. The grand marſhal, *Ulefeld*, was then the moſt powerful ſubject in the kingdom. His influence was ſuch, that *Frederic* could leſſen it no other way, than by encouraging a report of his having poiſoned the late king, and this forced him to take ſhelter in *Sweden*, where he was protected by queen *Chriſtina*, daughter of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*; a proof that matters were then on a very indifferent footing between the two crowns. The year 1651 was diſtinguiſhed by the eſtabliſhment of a *Daniſh* company in the *Eaſt Indies*, at the inſtigation of the elector palatine, who was to advance a fourth part of the joint ſtock. Next year the *Dutch*, who were then entering upon a war with *England*, required *Frederick* to perform his engagements, by which he was obliged to aſſiſt them with four thouſand men. *Frederic* found means to evade this demand, by pretending he was not ſatisfied who was the aggreſſor; but, about the ſame time, he was guilty of a breach of public faith, by ſeizing a fleet of twenty-two *Engliſh* merchantmen, to whom he had promiſed protection againſt the *Dutch*. *Frederic* might have paid dear for this proceeding, had not the *Engliſh*, at that time, depended on their trade to the *Baltic* for all their materials in the ſhip-building, with which the ſequeſtered fleet was laden. This was the reaſon why the *Engliſh* commodore, *Ball*, who ſailed with a ſquadron to take thoſe ſhips under his convoy, had no inſtructions to act offenſively when *Frederic* refuſed to ſuffer them to depart. In 1653, *Frederic* found it his intereſt to conclude a treaty of ſubſidy with the *Dutch*, by which, in conſideration of a hundred and forty thouſand rix dollars, to be paid him yearly, he engaged to keep in readineſs twenty ſail of ſhips. In this and all his other negotiations with the *Dutch* at that time, *Frederic* diſcovered himſelf to be a moſt accompliſhed politician, for he roſe in his demands, becauſe he knew his friendſhip to be of ſo much importance to *Holland* in her war with *England*, that the *States General* durſt deny him nothing. Next year, *Frederic* prevailed with the *Dutch* to accept of his renunciation of his ſubſidy for the navigation of the *Sound*.

State of *Denmark*.

Ulefeld baniſhed.

1651.

1653. Treaty with the *Dutch*,

whose fleet appears in the *Baltic*,

All this while *Ulefeld* remained at the court of *Sweden*, hatching conſpiracies and publiſhing invectives againſt *Frederic*. The latter demanded, pretty peremptorily, that he ſhould be given up, which *Chriſtina* refuſed to comply with, though *Frederic* proved that he had embezzled a large ſum of money, which he *(Frederic)* had paid into his hands, for the uſe of his couſin, *Charles* the IId, the exiled king of *England*. As yet no hoſtilities had been entered into between *Chriſtina* and *Frederic*; but upon the acceſſion of her ſucceſſor, *Charles* the Xth, and upon the progreſs of his arms in *Livonia* and *Pomerania*, freſh engagements were entered into between *Frederic* and the *Dutch* for checking them. *Charles* was then on the point of beſieging *Dantzic*, when, all of a ſudden, forty ſail of *Dutch* men of war, under the famous *Opdam*, appeared in the *Baltic*. *Frederic* diſclaimed his having had any previous knowledge of their arrival, but refuſed to break his treaty with *Holland*, which made it plain that he intended to take the firſt opportunity of recovering *Halland*, which had been ſequeſtered to the *Swedes* by the treaty of *Broſembroo*. He was, however, diſappointed, for while he thought himſelf ſecure of his great point, he ſaw *Opdam* leave the *Baltic*, in conſequence of a ſecret treaty which had been concluded between the *States General* and the crown of *Sweden*. *Frederic*, on this occaſion, acted upon, perhaps, too refined principles, for he had refuſed to enter upon hoſtilities againſt the *Swedes*, in hopes that they would be weakened by the *Dutch*, ſo that he would receive but little reſiſtance in his favourite purpoſe. The late treaty of *Elbing* was not, however, well reliſhed in *Holland*, where it was found to be inconſiſtent with the intereſt of the republic to diſoblige *Frederic*, ſo that the latter was privately encouraged to enter immediately upon hoſtilities againſt the *Swedes*. The *Dutch* merchants fitted out privateers under his colours, and, at laſt, the *States General* flatly refuſed to ratify the treaty of *Elbing*, by which refuſal, *Frederic* and the *Dutch* were once more connected.

and departs.

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War between *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

The firſt hoſtilities broke out in *Bremen*, where the *Danes* were defeated by *Wrangel*, with the loſs of three thouſand men; and *Frederic*, after in vain endeavouring, in conjunction with the *Dutch* privateers, to beſiege *Dantzic*, retreated to guard his capital. *Charles Guſtavus*, though he had ſuffered greatly in *Poland*, was ſoon at the head of an army, with which he ravaged *Holſtein*; and *Wrangel*, who was both his admiral and general, took by ſurprize, *Frederic*'s *Odde*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the north. *Bilde* was at this time general to *Frederic*, but though he was an able officer, he was not comparable to thoſe of the *Swedes*; ſo that all he and the other *Daniſh* generals could do, was to defend the frontiers of the kingdom. A drawn fight by ſea happened between the *Danes* and the *Swedes*, in which the former were deſerted by their *Dutch* allies, and the *Danes* thought themſelves victorious in not being beaten. The truth is, *Frederic*'s prerogative

tive was so bounded, and he himself was so much thwarted by his nobility, that he was unable to exert the powers of his kingdom. He had the address, however, to borrow six hundred thousand livres of the *Dutch*, to whom *Charles Gustavus* became every day more formidable. *Charles* perceiving a powerful confederacy to be formed against him, took the amazing resolution of invading *Fionia* by marching over the ice. This he performed, though three of his regiments were drowned, by a sudden thaw. He defeated the *Danes*, and took *Odensee* and *Nyburg*, and then he performed the most daring resolution that is recorded in history, that of marching over the great *Belt* on the ice; an enterprize which he performed with astonishing abilities. *Cromwell*, the *English* usurper, had then a resident *(Meadows)* in *Denmark*, and he met *Charles* in *Laland*, with an offer of his master's mediation. *Charles* durst not affront *Cromwell*, but he appointed *Ulefeld* to be his plenipotentiary in the negotiation. *Frederic*'s circumstances were such, that he was forced to submit to the indignity of treating with his own rebel, though he knew he was carrying on intrigues with his nobility to dethrone him. *Charles*, while this negotiation was carrying on in appearance only, was making rapid advances to besiege *Copenhagen*, where *Frederic* resided. The haughtiness of *Ulefeld*, and his imperious demands, were of service to him, for they united his people to oppose *Charles*. The behaviour of *Frederic* at this time, was firm, wise and magnanimous; for though his capital was in no condition to stand a siege, though his army was but a handful, and his nobility discontented, he made dispositions, in case of extremity, either to conquer or to fall with his country. It was not the interest either of *Cromwell* or the *States General*, to see a king of *Sweden* master of *Denmark*; and they managed with so much address, that a treaty was set on foot and concluded at *Roschild*, by which *Frederic* ceded the provinces of *Halland*, *Bleking* and *Scania*, the island of *Bournholm*, and *Bahus*, and *Drontheim* in *Norway* to the *Swedes*.

The king of *Sweden*'s amazing march on the ice.

A treaty concluded

The famous *Van Buiningen*, one of the wisest and honestest statesmen in *Europe*, was then embassador from the *States General* to *Frederic*, to whom he was a firm friend. Though he could not prevent the conclusion of the treaty, which was so disadvantageous to *Denmark*, he advised *Frederic* to evade it, which *Charles* perceiving, he once more marched his army towards *Copenhagen*, but was stopt by the mediating powers, thro' whose great address a personal interview was effected between *Charles* and *Frederic*, who disdained taking the advantage of having his enemy in his power, and peace was again concluded. Notwithstanding all the appearances of personal friendship, with which the two kings parted, yet the resolution of *Charles* to become master of *Denmark*, was rather confirmed than abated, by the visit he paid to *Frederic*, who, he observed, had little more than the appearances of sovereignty. Pretexts were not wanting, drawn from *Frederic*'s dilatory

and evaded.

performance of what regarded *Holſtein*, for renewing the war. All *Europe* was aſtoniſhed at the vaſt preparations made by *Charles*, and at a loſs to account for their object. *Tarlon*, the *French* embaſſador, diſcovered it. *Charles*, on the 17th of *Auguſt* 1658, once more beſieged *Copenhagen* by ſea and land, and was deaf to all *Frederic*'s applications for an accommodation. This ſtruck the *Daniſh* nobility with ſuch terror, that they came to a kind of a compromiſe with the commons, by which the latter were enabled to buy lands, to form a part of the aſſembly of the ſtates, and to pay no taxes, in which the noblemen did not ſhare. Thoſe, and many other immunities to which this compromiſe entitled them, the tyranny which the *Swedes* exerciſed, in *Schonen* and other *Daniſh* acquiſitions, but above all, the ſpirit of the king, who, on this occaſion, diſcovered himſelf to be equally the champion, and the father of his people, inſpired the burghers of *Copenhagen* with a calm, ſedate courage, which excelled all military diſcipline. For the firſt time, they found that life was worth preſerving, becauſe they could enjoy it with liberty, and without liberty death was preferable. The admirable reſolution and coolneſs of *Frederic*, animated them to their duty, and in a few days, when *Charles* arrived, he perceived, that inſtead of taking poſſeſſion of a conqueſt, he was about to undertake an arduous ſiege, ſo aſſiduous had the inhabitants been in fortifying their city. This did not diſcourage him, and he carried on his operations with the utmoſt vigour, but was defeated in every attack by the excellent diſpoſitions that had been made by *Frederic*, and the courage of the inhabitants. It is extremely probable, that the *Swediſh* nobility and general officers, though the latter were under the beſt diſcipline, were at bottom no friends to the enterprize of *Charles*, who they thought, if he was maſter of *Copenhagen*, might make it the ſeat of his government. In a council of war, a moſt unaccountable reſolution was taken of beſieging *Cronebury*, which *Wrangel* indeed took with great difficulty, but that diverſion ſaved *Copenhagen*, for it weakened the army of *Charles* ſo much, that his operations of the ſiege became languid.

1658. *Copenhagen* beſieged,

and relieved.

Upon the return of *Wrangel*'s diviſion, the ſiege was recommenced, but with vaſt diſadvantage to the *Swedes*. *Charles* was again amuſed to make a falſe ſtep, by attacking the iſle of *Amack*, where a briſk action happened between him and *Frederic*, each commanding in their own perſons. The *Swede* was beat, and muſt have been taken priſoner, had he not made his eſcape, favoured by the almoſt incredible efforts of one of his officers. This action, and a well conducted ſally of *Frederic*, did infinite ſervice to his reputation. It is ſaid that he proceeded upon a plan laid by one *Wanderver*, a *Dutch* officer, who deſerted from the *Swediſh* ſervice, and betrayed to him all the diſpoſitions of *Guſtavus*. All *Europe* was in ſuſpence about the event of this ſiege, when the *Dutch* ſent another fleet, under *Opdam*, into the *Baltic*, to raiſe it. This brought

A *Dutch* fleet again in the *Baltic*,

brought on a ſea fight, which terminated to the diſadvantage of the *Swedes* (though they claimed the victory) becauſe *Opdam* threw into *Copenhagen* ſuccours of every kind. We have already given the particulars. *Charles* by this time had awakened from the dream of becoming the monarch of all *Scandinavia*, and he began to ſee the effects of the faults he had committed. The ſyſtem of *Germany* did not admit of *Denmark* being an acceſſion to *Sweden*. The elector of *Brandenburg* marched to *Frederic*'s relief; and the advantages he gained in *Holſtein* were ſo great, that the people of *Norway* and other parts of *Frederic*'s dominions, roſe againſt the *Swedes*, and cut many of them to pieces. This determined *Charles* to put the war upon a ſhort iſſue, by ſtorming *Copenhagen*, which he attempted; but he was repulſed, notwithſtanding the amazing courage of his generals. Three attacks were formed. The *Swedes* failed in them all, a vaſt ſlaughter was made of their braveſt troops, and ſome of their beſt generals (among whom was *Bannier*) were taken priſoners. This ſucceſs was owing to the perſonal courage and conduct of *Frederic*; but *Charles* had ſtill great reſources. He was the favourite ally of *Cromwell*, who ſent a fleet into the *Baltic*, under *Montagu*, to his aſſiſtance. This checked the progreſs of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who was driven out of *Fionia* (or *Funen*) by the *Engliſh*.

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and an *Engliſh* one.

The intention of *Cromwell* was to favour *Charles*, but he had no idea of his becoming maſter of *Denmark*; and while the ſucceſs of the ſiege of *Copenhagen* was yet diſputable, both the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* offered their mediation, the conſequence of which was, that the ſiege of *Copenhagen* was entirely raiſed. *Montagu* then left the *Baltic*, to the vaſt diſappointment and mortification of *Charles*. The *Dutch* were now in a manner maſters of that ſea; but *Frederic*, with great reaſon, complained that they acted upon intereſted motives. To convince him that he was miſtaken, *Ruyter*, who commanded under *Opdam*, made extraordinary efforts, and before *Charles* was apprized of their motions, reduced *Odenſee* and *Cartemonde*, in *Fionia*. This brought on a battle, in which the *Swedes* at firſt were victorious, but the *Daniſh* cavalry, ſeconded by their *Dutch* allies, at laſt totally defeated them, and drove them out of *Fionia*. This great event was owing to *Ruyter* and *Schack*, the *Dutch* admiral and general, who, to the ſimplicity and modeſty of the founders of their republic, joined their diſcipline and intrepidity. The few remains of the *Swediſh* army took refuge in *Nyburg*, which the *Danes* reduced, and thus the *Swediſh* army were almoſt to a man deſtroyed or taken priſoners; their two generals alone eſcaping to carry the news of their own defeat. The policy of the *Dutch*, whoſe great aim was to preſerve the balance of power in the north, did not ſuffer *Frederic* to improve thoſe glorious advantages. *Charles* reſumed his courage and his operations againſt *Denmark*, and the *Dutch* were again compelled to ſend

Great ſervices of the *Dutch* to *Frederic*.

Ruyter

Ruyter to deliver *Copenhagen*, which was a third time beſieged by the *Swedes*, and which he bravely effected. The death of *Charles*, king of *Sweden*, altered the whole ſyſtem of politics in the north, and by the mediation of *France* and *England*, a new peace was concluded at *Copenhagen*. By it the treaty of *Roſchild* was partly confirmed, *Cronenburg*, and the iſland of *Bornholm* returned to the *Danes*; but the iſland of *Rugen*, *Bleking*, *Halland* and *Schonen* remained with the *Swedes*, of whoſe expectations this peace fell far ſhort. They were favoured by the duke of *Holſtein*, who demanded, in conſequence of the treaty of *Roſchild*, an abſolute independency upon the court of *Denmark*, with ſeveral other ceſſions, which *Frederic* was obliged to grant, before the *Swedes* would withdraw their army out of his dominions.

A peace.

Frederic made an abſolute king.

The ſcene that followed was one of the moſt extraordinary that perhaps ever was exhibited. We have already ſeen how the commons obtained a place among the ſtates, and *Frederic* artfully made his ſubjects ſenſible that the dangers they had ſo narrowly eſcaped, was owing to the bounded powers of the crown, which did not ſuffer him to exert the natural ſtrength of his kingdoms in their defence. The commons of *Denmark* knew that this was true in fact. They loved, adored and eſteemed their king. His miniſters made them ſenſible, that when the regal and the popular powers were conjoined, the ariſtocracy, or the intermediate order, muſt give way. They purſued their plan with firmneſs and temper, but it is ſaid that the execution of their ſcheme was privately directed by the king, or his miniſters. We cannot enter into the mazes that conducted to the grand event, but it is certain that the commons of *Denmark*, in a diet held at *Copenhagen* in 1660, made the kingdom hereditary, forced the nobles to conſent to an abolition of their privileges, and raiſed *Frederic* the IIId to be the moſt abſolute monarch in *Europe*. It is ignorance alone that condemns this proceeding. The commons exchanged one degree of ſlavery for another that was more tolerable, and gave themſelves one maſter, whoſe intereſt it was to cheriſh them, inſtead of ſome hundreds, who ſought their advantage in oppreſſing them. Add to this, that no prince of his time better deſerved, than *Frederic* did, the confidence repoſed in him by his people.

1660.

His compromiſe with the duke of *Holſtein*.

The late treaty being ratified, the duke of *Holſtein* connected himſelf with *Sweden*, which *Frederic* wiſely winked at, and allowed him half the revenues of *Sleſwick* and *Gottorp*, out of the common treaſury, into which they were paid; but with the expreſs condition, that the money ſhould not be employed to the detriment of *Denmark*. By this time, *Charles* the IId was eſtabliſhed on the throne of *England*, and his family relation with *Frederic* prevailed on the latter to reject the advances made by the *Dutch*, and to agree to an alliance, in which *England* and *Sweden* were the other two parties. It is difficult to acquit *Frederic* of ingratitude for this meaſure, when we reflect

reflect on the vaſt ſervices done him by the *Dutch*, unleſs we admit his own plea, that they had always aſſiſted him from ſelfiſh conſiderations, and that if they had been his ſincere friends, they might have ſerved him far more effectually than they did. Thoſe conſiderations, however, did not hinder him to conclude a freſh alliance with the *Dutch*, notwithſtanding their all-ingroſſing ſpirit of commerce, which he likewiſe complained of, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Brunſwic*. The good effects of this alliance were afterwards ſeen, in the protection which the *Dutch* fleet met with at *Bergen*, the particulars of which we have already related. After this, *Frederic* applied himſelf to domeſtic concerns, and the internal affairs of his government; and in *May* 1667, his eldeſt ſon married the princeſs *Charlotte* of *Heſſe*. Towards the end of his reign, he was ruffled with ſome pecuniary diſputes between him, the *Dutch*, and the duke of *Holſtein*, who married his daughter. Notwithſtanding that alliance, the duke adhered ſo firmly to his engagements with *Sweden*, that in all probability a war muſt have broken out between him and *Frederic*, when the latter died, in 1670. No prince ever merited, more than *Frederic* did, the glorious appellation of the Father of his People, whom he loved to a degree even of weakneſs, becauſe his affection for them made him fail in the engagements he had entered into with other ſtates. Beſides his ſon, *Chriſtiern* the Vth, who ſucceeded him, he had another ſon, *George*, who married the princeſs *Anne* of *England*, afterwards queen of *Great Britain*. His eldeſt daughter, *Anna Sophia*, was married to the elector of *Saxony*, as was his ſecond, *Frederica Amelia*, to the duke of *Holſtein*. His third daughter was the wife of the elector palatine, and his fourth, *Ulricca Eleanora*, married *Charles* the XIth of *Sweden*.

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1667.

1670. His death.

The firſt care of *Chriſtiern* the Vth, after his acceſſion to the throne, was his putting his frontiers in a ſtate of defence, foreſeeing that a ſtorm muſt break from the cloſe alliance between the duke of *Holſtein* and the court of *Sweden*. *Chriſtiern* hearing that the *Swedes* had been defeated in *Germany*, invited the duke to a friendly conference at *Rendſburgh*, where he found himſelf a priſoner. It is difficult to clear *Chriſtian* from a charge of the very worſt nature, on this occaſion, without admitting that the duke had entered into very dangerous connections with the court of *Sweden*, which was now become too powerful for the tranquillity of the north. It is certain, that before he was reſtored to his liberty, he ſigned a treaty with *Chriſtian*, by which he gave up all that he had acquired by the treaty of *Roſchild*, and conſequently his independency upon the crown of *Denmark*. *Chriſtiern* having ſecured this great point in 1675, declared war againſt *Sweden*, but this declaration being againſt the ſentiments of his queen and miniſtry, his ſucceſs at firſt, eſpecially by ſea, was very indifferent. He afterwards made an alliance with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and other *German* princes, and with great valour paſſed the

Chriſtian the Vth, impriſons the duke of *Holſtein*,

1675.

the *Reckintz*, and forced the ſtrong poſt of *Damgarten*. He then beſieged the ſtrong town of *Wiſmar*, and the ſiege continued till the winter had almoſt ruined his army, but famine and continual hardſhips at laſt compelled the garriſon to capitulate. *Rebnitz* followed the fate of *Wiſmar*, and *Chriſtian* would probably have reduced the iſle of *Rugen*, had it not been for the treachery of his firſt miniſter, *Griffendelt*, who ſecretly
1676. favoured the *Swedes*. The campaign of 1676, was favourable to *Chriſtiern* and his allies. They took *Carloſtadt*, but *Chriſtian* quarrelled with them about the reduction of *Stade*, which they thought would have made him too powerful. In ſhort, a
and oppreſſes his ſubjects. variety of intereſts divided and diſconcerted *Chriſtian* and his allies, nor does he ſeem to have had right ideas of the intereſt of *Denmark*, for to the great prejudice of her commerce, he impoſed a moſt oppreſſive capitation tax upon his ſubjects, that he might carry on his warlike operations. He had already forced the duke of *Holſtein* to demoliſh the fortreſs of *Tonningen*, and had entered into all the views of the court of *Vienna*, the *Dutch*, and the proteſtant *German* princes, for preſerving the balance of power againſt *France*, but without loſing ſight of his own intereſt. His intelligence was ſo good, that he diſcovered the treachery of his miniſter, *Griffenfeldt*, and the connections the duke of *Holſtein* had formed with the court of *Sweden*. The duke eſcaped to *Hamburgh*, *Griffenfeldt* was tried and condemned, but his ſentence of death was changed, by the king, to diſgrace and perpetual impriſonment. *Chriſtian* now thought himſelf ſecure againſt treachery, and in conjunction with his allies, he beſieged and took *Stade*; the poſſeſſion of which proved a bone of contention.

His fleet victorious. During the operations of this campaign, the *Dutch* and *Daniſh* fleets, in conjunction, were victorious; *Wiſby* was reduced, *Juel*, the *Daniſh*, being joined by *Van Tromp*, the *Dutch*, admiral, entirely defeated the *Swediſh* fleet, and the elector of *Brandenburgh* was equally ſucceſsful againſt the *Swedes* by land. *Chriſtian* then invaded by land, and made a deſcent by ſea upon, *Schonen*, with the aſſiſtance of *Van Tromp*, where he took *Helſinburg* and *Landſcroon*. The ſtrong fortreſs of *Chriſtianſtadt* ſoon after fell into his hands, though *Charles* the XIth, the young king of *Sweden*, was in the field at the head of an army. Fortune was not conſtantly on the ſide of *Chriſtian*, for his general, *Duncamp*, was defeated by the *Swedes*, who about the ſame time, intercepted thirty ſhips laden with proviſion for the uſe of the *Daniſh* army. In *Norway*, the campaign was not very ſucceſsful for *Chriſtian*, who could not bring the *Swedes* to a battle. Before the end of the ſummer, however, his admiral, *Royſter*, who had been for ſome time under a cloud, for ſuffering a great convoy of proviſions to fall into the hands of the *Swedes*, took *Carleſhaven*. *Malmoe*, a place of the utmoſt conſequence for *Sweden*, was then blocked up. The king of *Sweden*, unable to relieve it, took *Helſinburg*, but was repulſed in the attack he made upon the

the citadel. This brought on the battle of *Lunden*, which was fought with great bloodſhed; and the courage of *Charles* the XIth ſupplying his want of experience, the *Danes* were ſo far from having reaſon to boaſt of the victory, to which however both ſides laid claim, that the *Swedes* relieved *Malmoe*; and *Chriſtian* returning to *Copenhagen*, exhauſted his finances, and depopulated his country, in making new levies to continue a ruinous war. The negotiations for a general peace were then proceeding at *Nimeguen*; but though *Chriſtian* ſent his embaſſador to that congreſs, it was evident that he was not in earneſt for peace, before he recovered all the *Daniſh* dominions that had been ceded to *Sweden*. His demands were ſo exorbitant, and the behaviour of his plenipotentiary ſo inſolent, eſpecially with regard to the duke of *Holſtein*, that the preparations for war ſtill continued. After various operations, which were attended by nothing deciſive, *Chriſtian* again formed the ſiege of *Malmoe*, and puſhed it with incredible ardour, but was forced to raiſe it, after loſing two thouſand men in one attack. To compenſate for this miſcarriage, the *Daniſh* admiral, *Juel*, entirely defeated the *Swediſh* fleet in two different engagements, notwithſtanding his vaſt inferiority of ſtrength, ſhips, and numbers. In the mean while, *Chriſtian* was defeated by *Charles*, in a bloody battle fought between *Helſinburg* and *Landſcroon*, after performing the duties of a general, and acting as a hero, for he ſaved himſelf from being taken priſoner, by killing ſeveral of the *Swediſh* officers with his own hand; and he made an orderly retreat to his camp at *Landſcroon*. Continuance of the war.

In *Norway*, the *Swedes* were entirely defeated, and the arms of *Chriſtian* and his allies were ſo ſucceſsful in the empire, that they were in hopes of driving the *Swedes* out of *Germany*. *Van Tromp* reduced the iſle of *Rugen*, but count *Coningſmark* and the *Stralſunders*, retook it in 1678, and defeated the *Danes*, with conſiderable ſlaughter, owing to their want of diſcipline in their army. The *Swedes* formed the ſiege of *Chriſtianſtadt*, on the fate of which that of the province of *Schonen* depended, and took it, in ſight of the *Daniſh* army, headed by *Chriſtian* himſelf. The latter, however, in conjunction with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, retook the iſle of *Rugen*; but the negotiations which ſtill continued at *Nimeguen*, diſconcerted all *Chriſtian*'s deſigns, for the *Dutch* at firſt, and afterwards the elector of *Brandenburgh*, ſigned a ſeparate peace, by which, he was left to bear the brunt of *France* and *Sweden*. It was in vain he exclaimed at being thus deſerted, for he was obliged to give orders to his miniſters to ſign the treaty on the terms preſcribed by *France*, on the 2d of *September* 1679. By this peace, the treaties of *Roſchild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Weſtphalia* were reeſtabliſhed, and the duke of *Holſtein* was reinſtated in his ſovereignty and independency. Another treaty, offenſive and defenſive, was concluded between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and it was agreed that the *Swediſh* monarch ſhould marry the princeſs *Ulrica Leonora* of *Denmark*. A peace concluded. 1678. 1679.

During

Hamburgh saved,

During the negotiations at *Nimeguen*, *Chriſtian* had formed a deſign againſt *Hamburgh*, which he actually beſieged; but by the interpoſition of *Lewis* the XIVth, and the troops of *Brunſwick*, who marched to the relief of the city, he accepted of two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns, in full of all the

1680. demands he had on the beſieged. In 1680, he entered into engagements with the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the biſhop of *Munſter*, to guaranty the peace of the empire. Scarcely was the tranquillity of the north thus re-eſtabliſhed, when the fleets of *Denmark* and *Sweden* quarrelled, and great differences aroſe between the *Dutch* and *Danes*, who had by this time formed a ſettlement at *Tranquebar*, on account of their *Eaſt Indian* commerce, but were not attended with any conſiderable effects.

We are now to conſider *Chriſtian* not only as the ally, but the ſubſidiary, of *France*. *French* money enabled him to raiſe a large army, with which he beſieged *Hamburgh*, and demanded to be its protector againſt the encroachments of the emperor, which had raiſed a kind of civil war in that city. The

1685. ſiege of *Hamburgh* was formed by *Chriſtian* in 1685, and the *Hamburghers*, after a brave defence, were reinforced by bodies

but again beſieged by the *Danes*.

of *Lunenburghers*, *Brandenburghers*, and *Swedes*. All *Europe* exclaimed againſt his *Daniſh* majeſty for this attempt; and even the *Engliſh*, as well as the *French*, intereſted themſelves in the cauſe of the *Hamburghers*. The *Danes* were repulſed in every attack, and *Chriſtian* was obliged to deſiſt from his enterprize, and to agree to an armiſtice. This difference was no ſooner compromiſed, than *Chriſtian* raiſed the tolls in the *Sound* upon the *Dutch*, with whom the treaty concluded in 1647, was now at an end. The *Dutch* reſented this, and took ſuch meaſures as prevailed on *Chriſtian* to refer the matter to

1688. a future diſcuſſion. In 1688, the duke of *Holſtein*, ſupported by the *Swedes*, demanded an abolition of the treaty of *Rendſburgh*, and entered a claim upon ſeveral very conſiderable eſtates in *Chriſtian*'s poſſeſſion. He likewiſe complained that his dutchy was in a manner ſequeſtered into the hands of *Chriſtian*, to whom he continued to be little better than a vaſſal. We have not room for the papers and arguments pub-

Treaty between *Chriſtian* and the duke of *Holſtein*.

liſhed by both ſides on this occaſion. It is ſufficient to ſay, that an accommodation took place, under the mediation of *England* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, by which the duke was once more reſtored to his ſovereignty and independency, upon his giving *Chriſtian* an acquittance for all the claims he had on account of the arrears due to him while the king received the revenues of his duchy. This accommodation, which was chiefly effected by the intereſt of prince *George* of *Denmark*, who generouſly ſacrificed his own patrimony to

1689. bring it about, was ſigned on the 20th of *June* 1689.

Next year *Chriſtian* renewed his treaty with *Lewis* the XIVth, which gave ſuch umbrage to the *Dutch*, that they intercepted a *Daniſh* fleet that was ſailing to *France*; upon which

Chriſtian

Chriſtian ſeized all the *Dutch* veſſels that were in his harbours, and this vigorous meaſure brought the *Dutch* to reaſon; ſo that they conſented to leave the trade between *France* and *Denmark* open and at full liberty. Few matters of any great conſequence ſucceeded during the reign of *Chriſtian*, who died on the 4th of *September* 1699, after reigning twenty-nine years, and living fifty-four. He has the character of having been a moſt accompliſhed prince in his own perſon, and of his having a better underſtanding than the miniſters on whom he depended; and the *Danes*, to this day, revere his memory. 1699. Death of *Chriſtian.*

Frederic the IVth, upon his acceſſion to the throne of *Denmark*, found himſelf involved in various difficulties, eſpecially with the family of *Holſtein Gottorp*, which was befriended by many of the *European* powers. The connections between that duchy and the crown of *Denmark*, were of ſuch a nature, that it was almoſt impoſſible they ſhould be permanent, becauſe both the king and the duke claimed the exerciſe of ſovereignty in the ſame duchy, and the kings of *Denmark*, by the treaty of *Altena*, were obliged to renew the unions every change of a ſucceſſor. The duke of *Holſtein* dying, freſh altercations aroſe concerning the ſpirit of that treaty. The duke called to his aſſiſtance his brother-in-law, the king of *Sweden*, and raiſed forts, of which the king of *Denmark* demoliſhed ſome, and claimed the demolition of others. The king of *Sweden* ſent an army into *Holſtein*, for the duke's defence, which now became the theatre of war; but before its arrival, the duke of *Wintemberg*, who commanded the *Daniſh* troops, had reduced all the ducal *Holſtein*, excepting *Tonningen*, which ſuffered a ſevere ſiege, but the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* fleets raiſed it, in conjunction with the *Swedes* and *Lunenburghers*, who marched to its relief by land. The young king of *Sweden* began now to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and landed fifteen thouſand men within eight miles of *Copenhagen*, which he probably would have taken, had not his *Daniſh* majeſty agreed to the treaty of *Travendahl*, which was entirely in favour of the duke. It is certain, that during this diſpute, the young king of *Sweden* behaved with unparalleled generoſity and moderation, for though he might have taken *Copenhagen*, he no ſooner heard of the peace of *Travendahl* than he withdrew his troops. The king of *Denmark* ſtill kept up his army, and threatened to march to the protection of the electorate of *Saxony*, in direct violation of the late treaty, which prohibited his favouring the enemies of *Sweden*. In 1701, his *Daniſh* majeſty entered into a freſh alliance with the *States General*; the heads of which were, 1. That his majeſty ſhall remain neuter, in caſe there be a rupture upon occaſion of the *Spaniſh* monarchy. 2. That his ſubjects ſhall have liberty to traffic in all foreign ports, without exception, and without any embargos upon their ſhips or goods. 3. That his majeſty ſhall enjoy the toll that is ſettled upon the *Elbe*, till he be paid a million of rix-dollars, due from the empire and the emperor. 4. That he ſhall

Frederic the IVth. War with *Holſtein.* 1701. Treaty of *Travendah.*

ſhall be paid three hundred thouſand crowns, which are due to him for arrearages. 5. That his ſubjects ſhall have ſatisfaction for their damages, by the loſs of their ſhips and goods during the laſt war. 6. The king engages to furniſh the ſtates with fourteen thouſand men, who ſhall be ready to march upon their high mightineſſes firſt orders. 7. That the ſaid forces ſhall enter into the ſtates pay from the day of the ratification of the treaty, and ſhall be paid according to the *Dutch* pay. 8. That upon the firſt muſter, which ſhall be made in the preſence of the ſtates commiſſioners, eighty crowns ſhall be given to every horſeman, ſixty to every dragoon, and between twenty-five and thirty crowns to every foot ſoldier. 9. That if the king happens to be attacked, the ſtates ſhall ſend back the ſaid fourteen thouſand men, and furniſh him with fourteen thouſand more, or elſe with a ſquadron of men of war, at their own charges.

War renewed between *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, *Frederic* concluded another with the emperor, by which the latter obliged himſelf to pay within the term of ſix years, to his *Daniſh* majeſty, the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns, in part of his pretenſions to a million of crowns upon the empire, and to procure the payment of the other five hundred thouſand crowns. On the other ſide, his *Daniſh* majeſty obliged himſelf forthwith to ſupply the emperor with ſix thouſand men, then in *Saxony*, and the next year with two thouſand more, upon condition, that thoſe men ſhould be in the ſervice, and under the pay of the emperor, ſo long as he ſhould have occaſion for them. After the concluſion of thoſe treaties, the houſe of *Holſtein* acted as an independent ſovereign power, but attached itſelf more to *Sweden* than to *Denmark*. In 1707, we find *Frederic* making the tour of *Europe*, and in the hiſtory of *Sweden* we ſhall have an opportunity of mentioning his wars with that crown, upon his return home. In the mean while, he ſent miſſionaries to the coaſt of *Malabar*, for the converſion of the *Pagans*, in which we are told they were very ſucceſsful. After the battle of *Pultowa*, when the king of *Sweden* was in a manner ruined, *Frederic*, in conſequence of an interview he had with the kings of *Poland* and *Pruſſia* at *Berlin*, declared war againſt the *Swedes*, but with more ſucceſs by ſea than by land. He invaded *Scania* or *Schonen*, where he was beaten, but his fleet defeated that of *Sweden*. In 1711, he made a deſcent upon the *Swediſh Pomerania*, where he took *Damgarten*, but failed in his attempts upon *Wiſmar* and *Stralſund*. *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, was at this time in *Turkey*, in exile, and little better than a priſoner. He never could forgive *Frederic* for endeavouring to diſmember his dominions during his abſence, eſpecially when, in the year 1712, he made a deſcent upon *Bremen*, and took the city of *Stade*. His troops, however, were defeated near *Gadeſbuſch*, by the *Swedes*, and ſoon after, the fine city of *Altena* was burnt to the ground. In the next campaign, *Frederic* forced the *Swediſh* general, count *Stein-*

1707.

1712.

Steinbock, to ſurrender himſelf priſoner, with all his troops, and he ſeized great part of the ducal *Holſtein*.

In 1714, ſome eſſay was made for a peace at the congreſs of *Brunſwick*, but all hopes of that kind vaniſhing, *Frederic* took *Tonningen*. In 1715, his fleet beat that of *Sweden*, and in conjunction with the king of *Pruſſia*, he took the important town of *Stralſund*. In 1716, he drove the *Swedes* out of *Norway*, and became maſter of *Wiſmar* in *Pomerania*. His allies began now to ſuſpect that his views were more extenſive than was conſiſtent with the balance of power in the north, by his aiming at making himſelf maſter of all *Scandinavia*. This created a coldneſs between him and his allies, and upon the death of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, his *Britannic* majeſty, *George* the Ilt, offered his mediation between *Frederic* and the crown of *Sweden*, which was accepted of, and a peace was accordingly concluded at *Stockholm*, by which the poſſeſſion of the duchy of *Sleſwick* was guarantied to *Frederic*. In 1721, he loſt his wife, who was of the houſe of *Mecklenburgh Guſtrow*, upon which he married the ducheſs of *Sleſwick*, daughter of count *Raventbau*, grand chancellor of the kingdom. Before his death, which happened in 1730, he had the mortification to ſee his capital laid in aſhes by an accidental fire.

1714. 1715. 1716. A peace concluded. 1721. Death of *Frederic*.

Frederic was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Chriſtian Frederic*, who was born in 1699, and married in 1721, *Sophia Madeleina*, of the houſe of *Brandenburgh Culmbach*. The ambition of this prince, unlike that of his father, was to live at peace with his neighbours, and he made no other uſe of the abſolute power with which he was inveſted, than to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects. He aboliſhed the monopoly of wine, ſalt and tobacco, becauſe it was oppreſſive to his people, though very beneficial to his crown. In 1732, he acceded to the alliance between the courts of *Vienna* and *Peterſburgh*, by which the contracting parties guarantied each other's dominions, and promiſed to ſtand by one another againſt all other powers that ſhould attack them. *Chriſtian* ſoon after guarantied the pragmatic ſanction, in conſequence of which, in 1734, he ſent ſix thouſand troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor, *Charles* the VIth, in the diſpute that happened concerning the ſucceſſion of the crown of *Poland*. Notwithſtanding *Chriſtian*'s pacific diſpoſition, no prince could be more jealous than he was of his juſt rights. He revived his family claims upon *Hamburgh*, the magiſtracy of which he thought aſſumed powers that were too ſovereign and independent, and he even ſeized ſome of their ſhips which were trading, without his leave, to *France*. The *Hamburghers* apprehending that he had a deſign upon their city, procured the mediation of the king of *Pruſſia*. *Chriſtian* however, though he diſclaimed all intention of ſeizing their city, obliged them to aboliſh their bank, to admit the coin of *Denmark* as current, and to pay him a million of ſilver marks; upon which a convention was ſigned between them and *Chri-*

Chriſtian king of *Denmark*. 1732. 1734. His excellent adminiſtration.

1736. *ſtian* in 1736, and matters were reſtored to the ſame footing they were on before 1710.

Few princes were ever known to enter ſo thoroughly as *Chriſtian* did, into the knowledge of the internal intereſts of *Denmark*. His commercial regulations were admirable, and he ſpared no expence or pains to introduce into his dominions learning, arts and manufactures of every kind. He hired able profeſſors and workmen in every branch of ſcience or trade. He eſtabliſhed a royal bank, and a council of commerce. He prohibited the importation of foreign commodities into his dominions, and his fleets and armies were in ſo reſpectable a condition, that his friendſhip was courted by the greateſt powers in *Europe*, and particularly *Great Britain*, which, at that time, was laviſh in granting ſubſidies to the princes of the continent. *Frederic*, who carried his plans of œconomy very high, availed himſelf of the predilection that his *Britannic* majeſty, *George* the IId, always diſcovered for his *Hanoverian* dominions. In 1738, that prince had obtained from the duke of *Holſtein Gottorp*, a ceſſion of all his title to the lordſhip of *Steinhorſt*, which had formerly been mortgaged by the dukes of *Lawenburg*, which duchy was then held by *George*. His *Daniſh* majeſty pretended that *Steinhorſt* belonged of right to him, and both he and the regency of *Hanover* marched troops to ſupport their reſpective claims, in conſequence of which ſome blood was ſpilt. By the mediation of friends a treaty was ſet on foot, and *Chriſtian*, who probably never was in earneſt in the diſpute, ſucceeded in his great view of obtaining a ſubſidy of ſeventy thouſand pounds a year from *Great Britain*, upon his undertaking to maintain ſix thouſand men for the ſervice of his *Britannic* majeſty, to be employed when required. This was a gainful bargain for *Frederic*, who knew the pacific diſpoſitions of the *Engliſh* court, and he quitted his pretenſions to *Steinhorſt*, which in fact, was too inconſiderable to be an object of diſpute between two ſovereign princes.

1738. His differences with *George* the IId, and the *Dutch*.

1740. In 1740, *Frederic* ordered ſome *Dutch* ſhips who were fiſhing on their coaſts of *Iceland*, which belonged to his kingdom of *Denmark*, to be carried into *Copenhagen*; but this quarrel was ſoon compromiſed by the mediation of *Sweden*.

It has been generally thought that *Chriſtian*, about this time, had an eye upon reannexing the crown of *Sweden* to that of *Denmark*, and that he had entered into ſome intrigues for that purpoſe, which were rendered ineffectual by the jealouſy of other powers. It is certain that the wiſdom of his meaſures, and the ſucceſs of all his plans for the benefit of his ſubjects, recommended him to a great party among the *Swedes*, who inclined to have choſen his ſon to be the ſucceſſor to their crown; and we ſhall ſee, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, by what means their intention was fruſtrated. *Chriſtian* died in 1746, juſtly lamented by his people, and admired by all *Europe*.

His death. 1746.

Frederic the Vth. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Frederic* the Vth, who in 1743, married the princeſs *Louiſa* of *England*, daughter to *George* the

the IId. He adhered to his father's maxims, by dedicating all his application to the welfare of his ſubjects, and he improved upon the excellent plans of the late reign. During the late war in *Germany*, he acted the part of a mediator in the convention of *Cloſterſeven*, between his roval highneſs the duke of *Cumberland*, and the *French* general *Richelieu*; but took no other concern in the quarrel. Upon the death of his firſt queen, by whom he had the preſent king of *Denmark*, and three daughters, he married *Juliana Maria*, ſiſter to the duke of *Brunſwick Wolfenbuttel*, by whom he has a ſon, prince *Frederic*, born *October* the 11th, 1753. *Frederic* died in 176 , and was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Chriſtian* the VIth, who was born *January* 29th, 1749, and is now betrothed in marriage to his *Britannic* majeſty's youngeſt ſiſter, the princeſs *Carolina Matilda*, born *July* 22, 1751.

Vol. IX. p. 247.

His death.

THE HISTORY OF SWEDEN.

SECTION I.

THE early antiquities of this country, like those of *Denmark*, are unintereſting and uncertain, and we can with no propriety begin its hiſtory ſooner than the introduction of chriſtianity, by the preaching of *Anſcharius* the monk, who was ſent thither by *Charles* the Great, or ſome of his immediate deſcendents. *Bero*, or *Biorno* the IIId, was then king of *Sweden*, and he is ſaid to have been the ſon of *Reyner*, king of *Denmark*. Authors are divided concerning the ſucceſs of this monk's miſſion, but the general opinion is, that he made a much greater progreſs among the people than he did at court, for we are told, that both *Biorno* and his father were driven out of *Sweden*, for not embracing chriſtianity. It is probable, however, that another prince of that name, was the firſt chriſtian king of *Sweden*. *Biorno* was ſucceeded by one *Aſmund*, who ſhewed an averſion to chriſtianity, and was dethroned; upon which one *Olaus* was raiſed to the thrones of *Sweden* and *Gothland*, which were then diſtinct kingdoms. This was in the year 853, about which time *Anſcharius* returned to *Sweden*, and converted *Olaus* and his court to the *Chriſtian* faith, for which he was murdered by his pagan ſubjects. *Olaus* is ſaid to have conquered and reigned over *Denmark*, and it is pretended that his ſon *Ingo*, who ſucceeded him, was killed in a war with the *Ruſſians*, in the year 890. We know little more of his ſon *Eric*, than that he was reputed to be a great magician, and his ſon *Eric* the IId, conquered *Denmark*, reigned in *Scotland*, or rather *Ireland*, and died about the year 940. His ſon *Stenchild* was a good *Chriſtian*, invited miſſionaries into his dominions, demoliſhed the heathen temple at *Upſal*, and was murdered for his zeal, by the *Pagans*.

Biorno king of *Sweden*.

853. He is converted to chriſtianity.

890.

940.

Sten-

Stenchild was succeeded by his brother *Olaus* the IId, who was likewise a *Christian*, and invited into his kingdom *English* missionaries, one of whom was called *Sigefrid*, or *Sigefroy*, who baptized *Olaus* at a spring, which is to this day called St. *Sigefrid's* well. This prince paid a shameful tribute, called *Romer's scot*, to the pope, for which he is branded with the name of the Tributary. We have already, in the history of *Denmark*, had occasion to animadvert upon the conduct of the *Christian* convert princes of those days; and there is but too much reason to believe, that such of them as were sincere, were no better than tools to the popes, who persuaded them to fleece their subjects for the emolument of the church. Others adopted the cause of religion from motives of interest, and we find this pious king at war with *Oluf Trygeson*, king of *Norway*; but at last he united the kingdom of *Gothland* to that of *Sweden*. *Olaus*, or *Oluf*, was so strict a *Christian*, that he put to death his *Pagan* subjects, which we are told occasioned a rebellion against him, in which he perished. His son, *Asmund* the IId, succeeded his father, and in his zeal for christianity. He is said to have been defeated and killed, in a battle with *Canute*, king of *England* and *Denmark*; but of this there is no certainty. His son, *Asmund* the IIId, troubled himself but little about religion, and we are told that he likewise fell in a battle with *Canute*. He was succeeded in the crown of *Sweden* by *Haquin* the Red; but the *Goths* chose *Stenchild* the IId. After some dispute, it was agreed between the two princes, that each should reign peaceably in his own dominions, but upon the death of *Haquin*, *Stenchild* succeeded to both crowns, and proved an excellent prince. He is said to have carried on war against *Swen*, king of *Denmark*, and it is pretended that he was killed in battle.

Olaus the IId pays tribute to the pope.

His successors.

Ingo, a nobleman, but not of royal blood, next mounted the throne, but there is great reason to believe, that all his piety was a cloak for enslaving his subjects, and that the wars we so often meet with on account of religion, were no other than quarrels between tyrants and the free part of their people, for we find that this *Ingo* was killed by his subjects, while he was endeavouring to root out idolatry. His brother *Halstan* succeeded him, and both his reign and that of his son *Philip*, are said to have been tranquil and happy. *Ingo* the IVth, whom some call the son, and others the brother of *Philip*, next mounted the throne, and by his wife *Raguid*, who received divine honours at her death for her virtues, he had two daughters, one married to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, the other to *Magnus*, king of *Norway*. His piety acquired him the epithet of the Holy; but he is said to have been poisoned by the *Ostrogoths*, as he was labouring for their conversion to christianity. One *Ragwald*, a tyrant, succeeded him, but he was cut off by conspirators. The *Ostrogoths* then chose for their king *Magnus*, a *Danish* prince. The *Swedes* elected another king; but both people agreed in bestowing their crown on *Swercher*, and in

Ingo king.

dethroning or putting to death the other princes. *Swercher* was unhappy in a profligate ſon, who was killed for his enormities, but in what manner is uncertain; and *Swercher*, tho' an excellent prince, was murdered by his ſubjects, about the year 1150.

1150. *Swercher* king of *Sweden*, and *Eric* of *Gothland*.

The hiſtory of *Sweden* begins at this period to acquire ſome degree of conſiſtency. The *Goths* choſe for their king *Swercher*'s ſon *Charles*, and the *Swedes* fixed upon *Eric* for theirs, whoſe great merit was his having married *Chriſtina*, the daughter of *Ingo* the IIId. A new compromiſe took place. It was agreed that *Eric*, during his life, ſhould poſſeſs both crowns; that upon his demiſe, he ſhould be ſucceeded by *Charles*, upon whoſe death, the crown was to go alternately to the deſcendents of both. This compromiſe ſhews the barbarity of the *Swedes* at that time. The bulk of the nation was ſtill

1154. *Pagan*, and *Eric*, about the year 1154, from his zeal for chriſtianity, carried on a war againſt the *Finlanders*. Upon his return, he ſet on foot a cruel perſecution againſt his *Pagan* ſubjects, who called in the *Danes* to their aſſiſtance, and *Eric* was killed in a battle fought upon the plains of *Upſal*. The rebels then proclaimed the prince of *Denmark* king, but the loyal part of the *Swedes* revenged their monarch's death, by defeating and killing in battle *Magnus*, and his father, the king of *Denmark*. The joint crowns of *Sweden* and *Gothland* now reverted to *Charles*, who punctually fulfilled the family compact he had entered into with *Eric*. It appears that chriſtianity by this time had obtained a ſtrong footing in *Sweden*, and that the clergy there were very powerful. It was owing to them, and his ſcandalous conceſſions to the court of *Rome*, that *Charles* for ſome time reigned peaceably and proſperouſly, though there is great reaſon to believe that he was concerned in his predeceſſor's death. *Canute*, the ſon of *Eric*, who has been ſince known by the name of *Ericſon*, certainly believed him guilty, for though *Charles* offered to declare him the preſumptive heir of his crown, *Canute* raiſed an army in *Norway*, which ſurprized *Charles*, who was publicly beheaded, while his wife and children took refuge with *Waldemar* the Iſt of *Denmark*. A numerous party, however, both in *Sweden* and *Gothland*, aſſiſted by the *Danes*, refuſed to recognize *Canute* as their king, but he proved victorious over them all, and he reigned over the two kingdoms with, almoſt, abſolute power. By this time the ſee of *Upſal* had been erected into an archbiſhopric, as had that of *Stecka*; and *Canute*, after defeating the *Eſthonians* and *Courlanders*, who had made an irruption

King *Charles* beheaded.

1192. into *Sweden*, ended his life in 1192, after a glorious reign of twenty-three years. He poſſeſſed all the qualities of a great and a fortunate prince; but it is remarkable, that after his death, the family compact, that had been made between *Charles* and *Eric*, took place, and *Swercher*, ſon to the former, ſucceeded to the crown of *Sweden*, even with the conſent of *Eric*, the ſon of *Canute*.

Swercher

Swercher took a *Daniſh* princeſs for his wife, and was ſupported by that crown in many cruelties he practiſed upon his ſubjects. He maſſacred all the family of the late king, excepting an infant ſon, who eſcaped to *Norway*. During his abſence, *Swercher* rendered himſelf deteſtable in *Sweden* by his tyranny, and the *Swediſh* nobility inviting young *Eric* to their relief, *Swercher* fled to *Denmark*, from whence he returned at the head of an army, but was defeated in three pitched battles, and at laſt killed. Though *Eric* was now undiſputed maſter of the two crowns, yet he thought proper to re-eſtabliſh the mode of ſucceſſion we have already taken notice of, and at his death, he bequeathed his dominions to *Swercher*'s ſon *John*, who has left a great name in hiſtory as a wiſe moderate prince, but far from being ſucceſsful in his wars. He was ſucceeded, according to the alternate rule of ſucceſſion, by *Eric*, ſurnamed the Stammerer, ſon to *Eric Canuteſon*. His reign was diſturbed by the ambition of the family of *Falkunger*, who forced him to fly to *Denmark*, and one of them, *Canute Falkenger*, uſurped his crown. *Eric* was ſoon at the head of an army, and attacked the uſurper with ſo much vigour, that he was defeated and wounded, and his ſon taken priſoner and beheaded. *Eric* had married two of his ſiſters to two of the *Falkungers*, and had himſelf made a lady of that family his queen. His general, *Birger Jerl*, was of the ſame family, and employed by him in maſſacring all the *Finlanders* who did not embrace chriſtianity. It was during his reign that a nuncio from *Rome* firſt eſtabliſhed celibacy among the clergy in *Sweden*. About the year 1250, *Eric* the Stammerer died, and in him the alternate mode of ſucceſſion failed; for his nephew, young *Waldemar*, ſon to *Birger Jerl*, was choſen king. This was a diſappointment to the father, who expected the crown himſelf; but perceiving the ſtates to be reſolute, he acquieſced, and was made regent of the kingdom, during his ſon's minority.

Swercher ſupported by the *Danes*.

A rebellion in *Sweden*.

1250.

According to the beſt *Swediſh* antiquaries and hiſtorians, *Jerl*, in the old *Scandinavian* language, is the ſame as earl in *Engliſh*; but *Birger* was raiſed by his ſon from the dignity of earl, to that of duke. His adminiſtration was unexceptionable, and he proved to be the legiſlator of *Sweden*. It was, however, interrupted by a rebellion raiſed by the houſe of *Flockenger*, one of the moſt powerful in *Sweden*. An indeciſive battle happened, and a negociation took place, but the *Flockengers* were baſely ſeized and put to death by *Birger*, in violation of his ſolemn oath, only one of them, *Charles*, eſcaping to *Pruſſia*, and he afterwards took ſervice under the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order. In 1263, *Birger* laid the foundation of *Stockholm*, having before that time married his ſon, the nominal king, to the king of *Denmark*'s daughter. It is remarkable, that *Birger* exerciſed all the duties of the government, even after his ſon was of age, and he died in the year 1266, leaving behind him, beſides *Waldemar*, *Magnus* duke of

Regency of *Birger Jerl*, and reign of *Waldemar*.

1263.

1266.

of *Sudermania*, *Eric*, prince of *Smaland*, and *Benvit*, duke of *Finland*. Thoſe princes were too powerful for ſubjects, and *Waldemar* became particularly jealous of the great accompliſhments of *Magnus*. Notwithſtanding this, in a ridiculous pilgrimage, he made firſt to *Rome*, and then to *Jeruſalem*, *Magnus* was left regent of the kingdom. He governed with great fidelity, but *Waldemar*, upon his return home, accuſed him of treaſonable views upon his crown; and being ſtrongly ſupported by the *Norvegians*, deſpiſing the interceſſion of the ſtates of *Sweden*, he forced *Magnus* and his brother *Eric* to fly to *Denmark*. Returning from thence with an army,

1276. about the year 1276, they defeated *Waldemar*, who, notwithſtanding his vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, was made priſoner by *Magnus*. The ſtates of *Sweden* again interpoſed, but it was in favour of *Magnus*, and *Waldemar* was obliged to give up all his kingdom, excepting *Eaſt* and *Weſt Gothland*, and the province of *Smaland*. *Magnus* refuſing to pay his *Daniſh* auxiliaries their arrears, a bloody war ſucceeded between the two crowns, and ſome attempts were made to reſtore *Waldemar* to all he had loſt. An accommodation at laſt took place, but *Waldemar*'s intereſt was ſo much neglected during the conferences, that he was obliged to retire to *Denmark*, and *Magnus* remained ſole maſter of *Sweden*.

Magnus ſole maſter of *Sweden*,

is made a priſoner.

By the late treaty, *Magnus* was to pay his *Daniſh* majeſty a ſum of money, which the latter aſſigned to one *Peter Portze*, who finding himſelf trifled with by *Magnus*, actually made him priſoner in one of his own caſtles, and compelled him to

1279. pay the debt before he ſet him at liberty. In 1279, *Waldemar* was forced to make a formal ceſſion of the crown in an aſſembly of the ſtates, and *Magnus* was crowned at *Upſal*, king of the *Swedes* and *Goths*; but his tranquillity began now to be interrupted. He had married *Hedwig*, a princeſs of *Holſtein*, who perſuaded him to introduce ſo many of her countrymen to places of power and profit, that the *Swediſh* nobility, inſtigated by the *Flockengers*, took arms, and put to death *Ingemar*, the reigning favourite of the court, with all the other noble *Holſteiners* attending *Magnus* and the queen, and threw the duke, the queen's father, into priſon at *Jernſburgh*. Her majeſty would have ſhared the ſame fate, had ſhe not eſcaped to a monaſtery; and the conſpiracy was ſo general, that *Magnus* was forced to temporize. He ſoon found an opportunity of being revenged. He perſuaded the *Flockengers* to lay down their arms, and to give his father-in-law his liberty; but watching his opportunity, he put them all to death, except one *Philip de Rundi* (whoſe money ſaved his head) for their rebellion. After this, *Magnus* ordered his wife, *Hedwig*, to be ſolemnly crowned, and he confined his brother, *Waldemar*, for his ſeditious practices, to the caſtle of *Nincoping*, where he died in 1288. The remaining part of this reign was equally glorious as tranquil, through the providence of *Magnus*, who, by intermarriages and other alliances, kept up an excellent correſpondence

A rebellion puniſhed.

respondence with the court of *Denmark*. Before his death, which happened in 1290, he appointed *Torkel Cnutson*, or *Canuteson*, to be regent of the kingdom, and to take charge of his son's education, who was but eleven years of age. *Magnus* was so great a prince, both in peace and war, that it is thought, if he had lived longer, he would have fixed the point to which great princes aspire, that of rendering the crown absolute in his own person, and those of his successors. 1290.

Cnutson regent, and *Birger* king.

The regency of *Cnutson* fully answered the intention of *Magnus*. He seized on the sons of *Waldemar*, who were meditating innovations, and quelled the *Carelians* and *Russians*, who had invaded *Sweden*; so that *Carelia* was rendered a province of that kingdom, and the *Russians*, by his building *Wyburg*, were restrained from their incursions. *Cnutson*, in conformity to the customs of those times, never conquered without christianizing. In 1299, *Birger* married the *Danish* princess, to whom he had been espoused in his father's lifetime; but though he was of age, *Cnutson* still continued to manage the affairs of government. He built *Landskroon*, but it was demolished by the *Russians*. By his persuasion, *Birger* regulated and contracted the intricacies of the *Swedish* law, and abolished the infamous practice which then prevailed in the north, of suffering even *Christians* to sell each other. Even after *Birger* and his queen were crowned, he continued *Cnutson* in all his posts, and gave him additional exercises of power. It was probably by the advice of *Cnutson* that *Birger* declared his son, *Magnus*, his successor, when he was no more than three years of age. 1299.

His brothers rebel.

The *Swedes*, at this time, had no settled form of hereditary government, and *Birger*'s two brothers quarrelled with *Cnutson* for being partial to the reigning king's interest, without regard to the other branches of the royal family. They even shook off his guardianship, and intrigued with the king of *Denmark*. *Birger* had, or pretended to have, intelligence of this, and was instigated to severity by his queen and *Cnutson*, who was accused of leading the king into many oppressive and unjust measures. *Birger* trepanned his brothers into his power, and forced them to sign a paper, containing such terms as he was pleased to prescribe for their future behaviour. As this was obtained by force, the two princes possibly did not think themselves bound to the performance of the terms, and therefore they fled to *Denmark*, where they endeavoured to interest the king, *Eric*, in their favour. *Eric*, however, abandoned them, at the persuasion of *Cnutson*, and they fled to *Norway*, where they were protected, assisted, and encouraged by king *Haquin*, whose sister or daughter prince *Waldemar* had married. He and his brother *Eric* were soon at the head of an army, with which they invaded *Gothland*, committed great devastations, and defeated the troops sent against them by *Birger*, who, upon that, marched against his brothers in person. A bloody battle must have been the consequence, had not some

An accommodation.

senators

senators interposed, and effected an accommodation, to which *Cnutson* fell a sacrifice; for being abandoned by all parties, he was tried, and publicly executed at *Stockholm*. The consequences shewed the injustice that had been done to *Cnutson*, whose greatest fault was his fidelity to the service of the king, and his endeavours to curb the overgrown powers of the clergy. His death was far from cementing the union among the three brothers. Fresh jealousies broke out. The king, who, after the sacrifice he had made of *Cnutson*, had expected an entire submission on the part of his brothers, was made prisoner, compelled to resign his crown to *Eric*, who besieged *Stockholm*, where the citizens considered the king's compulsive cession as being invalid, and desolated such provinces as held for *Birger*. His eldest son, *Magnus*, however, made his escape. His *Danish* majesty took part with his brother-in-law, *Birger*, and prevailed with the king of *Norway* to do the same. Duke *Waldemar*, in 1307, at the head of a body of *Germans*, who served for plunder, took quarters in *Gothland*, where they soon came to blows with the inhabitants, and many were massacred on both sides. The *Danes* invaded *Sweden* in *Birger*'s right, and at last it was agreed that *Birger* and his family should be set at liberty, and a congress held at *Smaland* to restore the tranquillity of *Sweden*.

Cnutson put to death.

1307. *Sweden* invaded.

Uncertainty of the *Swedish* history.

We must either conclude the whole of the history of *Sweden*, at this time, to be no better than a fiction, or that the *Swedes* (and indeed all the other northern powers) were a set of lawless, perfidious barbarians; nor can we wonder at that, when we reflect on the vast influence the clergy had in all their deliberations. The congress of *Smaland* restored *Birger*, upon his promising to pass an act of amnesty, to part of his dominions; and according to *Puffendorf*, both the senate and his brothers renewed their oaths of allegiance to him. *Birger*, dissatisfied at not being reinstated in the whole, applied to the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, who assisted him with an army of sixty thousand men; and *Haquin* not only gave his daughter to *Birger*'s son, *Magnus*, in marriage, but declared him and his wife his presumptive heirs to his kingdom of *Norway*. The great army of *Danes* and *Norwegians* continued still in the field, and *Birger*, by their assistance, took *Jenekoping*, and drove his two brothers out of *East Gothland*. By the subsequent operations of the war, *Birger* seems to have been restored to but an inconsiderable part of his dominions. *Eric* was still possessed of *Calmar*, and *Waldemar* of *Stockholm*, while *Nicoping* was besieged by the *Danes*, as *Kongel* was by the *Norwegians*. The severity of the siege of *Nicoping* induced the *Danes*, against the consent of their king, to abandon it, and this brought on a new treaty between the brothers at *Helsinburg*. By this treaty, *West Gothland*, *Dalia*, *Halland*, *Wermland* and *Smaland*, were to continue in possession of duke *Eric*, and duke *Waldemar* was to retain *Upland*, the isle of *Oeland*, and part of *Finland*; but the two dukes renewed their oath of homage to *Birger*.

Continuance of wars and rebellions

This

This peace seems to have lasted from the year 1310 to 1317, when the two brothers were persuaded to pay a visit to *Birger* at *Nicoping*, where, by *Birger*'s orders, they were seized in their beds, loaded with irons, and thrown into dungeons, because he had been treated by them in the same manner some years before. It aggravates the barbarity of *Birger*, that he was present, and directed the execution of this infamous transaction, and then put himself at the head of some troops to surprize *Stockholm*. The defence made by the inhabitants was so brave, that he was not only beaten from *Stockholm*, but besieged in *Nicoping*, where *Eric* was now dead of his wounds, and *Waldemar* of hunger. *Puffendorf* says, that *Birger* apprehending that *Nicoping* might be taken, threw the keys where his brothers were confined into the river, with orders that none should open the doors, upon pain of death, before he returned from *Stegburg*, to which he fled. 1310.

The *Stockholmers*, in the siege of *Nicoping*, were headed by *Matthew Kettlemunson*, who took the place, and by exposing the bodies of the murdered princes, confirmed and encreased the public detestation of *Birger*. The latter at first fled to *East Gothland*, but in the mean while *Kettlemunson* defeated his son, *Magnus*, drove him into *Stegburg*, where he besieged and took him prisoner in 1319, and from thence he was sent to *Stockholm*, together with all his attendants, who were known to be the principal advisers of *Birger* in the inhumanities he had perpetrated. The vast services performed by *Kettlemunson*, against *Birger* and his son, induced the states of *Sweden* to declare him regent, during the minority of *Magnus Smeek*, son to duke *Eric*, whom they raised to their throne. *Kettlemunson* next invaded *Denmark*, and laid *Schonen* waste, in revenge of the assistance which that prince had given to *Birger*, who by this time had been obliged to fly from *Gothland* to *Denmark*. His *Danish* majesty thought proper to conclude a truce, but he died before it could take effect, and his successor, *Christopher*, discovered no great regard to *Birger*'s interest. *Kettlemunson* regent of *Sweden*. 1319. *Magnus* king.

This neglect encouraged the *Swedes* to give full scope to their natural ferocity. Though by the capitulation of *Stegburg*, the life of prince *Magnus* was to have been safe, yet he was brought to a trial, and executed on a public scaffold, by a sentence of that very diet which but a few years before had declared him heir to their crown. The noblemen who were taken along with him underwent the same fate. During some years after this, the wise and vigorous administration of *Kettlemunson*, especially by embroiling the *Danes* at home, preserved *Sweden* in a tolerable degree of tranquillity. He died about the year 1336, and *Magnus* took upon himself the government. *Kettlemunson*, before his death, had reduced *Schonen*, and forced the people to take an oath of fidelity to *Magnus*. He had married *Blanche*, daughter of a count of *Namur*, and his favourite minister was one *Bengt*, a *West Gothlander*. Nothing could be more desirable than the situation of *Magnus* Barbarity and treachery of the *Swedes*. 1336. *Magnus* the IIId. king. See p. 400.

Magnus at his acceſſion to the throne, for *Waldemar*, whoſe great character we have already ſeen, actually confirmed to him by oath, the ceſſion of *Schonen*, *Bleking*, the iſles of *Lyſter* and *Haen*, with the province of *Halland*. This did not ſatisfy the ambition of *Magnus*, who ſolicited at the court of *Rome*, the inveſtiture of the crown of *Denmark* itſelf, on pretence of
1343. its being a fief of the holy ſee, and forfeited by its princes. In this application he was defeated, by the intrigues of *Waldemar* and the firmneſs of the pope. It was not before the year
1348. 1348, that *Magnus* diſcovered any glaring marks of that violence and levity of conduct, which afterwards ſtained his reign.
His violent government. He then fell into the common weakneſs of the *Scandinavian* princes, of introducing foreigners into his court and army. He hired a large body of *German* mercenaries, the command of whom he gave to a duke of *Holſtein*, to make war upon the *Ruſſians*, in which he ſucceeded ſo ill, that after ſuffering ſeveral defeats, he was forced to buy his peace of thoſe barbarians, by a ceſſion of *Carelia*. The expences of this war, his profuſion to foreigners, and to his favourite, whom he created duke of *Halland*, joined to the laviſh and criminal indiſcretions of queen *Blanche* to the ſame favourite, obliged *Magnus* not only to oppreſs his people, by exorbitant taxations, but (which was perhaps of ſtill more conſequence to him) to apply to his own uſe the tribute money that had been ſtipulated to be paid to the court of *Rome* by *Olaus* the IId, for which he was excommunicated by his holineſs.

He is depoſed. No ſooner was this excommunication publiſhed, than the nobility and people gave a looſe to the hatred and indignation which they had long entertained againſt *Magnus* and his government. He had, ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown of *Sweden*, taken poſſeſſion of that of *Norway*, likwiſe, by virtue of king *Haquin*'s will; and the ſenate of *Sweden*, without any ceremony, required him to give the former to his eldeſt ſon, *Eric*, and the latter to his ſecond ſon, *Haquin*. *Magnus* rejecting this demand, was actually depoſed from the government, and the ſenate placed their crown on the head of his ſon *Eric*. As to the throne of *Norway*, ſome writers pretend he had reſigned it ſeveral years before, but it is probable that *Haquin*, if he did govern it, held it precariouſly of his father. Be that as it will, *Eric* was crowned, and *Magnus* fled to *Schonen*, where he entered into a negotiation, about the ceſſion of that province to *Waldemar*, which at firſt had no effect, *Magnus* having ſecret aſſurances of aſſiſtance from *Germany*.

His wars with his ſon, An unnatural war was all this while carrying on between the father and the ſon. The latter defeated and put to death the favourite, but the duke of *Mecklenburgh* and the count of *Holſtein* interpoſing, an accommodation was concluded, by a
1357. partition of the kingdom in 1357, by which *Magnus* reſerved to himſelf *Upland*, *Gothland*, *Wermland*, *Weſt Gothland*, *Oeland*, and part of *Halland*, while the ſon was to poſſeſs all the reſt of the *Swediſh* dominions, *Schonen* in particular. Scarce y had

had this accommodation taken place, when queen *Blanche* perſuaded her huſband to invite his ſon *Eric* to his court, where, under pretence of buſineſs, ſhe preſented him with a cup of poiſon from her own hand, which killed him in twenty days after he drank it. It is ſaid her motive for this wicked act was, leſt *Eric*, who had been declared king, ſhould marry, and thereby introduce into the kingdom, a rival to her authority. We have related this fact from the *Daniſh* and *Swediſh* writers; but though it ſeems to be pretty certain that the prince died with a conviction of his having been poiſoned by his own mother, yet the atrocity of the fact, from ſome circumſtances, admits of great doubt. who is poiſoned.

Upon the death of *Eric*, *Magnus*, under the ſanction of the moſt ſolemn promiſes to reform his conduct, reaſſumed the undivided government of *Sweden*. He now entered into very near connections with the court of *Denmark*, as we have had already occaſion to obſerve. He carried his ſon *Haquin* to *Copenhagen*, where he eſpouſed him to *Margaret*, daughter to *Waldemar*, who was then but ſeven years of age, and was afterwards the *Semiramis* of the north. As the price of the marriage, *Magnus*, without conſulting the ſtates of *Sweden*, ſurrendered all the archives belonging to *Schonen*, and though the diſcontent of his ſubjects induced him afterwards to make a faint oppoſition to *Waldemar*'s taking poſſeſſion of it, it is certain, that in the year 1360, he confirmed the ceſſion of it, by a ſolemn treaty with the *Dane*, and *Waldemar* thereby became its ſovereign maſter. One of the terms upon which the ceſſion was made, was, that *Waldemar* ſhould aſſiſt *Magnus* in puniſhing the rebellious *Gothlanders*. Accordingly, in 1361, *Waldemar* joined with his ally in a deſcent upon *Gothland*, where he ravaged the country, and plundered the rich town of *Wiſby*. Next year he repeated the like inhumanities in the iſland of *Oeland*. Thoſe proceedings ſerved to render *Magnus* more deteſtable, if poſſible, than he had ever been in the eyes of his ſubjects, who made the moſt moving applications for protection to *Haquin* of *Norway*, which they accordingly obtained. He marched to the aſſiſtance of his father's ſubjects, and confined him in the caſtle of *Calmar*. The ſtates then demanded of *Haquin* to renounce his propoſed matrimonial alliance with the princeſs of *Denmark*, and to eſpouſe a princeſs of the houſe of *Holſtein*, to which *Magnus* and *Haquin* ſeemed to agree. The *Holſtein* princeſs was intercepted, and detained by *Waldemar*, in her voyage to *Sweden*. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* and the count of *Holſtein* endeavoured to deliver her by force of arms, but *Waldemar* perſuaded *Haquin* to marry her, in utter breach of his oath. This alienated the affections of the *Swediſh* nobility from *Haquin*, as well as from *Magnus*; and the chiefs of the malecontents applied to *Henry* of *Holſtein* to accept of their crown. He declined the honour, but recommended to their choice duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburgh*, whoſe mother was ſiſter to *Magnus*. That prince likewiſe declined Treaty with *Denmark*. 1360. 1361.

declined the honour offered him, and the deputies elected for their king his second son, *Albert*.

Albert chosen king of *Sweden*.

This young prince accepted of the proffered honour without any difficulty, and was immediately carried to *Gothland*, where the rendezvous of the malecontents was held, and from thence, after taking upon himself the title of king, he easily became master of *Stockholm*. He was there proclaimed king a second time; but *Magnus*, who was powerfully supported by the kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, so far from consenting to his own deposition, invaded *Upland* at the head of an army. He was met by the *Swedes*, under *Albert*, and a desperate battle ensuing, *Magnus* was taken prisoner, and his son *Haquin* with great difficulty escaped wounded out of the field. The number of *Danes* who still were possessed of the strong holds of *Sweden*, and the opposition made by *Haquin*, obliged *Albert* to propose terms of accommodation with *Denmark*. They were accepted of by *Waldemar*, to whom *Albert* ceded the island of *Gothland*, with the cities of *Wisby* and *Helsingburg*, and many other valuable territories. We have already seen in what manner a confederacy of the princes of the north, in which *Albert* became a party, drove *Waldemar* out of *Denmark*, while *Albert* recovered possession of *Schonen*. In 1371, *Haquin* made such a progress in an invasion of *Sweden*, that he defeated *Albert* and laid siege to *Stockholm*, where *Magnus* still continued a prisoner. Negotiations were proposed, and an accommodation ensued, thro' which *Magnus* recovered his liberty, by paying twelve thousand crowns to *Albert*, and his renouncing all right to the crown of *Sweden*, and the province of *Schonen*, and only reserving to himself the provinces of *West Gothland*, *Wermland* and *Dali*. *Magnus* did not long survive this treaty, which he punctually performed, and retiring to a private life, in *Norway*, he was accidentally drowned near *Blonenfort*.

Magnus defeated and made prisoner,

See p. 404, &c. *seq.*

1371.

and is drowned.

See p. 406.

Albert deposed for malversation.

We have already seen, about the year 1376, how *Albert* engaged himself in his nephew, the duke of *Mecklenburgh*'s quarrels about his succession to the crown of *Denmark*, after the death of *Waldemar*; but the affairs of the north now took an unexpected turn. *Haquin* of *Norway* died soon after his father, and his son *Olaus* was chosen king of *Denmark*, upon the death of *Waldemar*, his grandfather; but a dreadful tempest dissipated the fleet of the *Mecklenburghers*, and their allies, and, in fact, obliged the duke of *Mecklenburgh* to abandon his claim upon the crown of *Denmark*, though his grandson, *Albert*, was descended from *Margaret*'s eldest sister. The death of the duke and his grandson *Albert*, in 1380, left *Olaus* without a competitor to the crown of *Denmark*; but upon his absence in *Norway*, *Albert*, king of *Sweden*, made an irruption into *Denmark*, and was repulsed. *Margaret* then managed her son's affairs in *Denmark*, and it was with pleasure she saw that *Albert* was grown extremely unpopular in *Sweden*. His vast prodigality to *Germans*, and other foreigners, against the ex-

1376.

1380.

press

preſs laws and conſtitutions of that country, had impoveriſhed his finances, which he ſought to repleniſh, by laying exceſſive taxes upon his people, without ſparing the properties of his clergy and his nobility. The inſolence of the foreigners, whom he placed in the chief poſts of the kingdom, that they might be ſubſervient to his arbitrary views, encreaſed his unpopularity, and the ſtates of his kingdom, at laſt, laid before him the illegality and madneſs of his proceedings. *Olaus* of *Denmark* was now dead, and *Margaret* was ſole queen of *Denmark* and *Norway*, the firſt by hereditary right, the latter by election. To her the malecontent nobility of *Sweden* applied for protection againſt *Albert*, who was preparing to ſeize, by force, a third part of the rents of the church and the nobility. She agreed to their requeſt, and entered into the ſcheme of dethroning *Albert*, provided the *Swediſh* nobility would ſecure her their crown if ſhe was ſucceſsful, and to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion in her family. They were forced to embrace her terms, and *Albert*, as his laſt reſource, being deſtitute of money, gave her battle on the plains of *Falcoping*, in which he was entirely defeated and taken priſoner, together with his ſon. This victory was far from placing *Margaret* on the throne of *Sweden*. Unhappily for the *Swedes*, *Stockholm*, and their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, were in poſſeſſion of the *Holſteiners*, the *Mecklenburghers*, and *Albert*'s other *German* allies, who looked upon the *Swedes*, as well as the *Danes* and *Norvegians*, as their enemies. They reduced to aſhes all the places where they thought *Margaret*'s intereſt was prevalent. They were joined by the inhabitants of the *Hanſe* towns; and the ſea was equally a ſcene of devaſtation as the land. *Margaret* laid ſiege to *Stockholm*, where the *German* garriſon plundered, tortured, and butchered the chief inhabitants, whom they accuſed of favouring *Margaret*'s cauſe; and to ſuch a degree of barbarity were they carried, that after reſiſting the torture, they ſhut them up, and burnt them in houſes. While thoſe tragical ſcenes were acting, *Albert*'s friends in the north of *Germany* covered the ſeas with pirates, who committed barbarities that befriended the cauſe of *Margaret*, by giving the *Swedes* a diſguſt for her antagoniſts. A ſtrong reinforcement of *Germans* which arrived at *Stockholm* about the ſame time, drove *Margaret*'s troops from the ſiege of *Stockholm*, but without being able entirely to raiſe it. *Albert*, in the beginning of the war, had mortgaged the iſle of *Gothland* to the grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, for ready money, which had been ſpent before his impriſonment. The cities of *Roſtock* and *Wiſmar*, as well as the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Stargard*, and the counts of *Holſtein*, had laid out immenſe ſums in fitting out fleets and armies for his relief; but all the return they received, was from their equally plundering the friends of both parties. *Margaret* was ſenſible of their ſituation, and returning to *Denmark*, ſhe made ſuch advances to the houſe of *Holſtein* and *Sleſwick*, as detached them from the

Margaret of *Denmark* choſen queen of *Sweden*.

Ibid.

P. 406, 407.

A treaty is concluded.

the confederacy againſt her. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* followed their example, and the *Hanſe* towns, receiving no profit from the war, joined in the general diſpoſition to reſtore peace to the north, and to clear the *Baltic* from pirates. A congreſs was held at *Helſingburgh*, but a magiſtrate of *Stralſund* being killed, it came to nothing. The conferences were renewed at *Laholm*, in 1394, in the preſence of *Margaret* and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and deputies from all the allies attending, *Margaret* agreed to reſtore *Albert*, and his ſon, prince *Eric*, to their liberty, on condition of their renouncing, in three years time, all pretenſions to the crown of *Sweden*, or returning to their claims. *Stockholm* was to be put into the hands of the *Hanſe* towns in the interim, and they agreed to pay ſixty thouſand marks of ſilver, in caſe of the non-performance of the treaty. *Albert* accepted of thoſe conditions, and returned to *Mecklenburgh*, where he reigned jointly with his nephew. He refuſed, however, to comply with the terms of the treaty, and the ladies of that duchy, by ſelling their jewels, generouſly aſſiſted him in raiſing the ſixty thouſand marks, which were to be paid by the *Hanſe* towns as the forfeiture.

1394.

Death of *Albert* and his ſon.

It was pretty extraordinary, that though *Margaret* was acknowledged to be queen of *Sweden*, yet her capital was to be poſſeſſed for three years by a neutral power. But her ſituation, even at that time, was very delicate. The *Swedes* hated *Albert* more than they loved her, and ever ſince the battle of *Falcoping*, ſhe found them trifling about the performance of their obligations to receive her as their queen; and a great party of the ſenate thought, that while *Albert* was in being, and had not renounced his ſovereignty, their allegiance to him could not be diſſolved. The performance of the late treaty, on the part of *Margaret*, removed thoſe objections, and ſhe now found herſelf the greateſt monarch that for many centuries had reigned in the north. As to *Albert*, he compromiſed the affair of his mortgage upon the iſle of *Gothland*, where he eſtabliſhed a court for his beloved ſon, *Eric*, and he was preparing to renew the war, by the aſſiſtance of his allies, when the death of that prince mortified in him all ambition to remount his throne. He ſent orders that *Stockholm* ſhould be delivered up to *Margaret*, with all the other places he held in *Sweden*; ſo that, in all probability, the 60,000 marks forfeiture never was paid. He died in the year 1412.

P. 406, 407. Wiſe conduct of *Margaret*.

Whatever private or political vices *Margaret* might be guilty of, it is certain ſhe was an accompliſhed politician, and a princeſs of high ſpirit, if we except the boundleſs wealth and power ſhe beſtowed upon her clergy. We have already ſeen how ſhe had adopted young *Eric* of *Pomerania* to be her ſucceſſor, though ſome ſay, that even in her lifetime he was crowned, and that *Margaret* held the reins of government only as regent. Her view was, to eſtabliſh in futurity the three crowns of the north under her ſucceſſors, and to con-

quer any diſlike the *Swedes* might have for this meaſure; ſhe began her reign with many popular acts of government. She diſplaced the foreigners who had been introduced by *Albert*; ſhe razed the fortreſſes he had built for bridling the people; ſhe reſumed his extravagant gifts; ſhe repealed his arbitrary acts, and in all ſhe did, ſhe took advice of her *Swediſh* ſenate. To keep the revenues of the crown and of the public as diſtinct as poſſible, ſhe obtained *Eaſt* and *Weſt Gothland*, *Wermland*, *Weſtermanland*, *Dalecarlia*, and all its mines, for her demeſnes, and ſhe filled up all places of power and truſt with ſuch *Swedes* as had the greateſt property and credit in their country. We have already given the hiſtory of the union of *Calmar*; by which ſhe united the poſſeſſion of the three northern kingdoms in her own perſon, with ſome remarks on the defects of that treaty. The truth is, the *Swediſh* deputies were ſo jealous of her predilection for *Denmark*, that they never could be brought to conſent to an incorporate union upon the principles *Margaret* propoſed, not to mention the national animoſities that ſubſiſted between the two people. It is even uncertain whether a true copy of the articles of that union has come to our hands, as thoſe exhibited by the *Swedes* and *Danes* are different.

p. 407, 408.

Union of *Calmar*. 1397.

As by the union of *Calmar*, the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were in poſſeſſion of *Margaret*, we muſt refer the reader to the hiſtory of *Denmark*, after this union, till its diſſolution, as to many particulars. *Margaret* is repreſented in ſo different a light, that even the great tranſactions of her adminiſtration, after that period, are not ſufficiently aſcertained. It ſeems, however, to be undoubted, that after obtaining her great end, ſhe pulled off the maſk, and gave way to her affection for her countrymen, the *Danes*. The *Swedes* accuſe her of loading them with taxes, though we cannot ſee with what juſtice, if ſhe had a ſeparate revenue of her own, and was obliged to conſult her ſenate as to all extraordinary ſubſidies. It is perhaps, not without reaſon, that the ſame authors blame her for carrying money out of *Sweden*, to be ſpent in *Denmark*; but that was probably the money ariſing from her own demeſnes. She anſwered the complaints of the *Swedes*, but ſhe recommended to young *Eric* to depend upon the *Danes*, more than upon either the *Swedes* or the *Norvegians*.

Partiality of *Margaret* to the *Danes*.

Notwithſtanding the late king *Albert*'s compromiſe with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, we find them in poſſeſſion of *Gothland*, and their grand maſter pretended, that, inſtead of its being a mortgage, he held it by right of conqueſt, having taken it from the pirates during the late commotions. This determined her to employ force in retaking it, and in 1404, ſhe ſent troops into the iſland, under *Algoth Magnus*, and *Abraham Broder*, who beſieged its capital, *Wiſby*. While the *Danes* were preſſing the ſiege with great fury, the emperor, as protector of the *Teutonic* order, called a congreſs at *Helſingburg*, where *Margaret*'s deputies attended, and agreed to pay a cer-

p. 408.

1404.

Wiſby beſieged.

tain ſum to the knights, who were to keep poſſeſſion of the iſle till it was paid, which was not till ſome time after; but the dates aſſigned by authors to the whole of this tranſaction, are confuſed and contradictory; for we are told by ſome that the *Swedes* were driven entirely out of the iſland.

1406. In 1406, *Eric* married the daughter of *Henry* the IVth of *England*, and took upon himſelf the adminiſtration of government, by putting to death *Margaret*'s favourite, *Abraham Broderſon*. The *Daniſh* hiſtorians pretend, indeed, that *Margaret*, to the day of her death, retained all her power and influence in the government; but this is contrary to the teſtimony, not only of the *Swediſh*, but all other, hiſtorians. Perhaps their accounts may be reconciled, by admitting that *Margaret*, tired with the toils of government, relinquiſhed them to *Eric*, eſpecially in *Sweden*, where, at the time of her death, which happened in 1412, ſhe was deteſted. Beſides what we have already obſerved of the character of this princeſs as queen of *Denmark*, we are to obſerve, that the *Swedes* accuſe her of the moſt ungenerous and unjuſt violations of the treaty of *Calmar*, not only by ſpending her time and revenues in *Denmark*, but by filling the chief civil and military poſts in *Sweden* with *Danes*. When deputies from the *Swediſh* ſenate had the courage to remonſtrate againſt thoſe infractions, ſhe inſultingly adviſed them to be as careful in preſerving their privileges, as ſhe was in poſſeſſing their fortreſſes.

Death of *Margaret*.

1412.

Her character.

Eric the VIIth, of *Pomerania*. We have already mentioned the ſcheme which *Eric* and *Margaret* had formed for reannexing the duchy of *Sleſwick* to the crown of *Denmark*, and the difficulties they met with from the *Holſtein* princes, whoſe general, *Schawenburg*, defeated the *Danes* in a great battle. Though this affair was entirely foreign to *Sweden*, yet *Eric* forced the *Swedes* to ſerve in his armies, and to raiſe large taxes for proſecuting the war. As their provinces and fortreſſes were in the hands of *Daniſh* tyrants, their remonſtrances, inſtead of procuring them relief, encreaſed their ſufferings. A *Dane* filled the ſee of *Upſal*, and the inhumanity of the *Daniſh* governors, exceeded what is related of the worſt of eaſtern tyrants. One of them, *Ericſon*, out of mere wantonneſs, uſed to flay and broil them alive, and the ſmalleſt miſery they underwent, was to be yoked together to draw his ploughs. One *Jeſſon Aſdal*, governor of *Dalecarlia*, was equally inhuman, and the brave *Engelbert*, the *Dalecarlian* deputy, was, as we have already ſeen, driven out of *Denmark* for demanding the puniſhment of the tyrant. Upon *Engelbert*'s return, the *Dalecarlians* revolted, and choſe him for their leader. *Jeſſon* was expelled out of their country, and retired to *Denmark*. *Engelbert* animated his countrymen to a total expulſion of the *Danes* out of *Sweden*, which he ſaid was the only remedy that could be applied to their ſufferings. He was joined by the north *Hallanders*, under *Eric Pache*, and the *Uplanders* declared themſelves of the ſame ſentiments. The avowed reſolution of the *Daniſh* governors, to reduce the

p. 408.

Cruelty of the *Danes*.

p. 412.

An inſurrection in *Sweden*,

the insurgents by force of arms, augmented *Engelbert*'s army, and *Eric* ordered the senate of *Sweden* to assemble at *Wadestene*. *Engelbert* intrepidly entered their assembly, and after laying before them, in the most forcible and pathetic manner, the miseries of his country, he concluded, that *Eric*, their king, not having performed the terms on which he was raised to their throne, they were absolved from their allegiance. The senate having been long accustomed to slavery, at first were far from being of his opinion, but upon *Engelbert*'s threatening to treat them as the adherents of the tyrant, they formally disclaimed all allegiance to *Eric*. The progress of *Engelbert*, after this, was extensive and rapid, and though the *Schoneners* were inclined to oppose him, yet both parties came to an accommodation.

In 1434, *Engelbert* assembled the states general at *Stockholm*, where *Cropelin*, the governor of that capital, and the intrigues of *Eric*'s friends, defeated the public spirited efforts of *Engelbert*, without allaying the ferment of the nation. *Engelbert* still kept the field, and *Eric* set sail from *Denmark* with a great fleet, which was wrecked or dispersed by a storm, but the ship that carried *Eric* arrived at *Stockholm*. We are not sufficiently informed of the particulars that followed, for we are told that *Eric* prevailed with the senate and nobility to give him a meeting, after *Engelbert* had besieged him in his capital. The nobles bravely asserted their own rights of resistance in *Eric*'s face, and though he did not recede from his tyrannical demands, yet he prevailed with the members to grant him a truce for a year, upon which he returned to *Denmark*. Though this is an undoubted, yet it is an unaccountable, fact; unless we suppose that the senate was divided in itself, and favoured *Eric*'s escape, for it can be called no better; or, what is still more probable, that the most considerable fortresses in the kingdom were still in his hands. 1434. *Eric* arrives.

Whatever may be in this, it is certain that the senate, notwithstanding all the provocations that their country had received, was extremely tender of *Eric*, and his prerogative. After his return to *Denmark*, another diet was held at *Abo*, where *Cropelin*, and the grand master of the *Teutonic* order attended on the part of *Eric*, and prevailed with the assembly not to come to extremities, till they should try what a fresh representation of their grievances would produce. This assembly sate down on the 4th of *May*, and having drawn up a recapitulation of their rights and sufferings, *Eric* arrived at *Stockholm* before the end of *July*, where he solemnly swore to grant them redress of all their grievances, and for the future, to govern according to their laws, and the constitutions of *Calmar*. He agreed, at the same time, that *Engelbert* should possess, for his life, the city of *Orebro*. Scarcely was the ink which ingrossed those conventions dry, before *Eric* broke them in every particular, by acting with greater despotism than ever, and breathing vengeance against *Engelbert*. He even His inconstancy and perfidy.

diſpoſted his friend, *Cropelin*, becauſe he thought him too moderate. He reinforced his garriſon of *Stockholm*, and by means of a large fleet and army he had prepared, he diſpoſſeſſed all the *Swediſh* governors of their places, and filled them with *Danes*. In ſhort, he treated *Sweden* in every reſpect as a rebellious, and a conquered country. The miſerable *Swedes* obtained ſome reſpite by a ſtorm, which diſſipated his fleet, and obliged him to return to *Denmark*. They renewed their remonſtrances with incredible moderation, and *Eric* returned to *Stockholm* with his nephew, *Bogeſlaus* of *Pomerania*, to whom he propoſed to reſign his crowns, and to whom the *Daniſh* governor of *Stockholm* actually ſwore allegiance.

Engelbert murdered by Canutſon.

The voice of diſtreſt liberty again called *Engelbert* into the field, who immediately inveſted *Stockholm*. He was attended by the ſenate, and the citizens, overpowering the foreigners, gave him admittance, upon which the *Daniſh* governor retired to the citadel. This glorious period, which ought to have been the æra of *Swediſh* liberty, had almoſt proved its ruin. *Charles Canutſon*, the grand marſhal of the kingdom, had the ancient kings of *Sweden* for his anceſtors, and he was the moſt reſpectable of all the nobility, not only for his birth, but for his courage, and an air of majeſty, which commanded reſpect, and attended all his actions. Whether in his heart he was a patriot, may be juſtly queſtioned, becauſe he had ſecretly, for ſome time, aſpired to the crown, and envied the glory that *Engelbert* had acquired. He was the darling of the ſenate and the nobility, as *Engelbert* was of the gentry and peaſantry. By the aſſiſtance of mediators, it was agreed that *Canutſon* ſhould carry on the ſiege of the citadel of *Stockholm*, while *Engelbert* was employed in driving out the *Daniſh* governors. As *Engelbert* was proceeding, with great ſucceſs, in this commiſſion, he was infamouſly aſſaſſinated by the procurement of *Canutſon*; and his command devolved upon his friend, *Eric Pache*, who reſolved to revenge his death. A civil war enſued among the inſurgents, which, in the end, reſtored the king to his authority.

The confederacy againſt Eric broken.

The ſenate, by this diſſention, loſing all hopes of recovering their liberty by force, ſummoned another diet at *Calmar*, where *Eric*, renewing all his promiſes of governing according to the laws, he was again admitted to the exerciſe of royalty. In a ſubſequent diet, held at the ſame place, a new treaty of union, in which the old treaty was confirmed, and all its defects ſupplied, was propoſed. The mode of ſucceſſion was fixed, but it is uncertain whether the proceedings of the diet were ratified by *Eric*, who by this time had retired to his favourite iſle of *Gothland*, with all the royal treaſures and archives of *Sweden*. According to ſome authors, he ſigned the act of ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, and upon his going to *Gothland*, the ſenate, fearing that he had been drowned, put the adminiſtration of affairs into the hands of *Canutſon*. *Canutſon*, before this time, had given many proofs of an unbounded

founded ambition; and though they conferred upon him that truſt, they renewed their oaths of fidelity to *Eric*, if living; and when they found he was in *Gothland*, they ſent deputies to induce him to return to *Sweden*, and to confirm the late conſtitutions that had paſſed at *Calmar*. The firſt inſtructions of the deputies were, to apply themſelves to the ſenate of *Denmark*, but they found the *Danes* were as much exaſperated againſt *Eric* as the *Swedes*; upon which they went to *Gothland*, where *Eric* treated them with all imaginable indignity, and refuſed to agree to any one of their propoſitions. The *Swediſh* deputies, after this, entered into ſtrong, but ſecret, connections with the diſcontented *Daniſh* nobility, and it was concerted between them, that *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria* ſhould be invited to take their crowns.

Upon the report of the *Swediſh* deputies, to their ſenate, a reſolution was formed to depoſe *Eric*, and according to ſome authors, his depoſition was formal; but though this is not quite aſcertained, it is certain that *Canutſon*, by virtue of his adminiſtratorſhip, forced many of the *Daniſh* governors to reſign the places they held, into his hands, and he filled them up with his own creatures; ſo that he became, in the opinion of the people, too powerful for an adminiſtrator. *Pache* aſſembled the peaſantry, whom he exhorted to revenge the death of *Engelbert*, and defeated the troops of *Canutſon*, who, under pretence of a treaty, decoyed *Pache* into his power, and moſt treacherouſly ſtruck off his head. *Canutſon*, after this, grew deteſtable in the eyes of the *Swedes*, and the nobility was confirmed more than ever in their reſolution to call in *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*. Several inſurrections, particularly one under *Melſon*, and another under *Stenon*, whom *Eric* had conſtituted his captain general in *Sweden*, happened; but they were ſuppreſſed by *Canutſon*, who cut off the heads of all who durſt ſo much as expoſtulate againſt his tyranny. Had it not been for the frantic behaviour of *Eric*, he might have been once more recalled to the throne of *Sweden*; but the ſtates were now ſo abſolutely determined upon the election of his nephew by his ſiſter, *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*, that all *Canutſon*'s arts could not prevent it. He however obtained, in conſideration of the debts he had contracted during his adminiſtratorſhip, a grant for himſelf and his heirs of the province of *Finland*, with the iſles of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*.

He is depoſed.

Pache treacherouſly put to death.

The ſituation of *Eric*, who continued in *Gothland*, and employed his treaſures in fitting out ſhips, to ravage the coaſt, and interrupt the trade of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, was very extraordinary, and the more ſo, as his depredations were connived at by *Chriſtopher* of *Bavaria*, who accepted the crown on the ſame terms as had been preſcribed to his two immediate predeceſſors. He copied *Eric* in every part of his tyrannical government, and married the princeſs *Dorothy* of *Brandenburgh*. To appeaſe the clamours of his people, he fitted out an armament, under pretence of acting againſt *Eric*; but upon his ar-

Chriſtopher of *Bavaria* accepts the crown.

rival in *Gothland*, he paid him a friendly visit, and he and *Christopher* parted in good terms, excusing himself to the *Swedes*, by saying that it was unreasonable he should deprive his uncle of his bread. The *Danes*, as well as the *Swedes*, had come to a resolution of deposing *Christopher* for his repeated acts of tyranny; and he endeavoured to reform his government, but died in *January* 1448.

His death. 1448.

Upon his death, the two brothers, *Jansons*, were appointed joint regents of *Sweden*, which on this occasion was split into two parties. One was for deferring the election of a king till an assembly of the deputies of the three kingdoms was held, and it could be known whether it was possible to revive the union of *Calmar*. The other party, at the head of which was *Canutson*, very properly urged that the union of *Calmar* was now at an end, and *Canutson* acted with so much address, that he was preferred to the two regents, and crowned king of *Sweden*, at *Upsal*. He found himself, on his accession to the throne, without warlike stores, ships or treasures, all which had been carried to *Denmark* by his two immediate predecessors. That he might do something popular, he made a descent upon the isle of *Gothland*, the event of which we have already seen. All we have to add, is, that *Eric* was much more exasperated against the *Swedes* than the *Danes*; because he said the former wanted to deprive him of that spot of ground which the latter left him unmolested. Though *Canutson* failed in this expedition, yet, upon an invitation from the *Norvegian* nobility, he passed into that kingdom, where he received their crown, at *Drontheim*. Upon his return to *Sweden*, he called a diet at *Abroga*, and appointed commissioners to treat with the *Danes* concerning the rendition of the isle of *Gothland*. *Magnus Green*, his first general, was at the head of this commission, and being secretly disgusted with *Canutson*, he and his fellow commissioners entered into very close connections with the *Danish* commissioners, for renewing the union of *Calmar*, which, in fact, implied the stripping *Canutson* of both his crowns, in favour of *Christiern* king of *Denmark*. Their conferences, however, ended in the conclusion of a peace. *Canutson* more than suspected what had passed, and upon the return of his commissioners, he deprived them of all their employments, and some say, sequestered their estates. It is certain, he punished them as far as his power permitted him, or he durst in prudence, on account of their high rank and quality, even the archbishop of *Upsal* being involved in their guilt.

Canutson elected king.

p. 415.

Canutson chosen king of *Norway*.

In 1454, though the late peace had been renewed in an interview between the two monarchs, the *Danes*, who were still in possession of *Gothland*, made a piratical descent upon the neighbourhood of *Stockholm*, which was resented by *Canutson*, by invading *Sweden* with seventy thousand men. We have already seen the *Danish* account of this expedition, which we are inclined to believe rather than that of the *Swedes*; because,

1454. War with *Denmark*.

p. 416.

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had *Canutſon* been ſo ſucceſsful as they repreſent him, it is improbable he would have returned ſo quickly to *Sweden*, or that he would have entirely abandoned all his conqueſts in *Schonen*. During his abſence, the diſcontented party in *Sweden*, with the archbiſhop at their head, renewed their connections with *Chriſtiern*, who fell with an army into *Weſt Gothland*, where he took *Lodeſe*, and compelled the inhabitants to ſend notice to *Canutſon*, that they no longer acknowledged him for their ſovereign. While *Canutſon* was on his march to repel this inſion, he had intelligence that *Green* and his party had joined the *Danes*, whoſe fleet, under *Axelſon*, was actually beſieging *Stockholm*. *Canutſon* inſtantly proceeded to the relief of his capital, and drove the *Danes*, with conſiderable loſs, out of that part of *Sweden*. He was equally ſucceſsful againſt them in *Eaſt* and *Weſt Gothland*, for his general, *Thorde Bonde*, recovered all the laſt mentioned province, and *Chriſtiern* was obliged to evacuate the former.

Canutſon's ſucceſſes againſt the *Danes* overawed the male-contents, who had not yet declared themſelves, and the archbiſhop renewed his oath of fidelity. The politic *Chriſtiern*, without being diſcouraged by thoſe appearances, amuſed *Canutſon*, ſometimes with fruitleſs negotiations, and ſometimes with alarming invaſions, which *Canutſon* durſt not repay, becauſe of the dangerous ferment, which he knew was ſtill lurking among his people. It obliged him, however, to keep on foot great armies, and to levy oppreſſive taxes, which encreaſed the public diſcontents, eſpecially after he had put to death *Thorde Bonde*, his beſt and moſt faithful general, and made free with the revenues of the clergy. At laſt, the popular diſcontent roſe ſo high, that the archbiſhop of *Upſal* privately ſent intelligence to *Chriſtiern*, that if he then began his operations, all *Sweden* would declare for a revival of the union of *Calmar*. *Chriſtiern* had then a good fleet, and in 1455, he reduced the iſle of *Oeland*, and took *Borkholm*. He was equally ſucceſsful in *Finland*, and *Green*, who was then in his ſervice, burnt *Wyburg*, but was unable to reduce its citadel. Amidſt ſo many diſtreſſes, *Canutſon* had no other reſource than to aſſemble the ſtates at *Stockholm*; but they met in ſo bad humour, that they condemned him to pay for certain ſhips which the *Danes* had taken from the archbiſhop of *Upſal*. *Canutſon* loſt all patience at this treatment, and reſolved to defend himſelf by a ſtanding army, and his garriſons. The clergy declared themſelves againſt him, almoſt to a man, and when he marched to retake *Oeland*, the archbiſhop poſted him up in his cathedral as a heretic and a tyrant, and then exchanged his eccleſiaſtical for a military habit. He, at the ſame time, put all his great officers of ſtate and his houſhold, under arreſt, and plundered the palace. *Canutſon*, hearing of this rebellion, returned of a ſudden with fourteen hundred horſe, thinking to ſurprize his enemies; but he himſelf was ſurprized, by the vigilant and warlike prelate, who cut in pieces or took priſoners

Policy of *Chriſtiern*.

1455.

his party, wounded himſelf, and obliged him to fly to *Stockholm*, which the archbiſhop immediately inveſted.

Canutſon flies to *Dantzic*. 1458.

It was in vain for *Canutſon* to offer his pardon to the rebels. Their head told his followers that he was not to be truſted, and produced repeated inſtances of his perfidy. *Canutſon*, finding his capital untenable, and his ſubjects, almoſt to a man, diſaffected, put part of his treaſures on board a ſhip, but hid the remainder in the houſe of the *Dominican Friars*, and eſcaped to *Dantzic*.

Chriſtiern crowned king of *Sweden*.

After the flight of *Canutſon*, *Stockholm* and its citadel ſurrendered, and the archbiſhop declared himſelf protector of the kingdom. *Chriſtiern*'s ſchemes were now ripe, and in conſequence of an invitation he received from the protector and the ſtates of *Sweden*, he landed with a fine fleet at *Stockholm*, and after ſigning articles for the due adminiſtration of the kingdom, the preſervation of the liberties of the ſubject, and redreſs of grievances, he was elected and crowned. Having under him a powerful fleet and army, he did not think himſelf obliged to anſwer the extravagant expectations of the archbiſhop, and his other *Swediſh* friends. This ſtung the archbiſhop with reſentment, which he called remorſe, for having dethroned his lawful ſovereign, and for which he is ſaid to have received abſolution from his holineſs. *Chriſtiern* went even ſo far, as to declare his intention of reſuming, without paying any equivalent, the crown lands that had been granted away during the late reigns, but in all other reſpects, he adhered ſtrictly to the letter of his capitulation.

The hiſtory of no country, perhaps, produces more inſtances than that of *Sweden* does, of princes who did not profit by the misfortunes, or the examples of their predeceſſors. *Chriſtiern* renewed all the oppreſſive practices of former kings. He diſcovered and ſeized the treaſures left by *Canutſon*, with the *Dominicans*, and impoſed additional taxes, in violation of his capitulation, to pay the purchaſe money for ſome duchies he had bought, with which *Sweden* had no manner of connection. Being reconciled to the archbiſhop, in appearance, though they privately hated each other, they formed ſham plots, for which they, whom they ſuſpected to be their enemies, were put to death, under racks and tortures. The nature of this confederacy between *Chriſtiern* and his archbiſhop, is not new in hiſtory, and was built on both ſides upon wicked principles.

His tyrannical government.

The king made the prelate his firſt miniſter, that he might be rendered unpopular, and the latter, under pretence of executing the royal commands, rendered the king deteſtable. Both of them acted, as appears from the event, with more cunning than wiſdom. The archbiſhop compelled the peaſants of *Finland* to an inſurrection, on account of an extraordinary tax he demanded, when the king was abſent in *Finland*; and *Chriſtiern*, on his return, put the archbiſhop under arreſt, for having ſtirred up ſedition among his ſubjects, by his oppreſſions. In the mean while, the party of the exiled *Canutſon*

nutſon was daily gathering ſtrength, and making proſelytes, as the public did not find itſelf bettered by its change of kings. The peaſants and the clergy took part with the archbiſhop, and the king cut in pieces ſome of the former; but the biſhop of *Linkoping* had not only the boldneſs to demand the archbiſhop's releaſe, but reprimanded *Chriſtiern* for the abuſes of his government; upon which the archbiſhop was ſent priſoner to *Copenhagen*. The biſhop of *Linkoping*, whoſe name was *Katil*, was ſoon at the head of an army, which in 1463, defeated the royal troops, beſieged *Chriſtiern* in *Stockholm*, and compelled him to fly to *Denmark*.

He flies to *Denmark*.

1463.

Katil, pretending the throne was now vacant, and that the *Swediſh* nation had renounced its allegiance to *Chriſtiern*, for the reaſons already mentioned, declared himſelf protector of the kingdom, though *Eric Nelſon* was the only ſenator of his party. We are to obſerve, that *Stockholm* was ſtill poſſeſſed by the royal garriſon, but blocked up. *Chriſtiern*, while in *Denmark*, levied a numerous army, and being joined by the ſenators and nobility, who were ſtill of his party, marched to the relief of his capital, not to fight, as he thought, but to deſtroy, the rabble of peaſants who beſieged it. He was deceived, for the diſpoſitions made by *Katil* and *Nelſon* were ſo excellent, that his own troops were cut in pieces, and it was with difficulty that he himſelf, with a few attendants, eſcaped to *Stockholm*, which was beſieged anew by *Katil*, who, in every reſpect, approved himſelf worthy of the power he had aſſumed, by relieving the people, and lowering their taxes. *Katil*, even after his firſt ſucceſſes, had been ſo moderate as to propoſe terms to *Chriſtiern*, provided he would releaſe the archbiſhop, who was his uncle, which *Chriſtiern* refuſed. *Katil*, upon this, encouraged the peaſants of *Dalia* and *Upland* to addreſs the ſenate againſt *Chriſtiern*, and to demand the reſtoration of *Canutſon*. That prince, who, ever ſince his exile, had, by the aſſiſtance of the *Dantzickers* and *Poles*, been waging perpetual hoſtilities upon the *Danes*, no ſooner appeared with a handful of forces before *Stockholm*, which had been a ſecond time abandoned by *Chriſtiern*, than the inhabitants received him with loud acclamations, into their city and citadel.

Katil declared protector.

Hiſtory is here again at a default, with regard to the views and conduct of *Canutſon* and *Katil*. What we can collect from jarring authorities is, that *Canutſon*, upon his reſtoration, was leſs ſollicitous about rewarding his friends than obliging his enemies. Without conſulting *Katil*, he generouſly ſet at liberty all his *Daniſh* priſoners; but no ſooner were they imbarked, than the offended prelate purſued, and brought back the ſhips which carried them. By this time, *Chriſtiern*, ſenſible that he never could recover the crown of *Sweden* without the aſſiſtance of the two prelates, apologized to the archbiſhop for his impriſonment, which he ſaid had been occaſioned by ſuborned and malicious evidence, and not only

Uncertainty of hiſtory at this period.

only ſet him at liberty, but gave him greater proofs than ever of his eſteem and friendſhip. He furniſhed him with large ſums of money; he appointed him a ſplendid retinue to attend him back to *Sweden*; he declared him viceroy there, and impowered him to act as if he himſelf were preſent. The prelate knew that this profuſion of favour was meant only to induce him to declare againſt *Canutſon*. Upon his return, he conſulted with *Katil*, and they reſolved to eſpouſe the cauſe of neither prince, but to act independent of both, and to have nothing in view but the liberties of their country. This declaration being ſeconded by ſeveral popular meaſures, the two prelates ſoon ſaw themſelves at the head of a numerous army, with which they beſieged *Canutſon* in *Stockholm*. *Canutſon* thought a crown was not worth the wearing that was at the diſpoſal of its ſubjects, and reſolved to venture his on the fate of a ſingle battle, which was accordingly fought upon the ice near *Stockholm*, with almoſt unparalleled fury and bloodſhed; but after a long and obſtinate diſpute, victory remained with the prelates, though they did not think proper to purſue *Canutſon*. A body of *Dalecarlians*, who were in his intereſt, and coming to his relief, being likewiſe defeated, he was forced to renounce the crown of *Sweden*, to ſwear that he would not accept of it, even if it was offered him, and to retire to a private life, upon a revenue ſo ſmall, that it ſcarcely ſupplied him with neceſſaries.

The archbiſhop of *Upſal* defeats *Canutſon*, who renounces the crown.

Proſperous as the archbiſhop was at this time, the nobility of *Sweden* ſaw through his deſigns, which, in fact, tended either to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereignty, or to give them a creature of his own for their king. *Nils Sture*, and *Eric Axelſon*, who had married *Canutſon*'s ſiſters, had the boldneſs to impeach his conduct, and even to put to death ſome of the magiſtrates he had appointed. It appears as if by this time *Katil* had been dead, and the truth is, we are ſomewhat in the dark, as to the provocations the nobility and the people had received from *Canutſon*, after his reſtoration. All we know is, that the two prelates were his mortal enemies, and that *Nils Sture* and *Eric Axelſon* were his friends and relations, and that the ſtates were ſo much convinced of the archbiſhop's falſhood, that they forced him to reſign all his power to *Axelſon*, whom they declared adminiſtrator of the kingdom. This produced a moſt cruel civil war in *Sweden*. Two parties were formed, the one headed by the archbiſhop and *Nelſon*, and the other by the adminiſtrator and *Nils Sture*. The two former were ſupported by the gentry and the magiſtracies of the towns, and the other by the peaſantry, whom the miſeries of their country ſoon rendered excellent troops. Hiſtory inſtructs us, that the civil, of all wars, is the moſt inhuman, and this in *Sweden* was carried on even to internecion, for neither party gave quarter; but upon the main, the adminiſtrator prevailed. The vaſt reſources, however, which the archbiſhop had among the clergy, who poſſeſſed the greateſt part of the national wealth, enabled

Axelſon declared adminiſtrator.

A cruel civil war breaks out.

enabled him to form the ſiege of *Stockholm*; but he died before it could be taken, and the adminiſtrator's party gave ſeveral ſignal defeats to their enemies. The latter were not diſcouraged; they collected their troops, and fought a deciſive battle with the adminiſtrator, in which they were totally defeated, few eſcaping out of the engagement. The conſequence of the adminiſtrator's victory was, that *Canutſon* was again placed on the throne of *Sweden*. This ſecond reſtoration did not reſtore tranquillity to the kingdom. *Nelſon* was ſtill at the head of the archbiſhop's party, and being joined by *Carlſon*, they defeated *Canutſon*. The *Daniſh* hiſtorians here mention a fact which is not at all improbable, for they tell us, that the archbiſhop's party was vigorouſly ſupported by *Chriſtiern*, who gained a victory over the adminiſtrator's brother, and obtained ſo many other advantages, that both parties offered to treat with him at *Lubec*. *Chriſtiern* accordingly repaired to that city, but the *Swediſh* deputies not attending, he left it in diſguſt.

In 1470, the two brothers, *Nils* and *Steen Sture*, defeated *Carlſon*, as he was about to lay ſiege to *Stockholm*, and forced him to fly to *Denmark*. *Chriſtiern*, at his inſtigation, made a winter campaign in *Eaſt Gothland*, where he was defeated by the *Stures*, and forced to return to *Denmark*. While this bloody war was at its height, *Canutſon* died at *Stockholm*, and on his death bed, put his nephew, *Steen Sture*, in poſſeſſion of that city. The public was in hopes that the election of a new king would reſtore tranquillity, but *Carlſon* and the late archbiſhop's party, ſtuck by the union of *Calmar* and *Chriſtiern*, to whom they ſaid they had already ſworn allegiance. *Steen Sture* was ſo vigorouſly ſupported by the *Stockholmers* and the *Dalecarlians*, that he was declared adminiſtrator; while *Chriſtiern* received ſuch encouragement from *Carlſon* and his party, that he again invaded *Sweden*, made an attempt upon *Stockholm*, in which he failed, but was proclaimed king at *Upſal*. Returning from thence, he renewed the ſiege of *Stockholm*, but he was beaten by the two *Stures*, with conſiderable ſlaughter, and his grand maſter was taken priſoner. The conſequence of this victory was, that *Sture* recovered all the places that *Chriſtiern* had taken in *Sweden*, and continued for ſome years in the peaceable poſſeſſion of the adminiſtration, which he had gained by his courage, policy and patriotiſm. By the death of *Chriſtiern*, in 1481, *Sture* might have mounted the throne of *Sweden*, but he perceived he could not enjoy it in peace, as *Chriſtiern*'s party there was ſtill ſo powerful, that they propoſed to revive the union of *Calmar*, and *Sture* even conſented to a congreſs for that purpoſe, to be held at *Helmſtadt*. His conſent was only a ſtroke of refined policy, in order to break that ſpirit, which he foreſaw would one day make his country a province to *Denmark*. He pretended to fall ſick on the road, and embarraſſed the whole affair ſo artfully, that though the *Swedes* and *Norvegians* choſe *John*, ſon of

1470. Death of *Canutſon*. *Steen Sture* declared adminiſtrator.

1481. King *John* of *Denmark* choſen king of *Sweden*.

of

See p. 418. of the late *Chriſtiern* for their king, yet *Sture* ſtill retained the adminiſtration with an almoſt unbounded power.

1487. In 1487, *Yvar Axelſon* became his enemy, and after committing various arts of piracy, which diſgraced the *Swediſh* name, he ſurrendered the iſland of *Gothland* to *John*. About this time the *Ruſſians* made a cruel irruption into *Sweden*, and after maſſacring the *Carelians*, they were with difficulty driven out of *Finland*. All the abilities of *Sture*, could not defend him from a powerful confederacy then formed againſt him, at the head of which was *Suante Nelſon*, whom the adminiſtrator upbraided with cowardice, for refuſing to attend him in an expedition into *Ruſſia*. Their differences were brought before the ſenate, who not only took *Nelſon*'s part, but upbraided *Sture* for his deſpotic adminiſtration; and after repeated recriminations had paſſed between them, they depoſed him from his government. This was occaſioned by the intrigues of the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and the clergy having engaged a numerous party of the ſenate to re-eſtabliſh the union of *Calmar* in the perſon of *John*, which *Sture* had always oppoſed. The *Finlanders* and *Dalecarlians* remained faithfully attached to *Sture*, who carried on war againſt the clergy, and beſieged the archbiſhop in *Upſal*. By this time, the ſenate had invited *John* to accept of their crown, and arriving in *Sweden* with an army, he beſieged *Stockholm*, which held out for *Sture*, who was defeated in two bloody battles, and then came to an accommodation with *John*, upon terms which teſtified that prince's high opinion of his merit. It was agreed that the adminiſtrator ſhould acknowledge *John* as king of *Sweden*, in terms of the union of *Calmar*, and that *Sture* ſhould have the revenues of *Finland*, the two *Bothnias*, and *Nicoping*, during his life. After this, the *Dalecarlians* were perſuaded to recognize *John*'s authority, upon *Sture* being appointed their governor.

Sture deprived of the adminiſtratorſhip,

Sweden, at this time, felt the ſmart of civil diſſentions ſo ſeverely, that they inveſted *John* with more unlimited powers than had been enjoyed by any of his predeceſſors. The clergy's reſentment againſt *Sture* was ſuch, that perceiving he had received a full pardon from *John*, for all that was paſt, they made ſeveral attempts to murder him, for having been an enemy to the church; and upon *John*'s return from *Denmark*, in 1496, he was prevailed upon to deprive *Sture* of great part of the revenue that had been granted him. This made *Sture* his bitter enemy; and *John* having now given himſelf up into the hands of the *Danes* and *Germans*, was hated more by the party that had raiſed him to the throne, than *Sture* had ever been. This general diſaffection, which was fomented by *Sture*, terminated in the latter taking the field, at the head of his friends, and their renouncing their allegiance to *John*, for the very reaſons that had induced them to dethrone ſo many of his predeceſſors. *John*, finding the ſpirit of diſaffection to his government more general than he had ſuſpected, left a garriſon under

in which he is again reinſtated.

1496.

under his queen, *Chriſtina*, in *Stockholm*, which *Sture* immediately beſieged. The inhabitants admitted him into the city, but the queen defended the citadel with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, till her garriſon was reduced to a handful, and thoſe threatened with famine, and then ſhe capitulated. The terms were, that the garriſon ſhould remain priſoners of war, and the queen be permitted to return to *Denmark*; but *Sture* violated the capitulation, and ſent her priſoner to *Wadſtena*. The war between the two crowns was now carried on with great vigour. *Sture*, who had been declared adminiſtrator, puſhed his ſucceſſes with ſuch rapidity, that he recovered all the ſtrong holds in *Sweden*, excepting *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, and then he releaſed her *Daniſh* majeſty from her confinement. After returning from eſcorting her to the frontiers of her own kingdom, he died at *Jenekoping*.

The diet of *Sweden* were divided, at firſt, in their ſentiments, whether they ſhould reſtore *John* or chuſe a new adminiſtrator. The latter opinion prevailed, and the adminiſtratorſhip, in 1504, was conferred upon *Suante Sture*, a deſcendent of the ancient kings of *Sweden*. From the ſudden death of *Steen*, it was ſuſpected that he had been poiſoned, by a lady who was in love with *Suante*, who ſhewed himſelf worthy of the dignity conferred on him, by reducing *Calmar*, where a congreſs was appointed to be held between *John* and the *Swediſh* deputies, for reſtoring the public tranquillity. The hoſtile diſpoſitions of *John* deterred the deputies from attending, upon which he pronounced ſentence of deprivation upon all the nobility who oppoſed him. Being without power to carry this ſentence into execution in *Sweden*, he confiſcated the effects of all the *Swedes* in *Denmark*; he prevailed with the emperor to baniſh them out of *Germany*, and with the pope, to lay *Suante* and the kingdom under an interdict. The *Swedes* would have deſpiſed thoſe proceedings, had not *John* opened the harbours of the iſland of *Gothland*, as rendezvouſes for ſhipping and pirates of all nations, to the inexpreſſible ſuffering of the *Swedes*, who felt their miſeries even in their inland provinces. The invaſions, murders, and depredations that followed, are as unprofitable to read as they are irkſome to recount, eſpecially as they were attended by nothing deciſive, till both parties were ſo weakened with fighting, that they agreed upon negotiating. We have already ſeen the iſſue of the treaty, by which *John* was to receive an annuity of thirteen thouſand marks in ſilver, till either he or his ſon, prince *Chriſtiern*, mounted the throne of *Sweden*. The ſenate rejected thoſe terms, becauſe *John* had refuſed to give up the city of *Calmar*, with the iſlands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, which they made the condition of their granting the annuity; and the *Swedes* made an alliance with the *Lubeckers*, then intent upon revenge againſt *Denmark*. *John*, however, gave them ſuch terms, that they abandoned the *Swedes*, who, notwithſtanding, made a good head againſt the *Daniſh* invaſions;

1504. *Suante Sture* choſen adminiſtrator.

See p. 421.

His death. 1512. sions; but in the mean time, the administrator, *Suante Sture*, died.

Succeeded by *Steen Sture*. The senate was divided about the choice of his successor. The clergy inclined to elect *Eric Trolle*, and the nobility *Steen Sture*, son to the administrator of the same name; but before they could fix on their choice, a treaty was brought on with the king of *Denmark*, who died before it was concluded, and *Steen Sture* was chosen administrator of *Sweden*. The cruelties which the young king of *Denmark* had committed, while he commanded his father's armies in *Norway* and *Sweden*, gave the *Swedes* a horror for his person; when he insisted upon their reviving, in his favour, the union of *Calmar*. His interest with the court of *Rome*, procured an excommunication to be issued against *Steen Sture* and his party; and *Steen* endeavoured to avoid its effects, by agreeing to the election of the young *Gustavus Trolle*, son to the candidate for the administratorship, into the vacant see of *Upsal*. The *Swedes*, at this time, seem never to have carried their views farther than their own country, excepting by making a few slight alliances with the *Lubeckers* and other *Hanse* towns, and in general, they were strangers to the arts of corruption. Their enemy, *Christiern* of *Denmark*, was of a different disposition. He knew the value of foreign alliances, and how to apply money. He married the sister of the archduke of *Austria*, afterwards *Charles* the Vth; he formed alliances with the inseparable crowns of *France* and *Scotland*; he was a favourite at the court of *Rome*, and he bribed the archbishop elect, as he was journeying through *Denmark* to take possession of his new see, which he did in the year 1516. His first exercise of authority, was to excommunicate *Sture* and all his adherents; and he proceeded in a manner so frantic, that even the court of *Rome*, violent as it was at that time, advised him to a more moderate conduct.

1516.

Archbishop *Trolle* reduced. The great abilities of the administrator, who put the archbishop's father, *Eric Trolle*, and the governor of *Stockholm*, into arrest, for inviting *Christiern* to *Sweden*, checked his madness. He fortified himself in *Stecka*, where he was besieged, but notwithstanding the lateness of the fact, we know not the event. It is said by the *Danes*, that *Christiern* sent a fleet and an army to the relief of the prelate, under admiral *Norby*, who raised the siege, and carried the archbishop in triumph to *Denmark*. *Swedish* authors pretend that the *Danes* were beaten, and that all the favour the archbishop could obtain from the administrator, was his being admitted to a hearing, in his own defence, before the senate of *Sweden*, which condemned him, razed his fortresses, and sequestered his temporalities. We are inclined to believe the *Swedish* accounts, because it is certain that the prelate was afterwards confined, whether voluntarily or not, we cannot say, in the monastery of *Westenas*, and that the pope interposed in his favour, but without effect.

Cruelties of *Christiern*. His fate did not discourage *Christiern*. He invaded *Sweden* with very powerful armaments, and the *Swedes* obtained over him

him a complete victory, vaſt numbers of the *Danes* being either killed, or drowned in their precipitate flight to their ſhips. Before he returned to *Denmark*, he invited the adminiſtrator to a conference, but *Chriſtiern*'s perfidious conduct was ſo notorious, that the ſenate diſſuaded *Sture* from attending. He then offered to repair to *Stockholm*, on pretence of concluding a perpetual treaty with *Sweden*, provided ſix noble hoſtages were ſent for his ſafety. The hoſtages were ſent, and among them was the famous *Guſtavus Vaſa*, or *Ericſon*, afterwards king; but *Chriſtiern* immediately ſet ſail with them for *Denmark*. Next year, being 1520, *Chriſtiern* again invaded *Sweden*, and defeated and killed the adminiſtrator; though the hiſtorians of the two nations differ widely as to the particulars, *Chriſtiern* marched to *Stregnitz*, and archbiſhop *Guſtavus*, who now ſecured his epiſcopal functions, proclaimed him king of the three northern crowns, at *Upſal*. *Chriſtiern* advanced with all the horrid barbarities that were agreeable to his infernal nature, but told the *Swedes* that he was ready to grant them their own terms, to ſheathe the ſword, and publiſh an act of amneſty. They were obliged to comply; they preſented him with the conditions of the election, which were ſuch as became a brave free people to demand. He ſigned and ſealed them, as did the ſenators of *Denmark*, who became ſureties for the performance. Perceiving that, with all his force, he could not take *Stockholm*, which was defended by the brave widow of the late adminiſtrator, he again ſwore to the capitulation of *Upſal*, he agreed to her and her children entering into the poſſeſſion of all her late huſband's eſtates and effects, upon which he was invited into *Stockholm*, and crowned by the archbiſhop *Guſtavus*. Beſides *Danes*, *Chriſtiern* was attended by numerous bodies of *French* and *German* troops, and he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to execute the moſt execrable ſcheme which he had long and deliberately formed, of murdering all the *Swediſh* ſenate. Even his *Daniſh* favourites could not divert him from his bloody purpoſe. Archbiſhop *Guſtavus* was his wicked tool, and exhauſted all his zeal and eloquence in bringing a formal charge againſt the ſenators, and the late adminiſtrator. All the ſenators, on various pretexts, but particularly on account of the demolition of *Stecka*, were put under arreſt, excepting thoſe who eſcaped. After a mock trial, they were condemned, and hanged upon gibbets, on a charge of hereſy, to the number of three-ſcore. He intended to have burnt or flayed alive the widow of the late adminiſtrator, but upon the ſtrong interceſſions made in her favour, he was contented to doom her to perpetual impriſonment, as he did her mother, though ſhe had ſurrendered to him all her great eſtate. The relation of the other mean but monſtrous barbarities, even to the whipping boys of ſeven years of age to death, committed by this tyrant before his return to *Denmark*, would diſgrace our page.

See p. 423.

Ibid.

But

But we are now to attend the dawn of *Swediſh* liberty, amidſt thoſe diabolical ſcenes of cruelty.

Guſtavus Vaſa appears.

After *Vaſa* (for ſo we ſhall call him by way of diſtinction) was carried to *Denmark*, he narrowly eſcaped being put to death by *Chriſtiern*, who reſerved him only in hopes that he would be his convert, and aſſiſt him in bringing over his countrymen to his intereſt. He was ſoothed in thoſe ſentiments by *Banner*, a *Daniſh* nobleman, but *Vaſa*'s relation, who ſeeing that ſome of the other hoſtages had periſhed miſerably in priſon, perſuaded *Chriſtiern*, under pretence of advancing the converſion of *Vaſa*, to commit him to his cuſtody at *Calo* in *Jutland*, to which *Chriſtiern* conſented, after *Banner* had given a bond for the payment of ſix thouſand crowns, in caſe of *Vaſa*'s eſcape. *Banner* treated *Vaſa* as his gueſt; and the neighbourhood of a hunting country, where he was attended by crouds of noblemen and gentlemen, who admired his graceful qualities, was his only place of confinement. All diverſions proved inſipid to *Vaſa*, on hearing the fate of his deareſt friend, the adminiſtrator, the murder of his own father, and the miſeries of *Sweden*. *Vaſa* thought that no perſonal attachments ought to diſpenſe with his obeying the voice of his diſtreſt country. He one day withdrew himſelf from a hunting match, put on the habit of a peaſant, eſcaped to *Flenſburg*, and engaged himſelf as a ſervant to a merchant of *Lower Saxony*, who carried him to *Lubec*, where *Banner* overtook him. We leave it with caſuiſts to determine how far *Vaſa* was juſtifiable in his behaviour to his generous friend. The beſt apology offered for him is, that he intended to remit to *Banner* the price of his liberty, and we are told that *Banner* was ſatisfied with that aſſurance, and with the patriot reaſons urged by *Vaſa*.

His remarkable adverſities

During *Vaſa*'s abode at *Lubec*, he employed all his eloquence in perſuading the *Lubeckers* that their exiſtence as a republic, nay that of the *Hanſe* towns likewiſe, depended upon their taking vigorous meaſures againſt preventing the union of *Calmar* from being revived in *Chriſtiern*'s perſon. The ſenators were convinced by his arguments, without being converted to his ſentiments; and all he could obtain was, an aſſurance from *Gemins*, the firſt ſenator (who was entirely in his intereſt) that if, upon his return to *Sweden*, he could make but the face of a party, he might depend on the aſſiſtance of *Lubec* and the other *Hanſe* towns, and that this was the reſolution of the other ſenators, though prudence forbade their declaring themſelves at that time. Thoſe incidents in *Vaſa*'s life, happened about the time that *Chriſtiern* was beſieging *Stockholm*.

and difficulties.

Though *Vaſa* failed in his main application, yet his friend *Gemins* found means to procure him money and a ſhip. He deſired to be carried to *Stockholm*, but he was carried to *Calmar*, then in the hands of the adminiſtratrix. *Vaſa* was in hopes

hopes of commanding the garriſon, and the governor threatened to put him to death, if he did not leave the town, with which he complied. We are now to behold *Vaſa* once more diſguiſed like a peaſant. His eſcape was known to the *Danes*, and it alarmed *Chriſtiern* ſo much, that he ordered his general, *Crumpen*, to omit no means of apprehending him. His ruin muſt have been inevitable, had he not thrown himſelf into a hay-waggon, in which he paſſed through the heart of the *Daniſh* army, and reached an old caſtle belonging to his family in *Sudermania*. Nothing but the moſt diſintereſted patriotiſm could have ſupported him under the toils he there underwent, to reanimate his countrymen to a ſenſe of their condition; but all was in vain, ſuch was their dread of the *Daniſh* power. He went from houſe to houſe, from aſſembly to aſſembly of the peaſants, who were all of them deaf to his exhortations, becauſe, as they ſaid, their condition could not be worſe under a *Daniſh*, than it had been under a *Swediſh*, government. Even this inſenſibility did not diſcourage the heroic *Vaſa*. He traverſed the country, though ruin was always at his heels, but ſtill without ſucceſs; till, at laſt, his only conſolation lay in the miſery of his country, which he hoped would animate the *Swedes* to a ſenſe of their miſery. After hearing of the bloody tragedy which was acted at *Stockholm*, and which cut him off from his neareſt and moſt important connections, he reſolved to retire to the almoſt impenetrable country of *Dalecarlia*; and, attended only by one peaſant, he ſurmounted, in diſguiſe, fatigues that the ſpirit of liberty alone could have ſupported. His guide was his caſhier; and no ſooner was he arrived in *Dalecarlia*, than he fled with all his money, which reduced *Vaſa* to work in the dreary mines of that country for his ſubſiſtence. His air, his converſation, and the glimpſe of an embroidered veſt which was ſeen by a woman under his clowniſh attire, excited, firſt the curioſity, and then the attention, of thoſe peaſants, whoſe ſituation rendered them inacceſſible to *Chriſtiern*'s troops. Their reports reached the ears of *Andrew Lackinta*, one of the wealthieſt gentlemen of that poor province, who burned to ſee the illuſtrious ſtranger; and upon ſeeing him, recognized him to have been his ſchoolfellow at the univerſity, and the ſon of the noble *Ericſon*. From him he learned, with pleaſure, the diſpoſition of the *Dalecarlians*, with regard to the *Daniſh* tyranny, and that the province could furniſh out for the field, twenty thouſand brave hardy inhabitants. This information encouraged *Vaſa* to open to *Lakinta* the deſign he had formed for the deliverance of his country, but the *Dalecarlian* was ſo ſtruck, with the danger and difficulties attending his projects, that he began to retract what he had ſaid, and to queſtion the practicability of *Vaſa*'s undertaking. Finding *Vaſa* determined, he adviſed him to wait till the tyranny of the *Danes* ſhould be felt by the *Dalecarlians*, in which caſe he made no doubt they would fly to arms. *Vaſa* was far from reliſhing his temporiz-

ing counſel, and after thanking him for his entertainment, left his houſe ſecretly in the night-time. After a tedious journey, he put himſelf under the protection of one *Peterſon*, whom he found poſſeſſed with a zeal ſeemingly ſtronger than his own, againſt the *Danes*; but, in the mean time, he gave intelligence to a *Daniſh* officer in the neighbourhood, who ſurrounded the houſe with a party. *Peterſon*'s wife had generouſly acquainted *Vaſa* with her huſband's villainous intentions, and conſigned him to the care of a clergyman, who, like herſelf, was full of truth and honour, and concealed *Vaſa* in a ſmall cloſet within the church, where none had acceſs but himſelf. The converſation of our hero added patriotiſm to the clergyman's other virtues, but a patriotiſm guarded by prudence and directed by caution, for he adviſed *Vaſa* to truſt himſelf to the peaſantry, rather than the gentry, who lived too quietly and independently to riſk their properties and lives for any change of government.

His ſucceſs with the *Dalecarlians*.

To quicken the peaſants, the clergyman privately inſtructed his friends, who were numerous in the province, to give out that the *Danes* were on their march to invade their country; and he counſelled *Vaſa* to repair to an annual aſſembly, held by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who had been diſpoſed to believe the approach of the *Danes*, and had received ſome intimations of their future deliverer. No man could make a more illuſtrious figure than *Vaſa* did among thoſe honeſt peaſants. His habit was anſwerable to his high birth. His mien added to his misfortunes, his father having fallen by the butcher of his country. His eloquence heightened the beauty and dignity of his perſon, and he painted the miſeries of *Sweden* ſo pathetically, that he aſtoniſhed the boors; but it was an aſtoniſhment that was ſoon converted to rage, and reſolution to be revenged. Without lending the leaſt ear to more moderate counſels, they inſtantly beſought *Vaſa*, who carried command in his robuſt make and manly aſpect, to head them. Four hundred of them devoted themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner to the deſtruction of the *Danes*, and the deliverance of their country. *Vaſa* left no time for their ardour to cool, and his firſt exploit was to lead his choſen band to the governor's caſtle, which they took, and put all its garriſon to the ſword. This fortunate adventure covered *Vaſa* with luſtre. The peaſants, always ſuperſtitious, diſcovered a thouſand predictions and omens that pointed him out to be the ſaviour of his country. The plunder of the *Daniſh* merchants in the neighbourhood, invited many to join him, and at laſt their numbers amounted to fifteen thouſand, among whom were ſeveral of the *Swediſh* nobles, who had eſcaped from the tyrant's fury, and many *Dalecarlian* gentlemen.

Out of this body he formed a corps of five thouſand men, with whom he defeated ſeveral detachments of the *Danes*, and over-ran the provinces of *Halſingia*, *Geſtricia*, *Ingermania* and *Medilpad*. Every day added to his numbers, and at laſt he defeated

defeated the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, who continued obſtinately attached to the tyrant. *Chriſtiern*'s behaviour, from the beginning of the inſurrection, carried with it the appearance of infatuation. Depending on his being poſſeſſed of all the fortreſſes in *Sweden*, he only ſent inconſiderable bodies againſt *Vaſa*, whoſe ſtrength he thought muſt vaniſh of itſelf, and their defeat, gave freſh ſpirits and vigour to *Vaſa*'s followers. At laſt the tyrant was rouſed, but it was to a moſt unmanly reſentment. He forced the noble *Swediſh* ladies to make ſacks, into which they were ſewed, and thrown from precipices into the ſea. To touch *Vaſa* in his moſt tender affections, he impriſoned his mother and ſiſters, and threatened to put them to death under the moſt exquiſite tortures, if he did not deſiſt from his enterprize; and finding his menaces made no impreſſion on *Vaſa*, he moſt diabolically put them in practice, though hiſtorians are not agreed on the particular manner. *Vaſa* ſtill proceeded, and every hour ſeemed to inſpire him with freſh courage. At laſt, his ſucceſs was ſuch, that he forced the viceroy, whom *Chriſtiern* had left behind him, to retire to *Stockholm*, after having thrown a ſtrong garriſon into *Weſteras*. *Vaſa* did not think it proper to leave ſuch a place behind him, and, concealing part of his troops, he ſeemed to make diſpoſitions to beſiege it with a handful. The garriſon ſallying out, were cut in pieces, and the *Dalecarlians* entered the place with the fugitives.

Their character and progreſs.

The reader is not to imagine that thoſe peaſants poſſeſſed the virtues of primitive nature. If they had, they would perhaps have been unfit for *Vaſa*'s purpoſes. They were brave but brutal, obſtinate and intractable; nor could *Vaſa*, with all his addreſs (and no man had more) always keep them in their duty. The inhabitants of *Weſteras* received ſuch of them as entered the town as their deliverers, and cheriſhed them as their friends. The *Dalecarlians*, in return, plundered their houſes and drank out their liquors. Such of them as had not entered the town, ruſhed into it to partake of the drink and the plunder, and the whole of them muſt have been ſacrificed by the *Daniſh* garriſon in the citadel, had not *Vaſa* and a few ſober officers who had not yet entered the town, interpoſed and beat back the *Danes*. Not being able to force the citadel, he blocked it up, and continued his march to *Stockholm*. On the road, his numbers encreaſed ſo greatly, that unable to ſubſiſt in one body, he divided them into three. *Upſal* was taken and plundered, but *Vaſa* ſaved the archiepiſcopal palace, in hopes of ſoftening its maſter. *Vaſa* had now ſcarcely an enemy in the field, and the cruelties he committed upon the *Danes*, were in ſome meaſure juſtified, by the orders which the tyrant iſſued to give no quarter to any *Swede*, whether friend or foe. *Vaſa* was now on the eve of an event which would have cruſhed any ſpirit leſs determined than his own. He had been obliged to abandon his project of beſieging *Stockholm*. To ſay the truth, his followers were little better than

a rabble, and, they too, unarmed. He had left *Dalecarlia* the latter end of *December*, or the beginning of *January*, and it was now *Auguſt*, when the *Dalecarlians* abandoned him without much ceremony, that they might get in their harveſt. His choſen band of four hundred however ſtill continued with him, becauſe they were miners, and had no corn to cut down. *Vaſa* had foreſeen this, and had claimed from the magiſtracy of *Lubec* the performances of their promiſes. The terms they demanded were ſo extravagant, that they amounted, in fact, to little better than a refuſal; but *Vaſa* had been ſo provident as to ſave ſome money, by which he engaged one *Stephen Saſſy*, a *German*, the colonel of a body of military adventurers, to enter into his ſervice, with twelve hundred men.

Vaſa reduced to the brink of ruin,

Before this reinforcement could arrive, *Vaſa* was reduced to the brink of ruin. His whole force did not amount to above ſix hundred men, beſides a few ſtraggling parties, whom he called in. He was then at *Upſal*, from whence he wrote a mollifying letter to the archbiſhop, who impriſoned the bearer, and advanced to *Upſal* at the head of three thouſand five hundred regular troops, with ſuch quickneſs and ſecrecy, that *Vaſa* had not above two hours notice to provide for himſelf. He retired towards the foreſt of *Noſtan*, but before he could reach it, the prelate overtook him, and *Vaſa*'s troops being ſeized with a panic, deſerted him, all but a few of his horſe guards. To encreaſe his misfortune, he was thrown into the water from his horſe, by the unrulineſs of that of one of his officers,

but eſcapes,

Nothing could daunt *Vaſa*. He remounted, got poſſeſſion of a narrow paſs, which he defended with his horſe guards, till his troops had reached the foreſt, nor did the prelate think proper to purſue him any farther, for he returned to *Upſal*.

This action appears to have been the criſis of *Vaſa*'s fate. His detached parties, and his *German* mercenaries ſoon joined him, and he placed an ambuſcade ſo happily between *Upſal* and *Stockholm*, that the prelate, who was returning in ſecurity to that capital, fell into it. Almoſt all his troops were cut in pieces (for *Vaſa* made no priſoners) and he himſelf, with difficulty, eſcaped to *Stockholm*, which *Vaſa* inſtantly beſieged, being in hopes that the panic occaſioned by the archbiſhop's defeat, would gain him admiſſion. It was, we apprehend, about this time that he renewed his negotiations with the ſenate of *Lubec*, who ſent to his aſſiſtance, but upon very exorbitant terms, a fleet and a body of land troops, who being debarked, refuſed to be commanded by *Meilan*, one of *Vaſa*'s officers, or by any but himſelf. *Vaſa* found his advantage in complying; for his auxiliaries were ſtruck with admiration and affection for his perſon, and ſerved him bravely. The viceroy, the archbiſhop, and the biſhop of *Odenſee* fled to *Denmark*, where they were but coldly received by *Chriſtiern*, and left the defence of *Stockholm* to an old *Daniſh* officer, who performed his duty with great abilities. While *Vaſa* lay before that capital, he received intelligence that *Arviedo*, one of his

his officers, had reduced *Eaſt Gothland*, to which province he immediately repaired, committing the care of his army to *Saſſy* and *Freytag*, who blocked up *Stockholm*. He found the inhabitants of *Eaſt Gothland* well diſpoſed, and their fortreſſes in excellent condition. There was no *Daniſh* army in the field, and the few troops he had were better diſciplined and armed than before. He thought it was now high time to introduce to his aſſiſtance the ſanction of civil authority, and he called a meeting of the ſtates at *Wadſtena*, to deliberate upon an eſtabliſhed form of government. The reader cannot well ſuppoſe the meeting to have been very numerous, or that it conſiſted of many more members than *Vaſa*'s friends and officers. He opened it with a noble, but modeſt, ſpeech, in which he ſubmitted his actions to their judgment, and offered to ſerve his country in any ſtation they pleaſed to allot to him, or under any head they ſhould elect. He was in no danger of not being nominated to the chief command. They hailed him king, but he accepted of the title of adminiſtrator. It was at *Wadſtena*, he received an account that *Chriſtiern* had put to death his *Swediſh* viceroy, and the biſhop of *Odenſee*, for deſerting their poſts, but had ſpared the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, for his inveterate enmity to *Vaſa*, and his great conſequence in *Sweden*.

and is choſen adminiſtrator.

Vaſa, after receiving the adminiſtratorſhip, acted upon a new plan. Being inveſted with the eſtates belonging to that office, he mortgaged them, as well as his own private fortune, to raiſe money, not only for levying and arming new troops, but for gratifying ſuch of the *Swediſh* governors as delivered him up the places they held. While he was making thoſe diſpoſitions, *Norby* landed at *Stockholm* with a *Daniſh* fleet, and routed the troops under *Saſſy* and *Freytag*, but he found the mouth of the harbour blocked up by *Fleming*, *Vaſa*'s admiral, and the *Lubec* ſquadron; and *Vaſa* being now arrived at his camp before *Stockholm*, he reinforced and reaſſembled his troops, which had ſuffered but inconſiderably. *Norby* endeavoured to throw proviſions into the town, but the convoy, which was commanded by the governor of *Abo*, was taken by *Fleming*, and *Vaſa* ordered the governor to be executed, for his former cruelties to the *Swedes*. Nothing but the great provocations which *Vaſa* had received from the inhumanity of the tyrant, can juſtify his putting every *Dane* to death that fell into his hands. *Norby*, who was an excellent ſeaman, cannonaded the combined fleets, but in the morning, he found his ſhips immoveable, through a hard froſt which had happened in the night. *Vaſa* formed the bold deſign of marching over the ice to burn his enemy's fleet, and put himſelf at the head of the *Lubeckers*, whom he preferred to his own *Swedes*, for the execution of ſuch an enterprize. They did not deceive him. They advanced with aſtoniſhing intrepidity, with lighted torches, and an unuſual ſcene of ſlaughter enſued. The *Lubeckers* made undaunted efforts, either to take or burn the

Remarkable ſea action with the *Danes*.

Daniſh ſhips, and were bravely repulſed by the *Danes*. At laſt, they ſucceeded ſo far, that many of their ſhips were actually ſet on fire. The *Danes*, to avoid being burnt, left their ſhips, and were butchered by *Vaſa*'s order; and the action happening in the dead of a very dark night, under exceſſive diſcharges of muſketry, imagination can ſcarcely form to itſelf more horrid images than were then preſented. Some authors, with great reaſon, ſay, that *Vaſa*'s ſpirit of revenge ſaved his enemies fleet. The *Lubec* commander, *Stammel*, could not bear to ſee the defenceleſs *Danes* ſlaughtered as they endeavoured to ſave themſelves from the flames, and he gave orders for a retreat, which was performed againſt all the remonſtrances of *Vaſa*. Some policy, perhaps, mingled with *Stammel*'s humanity; but it is certain that *Norby* acted with the greateſt ſkill and intrepidity, and a thaw that happened next morning, ſaved the remainder of his fleet, with which he retreated to *Calmar*.

See p. 425.

While thoſe terrible ſcenes were acting in *Sweden*, the revolution we have already deſcribed, by the repulſion of the tyrant, happened in *Denmark*. This altered the courſe of *Norby*'s proceedings, and inſtead of again attempting the relief of *Stockholm*, he projected the ſecuring to himſelf the government of *Gothland*, on pretence of ſecuring it for *Chriſtiern*. He left a garriſon in *Calmar*, with orders, that if they were attacked, they ſhould cut the throats of the inhabitants, plunder the city, and repair to him with their booty. Thoſe orders were not kept ſecret from the citizens who, the moment *Vaſa* appeared before the place, admitted him; and here, we believe, for the firſt time, he received the *Daniſh* garriſon priſoners of war, having profited poſſibly by *Stammel*'s behaviour. The reduction of *Calmar* was followed with that of all *Sweden*, by *Vaſa*. The ſiege of *Stockholm* was renewed, and *Vaſa* refuſed to give the garriſon any terms, but that of ſurrendering at diſcretion, which his known enmity to the *Danes* deterred them from doing. In this dilatorineſs *Vaſa* ſhewed a maſterpiece of policy, according to ſome writers, (who, we think refine too much upon his conduct) as we can ſee no reaſon why he might not have been elected king of *Sweden* after as well as before, the reduction of that capital. We hazard little in ſaying, that his obſtinacy was owing to his hatred of the *Danes*, and to his knowledge of the wants and weakneſs of the garriſon.

Revolution in *Denmark*.

Vaſa is choſen king, and reduces *Stockholm*.

While he was almoſt certain of reducing the capital, he ſummoned the ſtates to meet at *Stegnitz*, and filled up the vacancies in the ſenate, which had been occaſioned by the execution of the ſenators at *Stockholm*. The ſpeaker of the aſſembly deſcribed to the members the neceſſity of chuſing a king, and the virtues of *Vaſa*, who was acclaimed as ſuch with a zeal that fell little ſhort of adoration, their unanimity being ſuch, that there was no occaſion to put a regular queſtion to the aſſembly, which ſeemed to be inundated by torrents of loyalty

loyalty and gratitude for their glorious deliverer. The tumult among all ranks and degrees of men ſwelled to ſuch enthuſiaſm, that it was with difficulty *Vaſa* could obtain a hearing, but it was only that he might ſeem to decline the honour to which his heart aſpired, and which he knew he muſt accept of. At laſt he appeared to be conquered, and mounting the throne, he received the homage of his ſtates as king of *Sweden*, and the two *Gothlands*; but wiſely deferred his coronation, on pretence of returning to the ſiege of *Stockholm*; but, in reality, becauſe he was unwilling to take the oath for preſerving the clergy in their privileges and poſſeſſions. Upon his return before *Stockholm*, the town capitulated at diſcretion, but the garriſon was ſaved, probably by the intervention of *Stammel*, to whom it was delivered up, and who immediately put *Vaſa* in poſſeſſion of his capital. He entered it amidſt moſt extravagant acclamations, and he gave an additional luſtre to his character, by repairing firſt to the church, and practiſing acts of devotion, before he entered upon thoſe of government.

Makes peace with *Denmark*.

In our hiſtory of *Denmark*, we have repreſented the proceedings of *Frederic* (who ſucceeded *Chriſtiern* in that throne) with regard to *Sweden*. *Vaſa* reſented them, by attainting the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, who had crowned *Frederic*. *Vaſa* had no ſooner reduced all *Finland*, than *Frederic* found it his intereſt to make him his friend inſtead of his enemy, and not only concluded a peace with him, but ſent back to *Sweden* the widows and daughters, who were ſtill alive, of the *Swediſh* nobility who had been put to death by *Chriſtiern*, and among others, *Chriſtina*, the widow of *Steen Sture*. *Vaſa*, like a true politician, recommended thoſe ladies to the noblemen and officers of whoſe fidelity he was moſt aſſured, who, by marrying them, became poſſeſſed of ſome of the beſt eſtates in *Sweden*, *Vaſa* having aboliſhed a fooliſh prepoſſeſſion that prevailed among the *Swedes*, as if a woman debaſed herſelf by marrying a man below the rank of her firſt huſband. The cares of *Vaſa* were now as much employed in civil, as they had been before in military, matters. It is to his honour, that he nobly rewarded thoſe who had ſerved him in his dangers and diſtreſſes. Finding that the wiſe clergyman, who had concealed and counſelled him in his adverſity, was dead, he adorned the ſteeple of his church with a gilded crown; but it does not appear that he inflicted any puniſhment upon the perfidious *Peterſon*. *Swediſh* authors have endeavoured, at this time, to impreſs the readers with ideas of the politeneſs and magnificence of *Vaſa*'s court, after he was firmly ſettled in the throne. But thoſe ideas can only be comparative, for it is certain, that in thoſe days, the arts and elegancies of life had made but a ſlender progreſs in *Sweden*, and before the reformation took place, her kings were little better than firſt miniſters to her clergy; and this brings us to different, but equally important ſcenes as thoſe we have recounted. That we may keep the narrative as even as poſſible, we ſhall here enter upon

the hiſtory of the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in *Sweden*, without mixing it with other matters.

Introduces the reformation.

Vaſa found himſelf a beggar, with regard to gold and ſilver metals, which were engroſſed by the clergy, and his crown rich only in iron and copper. The great exports which brought treaſure into the kingdom, were moſtly carried on by eccleſiaſtics, who acted as merchants, and had fleets of their own; but no abuſes of that kind were ſo ſerviceable to *Vaſa*, as the diſſolute ſcandalous lives they led. A modern author *(Voltaire)* tells us, that *Chriſtiern* and archbiſhop *Guſtavus*, who is better known by the name of archbiſhop *Trolle*, at one entertainment, to which they invited two biſhops, all the members of the ſenate, and ninety-four of the principal noblemen, murdered them all in the midſt of their feſtivity, maſſacred the common people, without diſtinction of age or ſex, and that they ript up the breaſt of the grand prior of the order of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and plucked out his heart. Thoſe, and a thouſand other barbarities, rendered the introduction of the reformation practicable, and *Vaſa* ſaw that he could not be king without it. *Olaus Petri*, a *Swede*, was the apoſtle of proteſtantiſm in his native country. He was the diſciple of *Luther*, and his labours were ſeconded by ſome young gentlemen from the univerſity of *Wirtemburgh*, and by many *Germans* who ſerved in *Vaſa*'s armies. Without entering into any diſquiſition concerning that prince's religious motives, it is ſufficient to ſay, that he gave the firſt alarm to the *Roman* catholics, by coining ſome of their church plate to pay his army, and to diſcharge his debts. *Bruſk*, the biſhop of *Licoping*, inſtantly took arms, and would have filled *Sweden* with blood and devaſtation, had not the pope's legate been a prelate of uncommon moderation, and, poſſibly, ſecretly gained over by *Vaſa*. He called the affair before his own tribunal, which gave *Vaſa* leiſure to finiſh the reduction of *Blecking*, and to cooperate with his new ally of *Denmark* in that of *Borkholm*. The ſee of *Rome* quickened the moderation of the legate, who was obliged at laſt to ſummon *Petri* before him, but he appealed to the king, who, though he had hitherto diſſembled his religious ſentiments, became now a party in the quarrel. He was then employed in the expedition we have mentioned, and in his abſence, a number of fanatical *German* anabaptiſts arrived in *Stockholm*, where they deſtroyed the churches; for which *Vaſa* puniſhed them on his return.

His difficulties.

Though he was fully reſolved upon embracing the reformed religion, yet he was overawed by the diſpoſitions of the obſtinate *Dalecarlians*, who were *Roman* catholics, as they were barbarians by birth, and through habit. The clergy had ſent their miſſionary firebrands among them, to alarm them with the fears of proteſtantiſm, in which they ſucceeded but too well, and they were ſeconded by the inflammatory publications of the biſhop of *Lincoping*. The king found there was no time to be loſt, and that the diſpute now lay wholly between him and

and the pope. He gave *Olaus Petri* the uſe of the archiepiſcopal pulpit; he authorized the tranſlation of the holy Scriptures into *Swediſh*, and he ordered a diſputation to be held between *Petri* and *Peter Gallas*, the champion of popery, from which, it was his majeſty's pleaſure that the former ſhould depart victorious. This defeat of popery gave *Vaſa* a plauſible handle for puſhing on the reformation, and, at laſt, he raiſed a proteſtant to the ſee of *Upſal*. This promotion was of infinite uſe to *Vaſa*, who having now the metropolitan on his ſide, proceeded ſtep by ſtep, and in defiance of the clergy, declared himſelf the head of the church. This declaration, probably, induced the new archbiſhop to throw off the maſk, and to declare that he had always been a *Roman* catholic in his heart. *Vaſa* ſtill preſerved his moderation, and perſevered in his purpoſe, and about the time that the troops of *Charles* the Vth held the pope priſoner, he very artfully ſummoned his ſtates to meet at *Weſteras*, where he publicly embraced *Lutheraniſm*, renounced popery, declared his intention of taking into his own hands the temporalities of the clergy, and juſtified all he had done by the example of *Charles* the Vth, who, though himſelf a popiſh prince, was then holding in his chains the head of the *Roman* catholic religion. From this period it is, we are to date the commencement, though not the eſtabliſhment of the public profeſſion of proteſtantiſm in *Sweden*.

Vaſa, however, does not ſeem to have been perfectly well acquainted with the difficulties attending his declaration. The clergy were ſtill powerful, for they were favoured not only by the *Dalecarlians* and peaſantry, but by the body of the ſtates themſelves, the profeſſion of proteſtantiſm being chiefly confined to the trading cities; ſo that the ſituation of *Vaſa* was far more perilous than he imagined. The clergy found out a young peaſant, whoſe name was *Hans*, to perſonate *Nils Sture*, the ſon of *Steen Sture*, whoſe memory was adored in *Dalecartia*. The impoſture was carried on with ſo much art, and *Hans* behaved with ſuch an air of caution, that the common people in the diſtant provinces believed him to be what he pretended, and the impoſture was ſecretly favoured by the king of *Denmark*; but above all, by the archbiſhop of *Drontheim* and the *Norvegians*. *Vaſa* prevailed with *Chriſtina*, the mother of the true *Nils Sture*, to ſign a letter, wherein ſhe certified that her ſon, *Nils Sture*, had been dead, and was buried twelve months before, which was counterſigned by the inhabitants of *Stockholm*, who had aſſiſted at the funeral, and that ſhe had only one young ſon, to whom the king was a tender and affectionate guardian. This circular letter had ſo much effect, that *Hans* was abandoned by all, but the violent *Swediſh* clergy, who recommended him to the biſhop of *Drontheim*, where he was received as the prince of *Sweden*. He promiſed, as ſoon as he mounted that throne, to reſtore to *Norway* the province of *Wych*, which had been diſmembered from it; and what is more amazing than all, after the proofs that had been given

He threatens to abdicate the government,

given of his being an impoſtor, his *Daniſh* majeſty conſented to his marrying an heireſs of a great family and fortune in *Norway*. At laſt, the credit of *Hans* roſe to ſuch a pitch, that he was at the head of an army of *Norvegians*, and ſet out on his march for *Stockholm*, with the profeſt deſign of rooting out hereſy. His cauſe brought him followers, and *Vaſa* aſſembled the ſtates to deliberate upon an effectual reſumption of the lands and fortreſſes held by the clergy in *Sweden*. This was a very intereſting point to the ſenate, independent of any religious conſideration, as the liberties of *Sweden* muſt be in a precarious ſtate, if her eccleſiaſtical power and property was added to her regal. Though the young nobility and the trading part of the nation inclined to gratify his majeſty, yet the majority of the ſtates, headed by *Thure Johanſon*, made ſuch an oppoſition as drew from *Vaſa* a declaration, that he was reſolved to leave a country, fond of ſlavery, to its own fate, by throwing up the reins of government. He inſiſted, however, in being reimburſed for all the expences he had laid out from his private fortune, and withdrawing from the aſſembly he ſhut himſelf up in his palace for four days.

but fully eſtabliſhes proteſtantiſm.

This ſhort interregnum diſplayed the vaſt credit of the royal party. The ſtates, upon deliberation, foreſaw the unavoidable ruin of their country, if the king ſhould perſiſt in his reſolution; they reſolved to gratify him in all he demanded, and even *Johanſon* was obliged to ſubmit. *Bruſk*, the biſhop of *Lincoping*, ſtill made a ſtrenuous oppoſition, but the hand of power was now upon him. He and his brother were obliged to give up their caſtles, and *Vaſa* wiſely contented himſelf with reſuming only ſuch donations as had been made to the church ſince the year 1454, together with all its plate, rich furniture, and other effects, which brought prodigious ſums into the royal treaſury. A ſet of reſolutions paſſed by the ſtates, was publiſhed at the ſame time; in which the extraordinary powers of the clergy were entirely cut off, by their being ſubjected to the civil magiſtrate, their being put on a level with the laity, and confined to the ſtrict exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical duties. In ſhort, the proteſtant religion, in its full extent, obtained now a legal ſettlement in *Sweden*.

An impoſtor appears.

The impoſtor, *Hans*, remained ſtill unſubdued, though *Chriſtina*'s letter had undeceived great numbers of his followers; but the proceedings of the king, in favour of the reformation, revived his cauſe, and the *Dalecarlians* again took arms, but laid them down upon the appearance of the royal troops. *Vaſa*, who always with reluctance chaſtiſed a people, however turbulent, to whom he owed his crown, agreed, however, to two of their requeſts. The firſt was, not to force them to embrace *Lutheraniſm*, and the other to ſuffer the impoſtor to depart out of his dominions. *Hans* accordingly retired to *Norway*, where he joined the few friends that the tyrant *Chriſtiern* ſtill had in that country, and he is ſaid to have been afterwards beheaded at *Roſtock*, at *Vaſa*'s deſire.

In

In 1528, *Vaſa* was crowned, and, ſoon after, he quelled ſeveral ſeditions of the *Dalecarlians* and the *Weſt Gothlanders*, who ſtill favoured popery. *Thure Johanſon* and his third ſon, who was provoſt of the cathedral of *Upſal*, attempted to raiſe a rebellion, and they were ſecretly abetted by the king of *Denmark*; but the firmneſs and wiſdom of *Vaſa* defeated all their machinations, though the ſpirit of diſaffection had even proceeded to open violences. *Vaſa*'s marriage with *Catharine*, daughter to the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, was performed by *Laurence Petri*, his proteſtant archbiſhop of *Upſal*, with great magnificence, for he aſſigned the prelate a guard of five hundred men, that he might appear with greater luſtre on the occaſion; but a ſtorm now impended upon *Vaſa*, which he little expected. The tyrant, *Chriſtiern*, had ſtill friends in *Sweden*, who gave him intelligence of all that paſſed there, and by the aſſiſtance of his brother in-law, the emperor *Charles* the Vth. the *Swediſh* malecontents, and above all, archbiſhop *Trolle*, who continued ſtill to be the active enemy of *Vaſa*, he raiſed ten thouſand men in the *Netherlands*, whom he put on board a fleet, and invaded *Sweden*; at firſt, with an appearance of ſucceſs; for he took *Oſlo*, *Oluffburg* and *Congel*, and marched towards *Dalecarlia*, where his great dependence lay. Many diſcontented *Norwegians* joined his ſtandards, as did archbiſhop *Trolle*, with a body of *German Roman* catholics. Before theſe junctions could be effected, the ſnows that fell rendered *Dalecarlia* inacceſſible to his army; but that did not prevent his beſieging *Ckerhuys*. *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, ſent a fleet to its relief in the ſpring, which beat that of *Chriſtiern*'s in *Bahus* bay. This defeat obliged *Chriſtiern* to retire towards *Gothland*, where he was defeated by *Vaſa*'s troops, upon which he ſecretly put *Johanſon* to death, for having miſrepreſented to him the ſtate of *Sweden*, and for having aſſured him, that he (*Johanſon*) could conquer it with three thouſand men. It was with difficulty that *Chriſtiern* could throw himſelf into *Congel*, where being beſieged by the biſhop of *Odenſee*, he ſurrendered himſelf priſoner, in which ſtate he continued to his death. *Vaſa* being delivered from this invaſion, ſeverely puniſhed the *Dalecarlians*, by putting their chief ringleaders to death. 1528. *Vaſa* quells his party.

Among the other articles which *Vaſa* was obliged to grant to the *Lubeckers*, was that of an excluſive trade with *Sweden*. But the *Dutch* and the *Netherlanders* had, ſince the vaſt diſcoveries and improvements made in navigation, almoſt engroſſed the commerce of the *Baltic*. The *Lubeckers* remonſtrated againſt this, and inſiſted upon a monopoly of the *Swediſh* trade. *Vaſa* refuſed to comply with their demands, or to gratify their exorbitant claims of money. The *Lubeckers* offered ſome of the inhabitants of *Stockholm* to take their city under their protection, and to admit it into the ſociety of the *Hans* towns; but it was neceſſary, in that caſe, to deſtroy the king and kingly government. To do this the more effectually, the conſpirators entered into the moſt infernal deſign, which ſeems to Deteſtable plot of the *Lubeckers*, and their war with *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

to have been the pattern of the gun-powder plot in *England*. A quantity of powder was lodged in a room under the king's throne, in the great church, which was to have been fired by a train, in order to blow up his majesty and his chief nobility. The design was discovered, and the conspirators punished. The defeat of this villainous scheme was far from extinguishing the ambition of the *Lubeckers*. Perceiving that the *English* and the *Dutch* were every day acquiring accessions of commerce in the *Baltic*, they formed the extensive scheme of converting the three crowns of *Sweden*, *Denmark* and *Norway*, into one great republic, which might be powerful enough to give laws to all *Europe*. The *Swedes* and the *Danish* traders, who had been witnesses of the immense power and riches of the *Hanse* towns, would gladly have adopted the proposal, but it took air, and the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark* entered into an alliance to defeat it. *Vasa*, being apprized of his danger, ordered all the *Lubec* shipping in his dominions to be seized; but the *Lubeckers* gave the command of an army to the count *de Hoye*, brother-in-law to *Vasa*, and *Christopher*, count of *Oldenburg*, to set *Christiern* at liberty, which they thought was necessary for their purposes. The *Danes* electing *Christiern* the IIId for their king, defeated the whole plan, in the execution of which archbishop *Trolle* was wounded and killed.

See p. 427.

We have already seen the other particulars of this war, the grounds of which were much deeper than *Vasa* was informed of, and even shook his throne, till his fleet, in conjunction with that of *Denmark*, defeated the *Lubeckers* and *Hanse* towns by sea.

Vasa's alliance with *France*.

Though his *Danish* majesty, *Christiern* the IIId, after this, paid a visit to *Vasa*, and even became a convert to the protestant religion, yet a coldness sprung up between the two kings, on account of a separate peace which *Christiern* made with the *Lubeckers*. *Vasa* sought to counterbalance this alliance, by one with *Russia*, and being now a widower, he married *Margaret* the daughter of *Abraham Ericson*, one of his most powerful nobility, though she had been before affianced to *Suante Sture*, the surviving son of the administrator. The similarity of religion between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, was far from uniting the interests of the two monarchs, for they were perpetually, either secretly or openly, at variance. The *Dane* could not forget that his ancestors had been the monarchs of the north, and entered into many dark designs against *Sweden*. He instigated the *Smalanders* to a rebellion, which was quickly crushed by *Vasa*; but the common dread which both kings had of the emperor, *Charles* the Vth, kept them united in appearance. *Vasa* did not depend on the friendship of the *Danes* alone, for he made an alliance with *Francis* the Ist of *France*, by which each prince was to assist the other, in case of necessity, with twenty-five thousand men, and twenty ships of war, besides establishing many commercial arrangements, which never took place. This was one of the wisest measures that any

any king of *Sweden* ever purſued. *Vaſa* had nothing to apprehend from *France*, but every thing from *Germany* and the *Hanſe* towns, whoſe machinations he defeated by this alliance, which, with a few interruptions, has remained to this day, and raiſed his figure and importance among his own ſubjects.

Nothing now remained to complete his happineſs, but to cut off the hopes of the *Danes* to ſee the union of *Calmar* reeſtabliſhed, by making the crown of *Sweden* hereditary in his family. To accompliſh that great end, he ſummoned an aſſembly of his ſtates at *Weſteras*, where, without oppoſition, he obtained all he deſired, and his ſon, prince *Eric*, with his future deſcendents in the male line, were recognized as his ſucceſſors in the throne of *Sweden*, to the no ſmall diſappointment of his *Daniſh* majeſty. This act of family recognition, from a people ſo tenacious of their elective rights as the *Swedes* were, and ſo jealous of their crown's prerogative, is a noble teſtimony of the great things done by *Vaſa* for the deliverance of his country. He had even credit enough with the ſtates to prevail with them to join with him in an oath inviolably to preſerve the proteſtant, and never to tolerate the *Roman* catholic, religion in *Sweden*. *Vaſa* was then in the decline of life, and without minding the ſhowy claims of the young *Daniſh* monarch, by aſſuming the titles and arms of *Sweden*, he had an interview with that monarch, and they agreed to adjourn the diſcuſſion of their differences for fifty years.

See p. 429.

Vaſa then thought himſelf ſecure againſt all foreign attacks, and he applied himſelf to the domeſtic regulations of his kingdom and family. His marine and commerce in general were put on an excellent footing, his army was rendered reſpectable, and ſome encouragement was given to arts, that of architecture particularly; but we dare not follow the panegyrics beſtowed on *Vaſa* on this head, farther than by ſaying that he rendered *Sweden* leſs barbarous than he found it. He aſſigned appenages to his children; but he was particularly cautious not to make his eldeſt ſon, *Eric*, too independent in his own lifetime. *Guſtavus* was ſo true a judge of mankind, that he ſaw the failings of that prince, but was ſo paſſionately fond of advancing his family, that he wiſhed to have ſeen him married to *Elizabeth* queen of *England*. He ſent his ſon, duke *John*, to feel her pulſe on that head, but he could receive no determined anſwer, though he met with ſo magnificent and affectionate a reception, that upon his return to *Sweden*, he adviſed *Eric* to make his addreſſes in perſon. *Vaſa* ſummoned the ſtates upon the ſubject, and it was thought in *Sweden* that the marriage was as good as concluded. Nothing prevented *Eric* from proceeding directly for *England*, but the jealouſy he had of his brother *John* ſetting him aſide from the ſucceſſion during his abſence; and in order to quiet the minds of his father and the people, he promiſed, in an aſſembly of the ſtates, that if

Prince *Eric* courts the queen of *England*.

ever

ever he became king of *England*, he would employ all the power of that kingdom in defence of *Sweden*. After making that declaration, he resumed his preparations to pass over to *England*, but in the mean while the great *Vasa* died, *September* the 9th, 1560, of a gradual consumption, in the 70th year of his age. His history forms his encomium, and exhibits his character; nor can his real actions be exceeded, even in the extended fields of imagination and romance.

Death of *Vasa*.

1560.

Eric the XIVth came to the crown of *Sweden* at a time when the *Swedes* made a considerable figure in the affairs of *Europe*, which they never had done before the reign of *Vasa*. The artful queen *Elizabeth* of *England* had flattered his vanity to such a degree, that immense sums had been spent in embassies to *England*, where they were soon absorbed, almost without notice; but however inconsiderable this expence might appear at *Elizabeth*'s court, ready money was a very serious subject to that of *Sweden*. The princes of the blood had advanced great part of the expence, but found *Eric*, upon his accession, backward in repaying them, and likewise in assigning them the appenages left them by their father. This possibly might be owing to *Eric*'s haughtiness, as he thought his match with *Elizabeth* was as good as concluded. He was crowned in 1561, and at the time of his coronation he made several hereditary creations of earls and barons, on a footing with those of *England*, for the mode of *England* then governed his court. Some disturbances that happened in *Livonia* retarded his matrimonial journey, but in recompence he had the glory of adding *Revel* to his dominions, the grand master of the *Teutonic* order being no longer in a condition to protect it. This acquisition, with some advantages which he obtained over the *Poles*, who endeavoured to retake *Revel*, elated *Eric*. He quarrelled with the king of *Denmark* for assuming the arms of *Sweden*, and he set sail with a fleet of forty ships for *England*, but he was forced back, and narrowly escaped shipwreck. Though the *Swedish* historians are silent as to the facts, yet the behaviour of *Elizabeth*, on this occasion, was indefensible. Without the smallest intention of marrying *Eric*, she suffered him to be at a prodigious expence in courting her; and it appears from the papers of lord *Burleigh*, that prints of both appeared on the same sheet of paper. Upon *Eric* being forced back to *Sweden*, *Elizabeth* declared her real sentiments to her privy counsellors; and they wrote a letter to *Eric*'s chancellor, informing him that his master had been all along imposed upon by some *English* fugitives who were at his court, and who deserved punishment.

Accession of *Eric* XIV.

1561.

Eric, notwithstanding this disappointment, continued to suit his conduct to the modes of the *English* constitution. He introduced military services among his nobility, and failing of that, escuage money. He treated the *Lubeckers* with a high hand, for renewing their unreasonable demands, and shewed dispositions for humbling the haughtiness of *Denmark*. Thus far

His regulations.

far his conduct was laudable; but his inconſtancy rendered him deſpicable, for he courted a princeſs of *Lorrain*, and the beautiful queen of *Scots* at the ſame time; but dropt his addreſſes to both, that he might renew his courtſhip with *Elizabeth*, who deſpiſed them. His brother, duke *John*, married *Catharine*, the daughter of *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*, to whom he ſold ſome caſtles in *Livonia*, but refuſed to obey the ſummons ſent him by *Eric*, to appear and anſwer for his behaviour at *Stockholm*. The violence of *Eric*'s conduct affected his embaſſadors, who were put under arreſt at *Copenhagen*, and the *Muſcovites*, the *Danes*, and *Lubeckers*, formed a confederacy againſt him. *Eric* bore up againſt it with great ſpirit. He beat the *Poles* in *Livonia*, and the *Danes* by ſea; and while the allies were regaining their ſtrength, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, whoſe daughter *Eric* was courting, offered his mediation, to put an end to the war, but without effect. He had, however, the good fortune to make his brother *John* and his family priſoners, and a lurking inſanity in his conſtitution (which his father ſeems to have known) tinged with ſuperſtition, often prompted him to put *John* to death with his own hand. Nature, however, preſerved her aſcendency in his heart, for *John* was ſpared, though he had been capitally convicted by the king and the ſtates. The war ſtill continued with various ſucceſs, and the *Danes* took *Elfſburgh*, as the *Swedes* did *Drontheim*, in *Norway*. The king of *Denmark* offered to ſubmit his differences with *Eric* to a mediation, but the latter, to obtain the better terms, beſieged *Elfſburgh* both by ſea and land. His fleet was diſperſed by a ſtorm, and his brave admiral, *Bagg*, was made priſoner by the *Danes*, after an engagement, in which the fineſt ſhip then in the world was loſt. *Eric*, without rejecting the mediation, evaded it, and brought over to his intereſt all the *Hanſe* towns, except *Lubec*. His views then were enlarged ſo much, that he laid projects for conquering *Denmark* and *Norway*; he actually beat the *Danes* by ſea, and his admiral, *Horn*, took many of the *Lubec* ſhips, while *Eric* invaded and laid waſte *Schonen* and *Norway*. His ſucceſſes ſeemed to flatter his own ſelf opinion, and his *Daniſh* majeſty would willingly have concluded a peace, but *Eric* continued war, and laid the *Daniſh* dominions waſte, with a fury that bordered upon inſanity. Whatever defects of conſtitution *Eric* might have, he undoubtedly carried the glory of *Sweden* to a great height during this war. The *Swediſh* fleet under *Horn*, again beat that of *Denmark* and *Lubec*, as his army did the *Poles* before *Revel*. *Elfſburgh* ſtill remained in the hands of the *Danes*, but he took *Warburg* by ſtorm, in conſequence of which *Halland* ſubmitted to his arms. A ſecond naval victory over the *Danes*, crowned the glory of *Eric* for that campaign.

He becomes inſane.

The *Swedes* now began to deſpiſe the *Danes*, who had, till the time of *Vaſa*, been accounted their ſuperiors in the art of war, and, at the time of *Eric*'s acceſſion, their equals; but the

Defeated by the *Danes*.

the *Danes* defeated the *Swedes* with the loſs of ſix thouſand men, in their attempt to retake *Warburg*. This defeat exaſperated *Eric*, who ſent *Nils Sture* with orders to proceed in the moſt barbarous manner againſt the *Weſt Gothlanders*, and thoſe who had fled out of the battle. *Sture* refuſed to obey thoſe inhuman commands, which raiſed the jealouſy of *Eric* to ſuch a height, that he treated him in the moſt ignominious manner. His *Daniſh* majeſty, upon his late victory, raiſed his terms, which were ſtill reaſonable, and the emperor offered his mediation; but *Eric* declined it. His imperial majeſty attempted to cut off all communication between *Sweden* and
1566. the *Hanſe* towns, and in 1566, *Eric*'s army was almoſt deſtroyed by an infectious diſtemper, before *Pernaw*, but he was completely victorious over the *Danes* and *Lubeckers* by ſea. In the winter time, negotiations were reſumed, and *Eric* probably would have concluded a very glorious peace, had he not been
1567. perſuaded in 1567, to undertake an expedition againſt *Norway*, in which he loſt the greateſt part of his army.

His marriage, The perſonal character of *Eric* could now no longer be concealed. After courting almoſt every marriageable princeſs in *Europe*, he married a fruit girl, one *Catharine*, who, under the notion of philtres, adminiſtered to him provocatives, which encreaſed the diſorder in his brain. His fury diſcharged itſelf upon the *Sture* family, who, he pretended, had entered into meaſures for dethroning him, and he put the principal branches of it under arreſt; though he could prove nothing againſt any of them, or their head, *Nils Sture*. Among the other infatuations of *Eric*, he was troubled with the belief of judicial
and cruelty. aſtrology, which led him to ſtab *Nils Sture*. *Nils* pulled the dagger out of his body, kiſſed, and returned, it to the king's hand. His loyalty was rewarded by being butchered, together with his friends and family. *Eric*'s inſanity ſoon after turned into remorſe, he led the life of a ſavage, and he prowled about the fields and villages like a wolf. Recovering ſome degree of ſanity, he endeavoured, by a mad profuſion, to atone for his murders; but finding all to be ineffectual, upon the return of his reaſon, he reconciled himſelf to his family, and ſet his brother, duke *John*, at liberty, but not before he had ſworn to forgive all that had paſſed, and to many other unreaſonable terms, which *John* did not think himſelf bound to obſerve; but a very extraordinary ſcene was now opened.

Duke *John* flies from court. The czar of *Muſcovy*, the head of a wide but barbarous empire, demanded that duke *John*'s wife, whom he had formerly courted, ſhould be delivered to his embaſſador, to which *Eric*, who thought that prince's alliance neceſſary to his ſafety, conſented. This frantic agreement crowned the ſum of *Eric*'s madneſs, and coming to the ears of *John* and his brother, they agreed that he ſhould be depoſed, but in the mean time they fled from court.

A civil war follows. One *Peerſon* was then the favourite, and firſt miniſter of *Eric*. He had been under proſecution for a corrupt and arbitrary

trary behaviour, but was received into favour by *Eric*, with ſuch affection, that he ſtabbed one of his noblemen dead, for adviſing him to beware of *Peerſon*. *Eric*'s brothers, upon retiring from court, demanded the diſmiſſion of the miniſter, but that being neglected, they ſeized *Wadſtena*, and other places of importance, and without any ceremony, declared in public that *Eric*'s inſanity rendered him unfit for government. *Eric*, during his intervals, was far from being deſtitute, either of courage or prudence, and made a very brave ſtand againſt his brothers, but the *Swedes* in general took their part, and made ſuch a progreſs, that in 1568, they beſieged *Stockholm*; and 1568.
they were joined by the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, their, and *Eric*'s, brother-in-law. *Eric*, on that occaſion, behaved with a courage and conduct worthy a better cauſe. He delivered up the infamous *Peerſon* to condign puniſhment, and after being tortured, he was beheaded upon a ſcaffold raiſed higher than ordinary, that his miſled maſter might behold his puniſhment. His rage, at ſeeing the fate of his favourite, carried *Eric* into no exceſſes; he repelled the warmeſt attacks of the dukes, and he ſent to his brother of *Denmark*, with whom he had lately made a truce, for aſſiſtance, but his meſſengers were intercepted and put to death. His reſolution of defending *Stockholm* was but ill ſeconded by its inhabitants, who privately admitted the dukes and their troops into their city; and *Eric* being abandoned by all, was obliged to ſurrender the citadel; and ſtipulated for himſelf no other terms, than that he ſhould be permitted to reſign the crown, and confined in a decent priſon. Here we cloſe the reign of *Eric*, whoſe inſanity was *Eric* de-
of the worſt kind, becauſe it led him to blood. He had, in a poſed.
mild interval, given up *Bewrre*, the executioner of his vengeance on the *Stures*, to juſtice, and he had fixed on the day of his marriage with his low-liv'd miſtreſs, for the time of his delivering up his brother's wife to the czar. Nothing, in ſhort, could have ruined *Eric*, who had great accompliſhments both in body and mind, but his invincible inſanity.

The ſenate and people of *Sweden* had borne longer, per- *John* the
haps, than any other nation would have done, with the mad- IId, king,
neſs of their monarch, whoſe room they now ſupplied with his brother, duke *John*. The firſt act of his government was, to bring to juſtice the actors in the bloody maſſacre of the *Sture* family. He expreſſed his deſire of living on good correſpondence with *John Baſilowitz*, the czar of *Muſcovy*, notwithſtanding the groſs provocation he had received from him. He ſignified the ſame pacific diſpoſitions towards the crown of *Denmark*, but in that negotiation, his miniſters betrayed the honour of their maſter, by concluding a ſcandalous and diſadvantageous peace with his *Daniſh* majeſty. When this treaty, upon the return of the embaſſadors, was laid before *John*, he diſowned it, but referred the conſideration of it to his ſtates, whom he aſſembled to confirm him upon the throne, and they likewiſe rejected it with the utmoſt indignation. After that,

they agreed to retract all their oaths of allegiance to *Eric*, whom they condemned to perpetual impriſonment. It is ſaid that he was committed to the cuſtody of the relations and friends of the *Sture* family, who treated him with barbarity, and even with blows.

makes war with *Ruſſia* and *Denmark*.

John Baſilowitz, notwithſtanding his fair profeſſions, endeavoured to get poſſeſſion of *Revel*; and his *Daniſh* majeſty relying on the uncertain ſtate of affairs in *Sweden*, refuſed to recede from any of the articles of the late treaty of *Roſchild*. *Baſilowitz* being diſappointed in his views upon *Revel*, arreſted the *Swediſh* embaſſadors at his court, and reduced them to live upon bread and water, while the *Danes* took *Warburg*. A ſharp war was then carried on between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in which the duke of *Holſtein* aſſiſted the *Danes*, in hopes of acquiring *Livonia*, and being declared its king, under the protection of the czar, and the crown of *Denmark*. His royalty, after the czar had declared him king, vaniſhed, and a congreſs of all the powers in the north was held at *Stetin*. Miniſters from the emperor *Maximilian*, and *Charles* the IXth of *France*, aſſiſted at it, and *John*, who ſeems to have been ſomewhat ſuſpicious of his own title, was obliged, in the end, to cede to *Denmark* all his pretenſions to *Norway*, *Halland*, *Bleking* and other places, and to ſubmit his diſputes concerning *Livonia* to a future diſcuſſion. This peace, though diſadvantageous for *Sweden*, did not forward any accommodation between *John* and *Baſilowitz*. The latter endeavoured to free *Eric* from his impriſonment; upon which, he was removed to the citadel of *Abo*, and *Baſilowitz* fell into *Livonia* and *Finland*, with a great army. *John* had recourſe to the king of *Poland*, who prevailed with the *Tartars* to enter *Ruſſia*, where they burnt *Moſcow*, and put to the ſword forty thouſand *Muſcovites*. *Baſilowitz*, provoked by this irruption, threatened to ſubdue all *Sweden*; and *John* ſent *Mornay*, one of his miniſters, to deſire the aſſiſtance of *Elizabeth* of *England*. *Mornay* was in the intereſt of the depoſed *Eric*. *Elizabeth* compaſſionated the fate of her former lover, and ſome authors have not ſcrupled to ſay, that in conjunction, they projected the aſſaſſination of *John*, which, however, was happily prevented, and a *Scotchman* was beheaded for impeaching *Mornay*, and not being able to prove his charge. During thoſe tranſactions, *John* defeated the *Muſcovites* in *Livonia*, and having taken into his pay five thouſand *Scots*, the czar ſued for peace. A punctilio about the place of negotiation broke off the conferences. The *Scots* and the *Germans* in *John*'s ſervice quarrelled; a number of the former were put to the ſword, and the *Ruſſians*, in the main, proved gainers by the campaign.

He endeavours to introduce the popiſh religion.

John having married a *Roman* catholic princeſs, endeavoured to ſoften the legal hardſhips of the papiſts in his dominions, and with that view he concluded a truce for *Finland*, with *Baſilowitz*, who refuſed to deſiſt from his purſuits in *Livonia*. Great numbers of *Swediſh* clergy were ſtill *Roman* catholics in their

their hearts; the queen converted *John* to her faith, but he ſtill retained ſo much affection for proteſtantiſm, that he inſiſted upon certain reformations in religion. He employed the *Jeſuits* as his agents, for reſtoring popery in *Sweden*, towards which he made ſuch great advances, that it became at laſt neceſſary for his brother, duke *Charles*, to oppoſe him. He was ſeconded by the ſtates, who demanded from the king ſecurity for the ſole exerciſe of the proteſtant religion in his dominions. *John* durſt not oppoſe their requeſt, but was taking meaſures to evade it, when his queen died, and left behind her a ſon, *Sigiſmund*. Her death was attended with ſalutary effects. The *Jeſuits*, no longer ſupported by her, were driven out of *Sweden*, and *John* was at laſt perſuaded to ſacrifice, not only his theological prepoſſeſſions, but his animoſity againſt the *Ruſſians*, to his own and his country's tranquillity.

Oppoſed by his brother *Charles*.

The late religious diſputes had ſhaken *John*'s throne to ſuch a degree, that to his eternal infamy, he is ſaid to have ſhortened the life of his brother *Eric* by poiſon, and he now gave way to the proſecution of *Mornay*, who was condemned and executed. Duke *Charles* was then the darling of *Sweden*, for the ſtand he had made againſt popery, but he was apprehenſive, that after *John*'s throne was eſtabliſhed in peace, he would fall a victim to his diſpleaſure, and therefore he ſolicited a reconciliation. *John* called an aſſembly of the ſtates at *Wadſtena*, and ſummoned *Charles* (whoſe proceedings perhaps were not unexceptionable) to appear before it. *Charles*, inſtead of obeying, took arms. The ſtates interpoſing prevented hoſtilities; but it ſeems as if, about this time, *John* had reſumed ſome of his deſigns to favour popery, for he offered a new liturgy to be ſigned by *Charles*, who rejected it. Notwithſtanding this, an accommodation ſucceeded between the two brothers.

His ſon, *Sigiſmund*, choſen king of *Poland*.

Scarcely had this accommodation taken place, when *John*'s ſon, prince *Sigiſmund*, by the intrigues of his aunt, the queen of *Poland*, was elected into that throne. *Sigiſmund* hated the eſtabliſhed religion of *Sweden*, and concluded ſome ſtipulations with the *Poles* that were prejudicial to the *Swedes*, particularly, that he ſhould annex the *Swediſh Livonia* to his new crown. *John* accepted of thoſe terms, but they were rejected by duke *Charles*. In the mean while, the fickle *Poles* elected the archduke *Maximilian* for their king likewiſe; and ſuch dutiful ſubjects were the *Swedes*, that the ſtates of the kingdom came to a reſolution to ſupport *Sigiſmund*'s election, provided the *Poles* would deſiſt from their claim upon *Livonia*. Before *Sigiſmund*'s departure, the ſtates obliged him to ſign certain articles in favour of the proteſtant religion, and the independency of *Sweden* upon *Poland*, and his acceſſion to the latter crown coſt him but little trouble. The articles which he ſigned were ſuch, however, as were impoſſible to be obſerved by a prince who ruled at once over a proteſtant and a popiſh country, and were thought to be calculated for ſetting him

aſide from the ſucceſſion, in favour of his uncle, duke *Charles*. In the event, it appeared that the *Poles* had elected *Sigiſmund* for their king upon principles that were merely intereſted, becauſe they expected that the bait of their crown would have induced both the father and the ſon to have annexed to it *Livonia*. They were diſappointed, for *John*, though he was a papiſt, was at the ſame time a true *Swede*.

John's new liturgy.

When we conſider the very jealous attachment the *Swedes* had for the reformed religion, we cannot help being ſurprized at their patience and forbearance with their popiſh king. He preſſed their clergy to meet the church of *Rome* in a manner half way, but they rejected the propoſal with an honeſt indignation, which *John* imputed to be ambitious intrigues of his brother, duke *Charles*. He demanded an interview with his ſon, *Sigiſmund*, which he obtained with great difficulty, and they met at *Revel*, where they continued a month. The people and ſenate of *Sweden* very reaſonably concluded, that this extraordinary meeting boded no good to the intereſt of the proteſtant religion, or the independency of *Sweden*. The ſenate had, with amazement, ſeen that the king had prevailed with the archbiſhop of *Upſal*, and ſome of the biſhops and inferior clergy, to give their countenance to his liturgy, which was called *the liturgy of the church of* Sweden, *conformable to the catholic and orthodox church*, which had been drawn up at *Rome*, under the pope's eye. They were ſtill more alarmed, when they underſtood that *John* wanted his ſon to reſign the crown of *Poland*, that he might reſide with him in *Sweden*. They looked upon that as a prelude to popery and ſlavery. They petitioned *John* to ſend *Sigiſmund* back to *Poland*, leſt the *Poles*, out of reſentment, ſhould chuſe his enemy, the czar of *Muſcovy*, for their king. Their repreſentations made no impreſſion either upon the father or the ſon, till, inſtigated by an unprecedented ſpirit of patriotiſm, the officers of the army threatened to throw up their commiſſions, rather than be governed by popiſh counſels. This averſion to popery does honour to the memory of thoſe *Swedes* who aſſerted their principles, even in oppoſition to government, for we are informed by *Puffendorf*, (whoſe authority in this caſe is unqueſtionable) that a majority, both of the ſtates and clergy, had been prevailed upon by the king to accept of his liturgy. The ſtanch proteſtants appealed to duke *Charles* and *Bielke*, whom *John* had left regent, to call the king home, that he might, as he alledged, preſerve his crown. Upon *John*'s arrival, he reconciled himſelf in the moſt intimate manner with duke *Charles*; but he took advantage of the reſolution that had paſſed the aſſembly of the clergy and the ſtates in favour of the new liturgy, to proſecute ſuch of the nobility who oppoſed it. As a teſtimony of his ſincere profeſſion of popery, *John* received a pope's nuncio into his kingdom, ſent an embaſſador to *Rome*, and founded a *Roman* catholic college in *Stockholm*.

In

In 1590, *John*, to make his reign eaſy, again reconciled himſelf to his brother, duke *Charles*, who married *Chriſtina*, daughter to the count of *Holſtein*. At this time, the czar reduced all *Ingermannia*, and *John* gave his brother *Charles* the command of a body of *German* mercenaries to oppoſe him, but they deſerted, and *Charles* was obliged to return alone to *Stockholm*. The ſtate of affairs at that time, plainly evinced how little dependence a prince ought to have on a people who cannot truſt him. *Bannier*, the *Swediſh* general againſt the *Ruſſians*, gave them no oppoſition, and they beſieged *Narva*, which was defended by count *Horn*, who, without conſulting either the king or the ſenate, gave up *Ivanagorod* and *Corporie*. *Eric Sture*, to get rid of *Sigiſmund*, had ſecretly engaged to give up *Eſthonia* to the *Poles*, but duke *Charles* had credit enough to ſcreen them all from puniſhment, when *John* died ſuddenly, in the year 1592. 1590. His death. 1592.

Duke *Charles* was for two days ignorant, though in the neighbourhood, of his brother's death, which was concealed, that the queen and her minions might plunder the royal coffers. Being appointed regent, he apprized *Sigiſmund* of his father's death, but he acquainted him, at the ſame time, that being a true *Swede*, he had ſent orders to all the governors of *Eſthonia* and *Livonia*, not to give up any of their fortreſſes to the *Poles*, even if they ſhould demand them by royal authority. The counts, *Lewenhaupt* and *Steenbock*, thought that *Charles* took too much upon him for a ſubject, eſpecially after he had prevailed with the ſenate to paſs certain votes, accelerating his acceſſion to the crown. In 1593, duke *Charles*, being confirmed regent by *Sigiſmund*, aſſembled the ſtates at *Upſal*, where they unanimouſly entered into a reſolution to reſtore the proteſtant religion, according to the confeſſion of *Augſburg*, to repeal the new liturgy, and all that had been done in favour of popery in the late reign, and to carry an appeal to *Sigiſmund*, while he remained in *Poland*. Thoſe were wiſe meaſures, as *Sigiſmund* was a zealous *Roman* catholic. Both the ſenate and clergy of *Sweden* carried their reſolutions ſo far, that they made their king's agreeing to the firm eſtabliſhment of proteſtantiſm, and the other acts they had paſſed for the independency of *Sweden*, the condition of his receiving the crown. *Sigiſmund* complained of this as an invaſion of his prerogative, and ſent his own creatures to take the command of the fortreſſes in *Finland* and *Weſt Gothland*; but at the ſame time, gave the ſenate the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his being reſolved to govern by law. This did not ſatisfy duke *Charles* and the ſenate, who, before *Sigiſmund* left *Poland*, demanded from him ſecurity for the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion in *Sweden*. He anſwered them in general terms, and when he appeared at *Stockholm*, *Maleſpina*, the pope's nuncio, was ſeen in his retinue. Scarcely was *Sigiſmund* ſeated on his throne, when he betrayed his affection for popery. He demanded that a *Roman* catholic church ſhould be tolerated in every city and great 1593. Succeeded by *Sigiſmund*, who is a papiſt. The pope's nuncio at *Stockholm*.

great town of his kingdom; he repealed the acts of the *Upſal* aſſembly, and he annulled the election of the proteſtant archbiſhop. The more ſenſible part of the *Swediſh* proteſtants foreſaw that this violent weak conduct muſt terminate in elevating duke *Charles* to the throne, and they made no ceremony in oppoſing *Sigiſmund* to his face, eſpecially when he inſiſted upon being crowned by the pope's nuncio, inſtead of a proteſtant biſhop. *Suercherſon*, the ſecretary of ſtate, fell in with all the views of duke *Charles*, but he was more effectually aſſiſted by the violence and imprudence of the popiſh clergy, who became ſo extravagant as to draw upon them the reprehenſion even of *Sigiſmund*; but he could not be brought to puniſh them. One of his pages, *Livin de Bulou*, was the only perſon about the court who ventured to remonſtrate to *Sigiſmund*, that he was on the road to perdition, and paving the way for his uncle's mounting the throne. The ſenate perceiving that duke *Charles* was, or rather affected to be, an unconcerned ſpectator of the king's proceedings, invited him to be a mediator between his majeſty and the conſtitution, which the duke readily embraced. *Sigiſmund* ſhewed no violent reſentment at this, and endeavoured to quell the oppoſition to his government by fair promiſes. The duke and the ſtates inſiſted upon performances, and even upon abrogating the toleration of the popiſh religion in *Sweden*, with which the king, after much diſpute, ſeemed to reſt ſatisfied. He raiſed troops to break up the aſſembly of the ſtates at *Upſal*, but none would obey him, and he was once more reduced to the expedients of flattering and fair promiſes. *Charles* knew his own ſtrength, and, for ſome time, temporized. He affected to be a mediator between the king and the ſtates, and he claimed a merit from *Sigiſmund*'s having treated him ill for his firm attachment to proteſtantiſm, and the conſtitution of his country. *Sigiſmund*'s *Poliſh* favourites adviſed him to diſſemble, and to grant all that the proteſtants required, till he could be in a condition to diſown all his conceſſions. *Sigiſmund* took their advice. He ſtipulated for the private exerciſe of popery in his own chapel, but reſolved, at the ſame time, to aſſaſſinate duke *Charles*, and to govern *Sweden* by a *Poliſh* army.

Policy of duke *Charles*,

who eſcapes aſſaſſination.

The duke narrowly eſcaped the aſſaſſination, which was to have been performed at the *Italian* comedy, and the king expecting the arrival of the *Poliſh* army, began to build *Roman* catholic churches. The army arrived on the frontiers, but made a pitiful appearance, being only powerful enough to exact contributions upon defenceleſs places. *Sigiſmund*, like other infatuated princes in his ſituation, imagined that the *Swedes* muſt be ruined, if he abandoned the helm of government, which he did, and returned to *Poland*, leaving duke *Charles* regent of *Sweden*, and *Eric Brahe*, a profeſt papiſt, governor of *Stockholm*. *Sigiſmund*, however, had clogged the terms of the duke's regency with certain diſagreeable conditions, which the ſenate annulled, at the ſame time that they

abolished

abolished the exercise of the *Romish* religion in *Sweden*, and the inhabitants of *Stockholm* refused to acknowledge their governor. In effect, *Charles* was vested by the senate with regal powers independent of the king.

The assembling of the states at *Sunderkoping*, without *Sigismund*'s authority, gave a severe blow to his government. They actually established the intolerancy of the *Roman* catholic religion, even in private practice, and voted that no orders of the king, sent from *Poland*, should be valid, unless approved of by duke *Charles* and the senate, who were to fill up all the vacancies in church and state. Those resolutions were made public; and at the same time, though in fact they had dethroned the king, every subject who disowned his authority, was declared a traitor. The consequence was, that the *Roman* catholic clergy were expelled out of *Sweden*, and obliged to fly to the king's governors on the frontiers; and the king, who was then very rich, ordered that no respect should be paid to the orders of the duke and the senate, without his approbation. In 1596, *Fleming*, the king's governor of *Finland*, gave so kind a reception to the exiled *Roman* catholic clergy, that he became obnoxious to the duke. By this time, *Charles* began to suspect that the real intention of the states of *Sweden* was to resume the project that had been dropt some years ago, of converting their monarchy into a republic. He was confirmed in this opinion by the peremptory manner in which they interposed between him and *Fleming*, whom he wanted to punish; and *Sigismund* fomented the difference. *Charles* knew well that the sentiments of the king and the senate were irreconcileable, and he withdrew, for some time, from all affairs of government, in hopes that it would serve to render him of the greater consequence. He was outwitted by his confident, *Suercherson*. That minister, to whom the duke delegated his power, kept up a secret correspondence with *Sigismund*, who favoured the senate, and excluded the duke from all authority in the state.

Sigismund opposed by the states.

1596.

The duke, for his own safety, summoned the states to meet at *Abroga*, but though many members attended, *Lewenhaupt* was the only senator that appeared. The duke now saw plainly that he must depend for safety upon his own resolution. He prevailed with the states, who met at *Sunderkoping*, to confirm all that had been done at *Upsal*; and to enter into an association for defending him and themselves. This was a signal of war between the duke and his nephew. The former persisted in giving *Sigismund* verbal assurances of his loyalty, but pretending that the laws and constitutions of *Sweden* had lodged the executive part of government in his hands, during his majesty's absence, he marched into *Finland*, where he chastized *Fleming*; he exacted an oath of fidelity from the states of *Gothland*; he forced them to agree to the proceedings of *Sunderkoping*, and he took *Calmar*. Perceiving that many of the *Swedish* senators, being startled by the royal edicts, had

His army defeated by the duke,

fled out of *Sweden*, the duke did all he could to recall them, and for that purpoſe, ſummoned a diet of the ſtates at *Stockholm*. The members were now entirely reconciled to the duke, as the king made no ſecret that he was determined to govern *Sweden* by a foreign force. All treating between him and the duke was now at an end, but the latter found himſelf greatly at a loſs how to behave, when the king declared his reſolution of viſiting *Sweden*, and demanded the attendance of his fleet. This declaration was received by the *Swedes*, as if they never had any cauſe of complaint againſt his majeſty. The duke, however, was backed by a party who found no ſafety but in ſtanding to their engagements with him. *Sigiſmund*, who might have cruſhed the duke, ſhewed great moderation; but the duke taking the advantage of a thick miſt, attacked and defeated the royal army at *Stranghroo*. The duke affected to appear very moderate, and an accommodation was effected, by the mediation of perſons who were well inclined to both. In ſhort, they met, and parted as reconciled friends, and *Sigiſmund* returned to *Poland*.

Scarcely had he left *Sweden*, before he proclaimed the duke a traitor, and declared that all he had done, by way of reconciliation, had been extorted from him by force. The duke reſumed his arms, and both parties now threw aſide the maſk of moderation, but continued to amuſe the world by their manifeſtos. It was in vain for the ſtates of *Sweden*, who were aſſembled at *Jenekoping*, to interpoſe, for the king would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than a deſpotic right, even in matters of religion. The ſtates were aſſembled at *Stockholm*; ſuch of the *Swediſh* noblemen as had promoted the king's arbitrary deſigns were puniſhed, ſome of them by decapitation. The ring-leaders of the diſturbances in *Finland* were chaſtized, and all that the ſtates could be brought to, was to offer to recognize *Sigiſmund*'s ſon, *Uladiſlaus*, provided he was educated in and profeſſed the *Lutheran* religion; but if that condition was not complied with, *Sigiſmund* and all his deſcendents were to forfeit, for ever, their rights to the crown of *Sweden*. Duke *Charles* may be at this time conſidered as the king of *Sweden*, and all offences againſt him, either in *Finland* or *Livonia*, were treated as acts of high treaſon; ſo that ſome of the moſt illuſtrious blood in *Sweden* was ſhed on ſcaffolds.

1599. who is proclaimed a traitor,

but depoſes *Sigiſmund*. 1604.

The time preſcribed by the ſenate for bringing young *Uladiſlaus* to *Sweden* was now expired, yet ſuch was the moderation of duke *Charles*, that it was prolonged for a few months, but on the expiration of that time, in the year 1604, *Charles* received, by name, that ſovereignty which he before poſſeſſed in reality. About the ſame time, we are told that his half brother, *John*, renounced all his pretenſions to the throne, and that both *Sigiſmund* and his ſon *Uladiſlaus*, were excluded from it for ever.

Charles king of *Sweden*.

No prince ever ſhewed greater addreſs or greater honeſty than *Charles* did in obtaining the crown; but he found it at firſt,

lined

lined with thorns. His nephew, duke *John*, in conſideration of his having renounced his right of ſucceſſion, was in poſſeſſion of *Weſt Gothland*, and the lawful king was ſtill alive, and had a powerful party. The *Swedes*, unuſed to the refinements of politics, proſcribed all their countrymen who remained with the late king, and did not return to *Sweden* by a certain day; and an act paſſed that a king of *Sweden*, for the future, ſhould marry only a proteſtant princeſs, and that no reigning king of *Sweden* ſhould accept of any other crown. After this, *Charles* made an unfortunate expedition into *Livonia*, where his army was beaten by the *Poles*, and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped to *Revel*; but the civil diſturbances in *Poland* diſabled *Sigiſmund* from purſuing his victory. When *Charles* returned to *Sweden*, he had ſome differences with his clergy, who refuſed to purge themſelves from ſome of the relics of popery. In 1607, he ſent count *Mansfeldt* into *Livonia* with an army, where he obtained ſeveral important advantages, but concluded a peace which *Charles* refuſed to ratify, and the war continued, tho' to the diſadvantage of *Sweden*, by ſea. About this time, a revolution happened in *Ruſſia*, of which we ſhall treat in the hiſtory of that empire. *Charles* was afraid of an alliance between *Ruſſia* and *Poland*, or rather, that his nephew, *Sigiſmund*, who ſtill claimed the crown of *Sweden*, ſhould have intereſt enough either to poſſeſs or diſpoſe of the czarſhip, and therefore he aſſiſted *Zuſki*, one of the competitors againſt *Demetrius*, who was befriended by *Sigiſmund*. The *Ruſſians* gave *Zuſki* up to the *Poles*, and choſe *Uladiſlaus*, *Sigiſmund*'s ſon, for their czar. The young prince ſoon loſt his crown, by the tyranny of the *Poles*, who took *Pirnau* in *Finland*, through the treachery of one *Wachens*, a *Swede*, who was afterwards beheaded at *Stockholm* for that crime. 1607. His difficulties.

In 1609, the *Danes*, taking advantage of the *Swedes* being embroiled in *Livonia* and *Finland*, renewed certain claims upon *Lapponia* and *Sonneburg*, and commenced hoſtilities. *Charles* thus embarraſſed on all hands, called together his ſtates, and upon their refuſal to aſſiſt him, his nerves were ſo much affected, that he never afterwards enjoyed a ſtate of ſound health. The inſolence and exorbitant demands of his rival, *Chriſtian* of *Denmark*, who even violated the law of nations, in the perſons of the *Swediſh* embaſſador and his domeſtics, rouſed the ſtates of *Sweden* into indignation, and they at laſt granted the ſupplies which *Charles* demanded. *John de la Gardie* took *Kexholm*, and other places from the *Ruſſians*, and even made a progreſs towards raiſing *Charles*'s ſecond ſon, *Charles Philip*, to the throne of the czars. 1609. See p. 433.

Prince *Adolphus*, afterwards the renowned *Guſtavus Adolphus*, was then ſerving under his father, and gave a noble ſpecimen of his military talents, by taking *Chriſtianſtadt*, where the *Danes* had their magazines; but *Calmar* fell into the hands of the *Danes*, by the treachery and cowardice of *Sama*, its *Swediſh* great *Guſtavus Adolphus*. First appearance of the

Swediſh governor. The iſlands of *Oeland* and *Borkholm* were likewiſe reduced by the *Danes*, which exaſperated *Charles* ſo much, that though he had loſt the uſe of one ſide by a ſtroke of the palſy, he appealed *Chriſtian* to ſingle combat. *Chriſtian* anſwered his challenge by vigorouſly purſuing the war; but a body of his beſt troops was defeated near *Calmar*, and young *Guſtavus* recovered the iſle of *Oeland*, and the town of *Borkholm*, making two thouſand *Danes* priſoners. Thoſe promiſing appearances encouraged *Charles* to call another aſſembly of the ſtates at *Nikoping*, where he died in 1611, in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, worn out, as was thought, by fatigue, grief and anxiety. He was a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues, and he had ſome failings. By his perſeverance and moderation, he bore up againſt two powerful competitors, the intractable *Chriſtian* of *Denmark*, and his nephew, *Sigiſmund* of *Poland*, who never quitted his claim to the crown of *Sweden*, and had always a powerful party in that kingdom.

Death of *Charles*. 1611.

Guſtavus Adolphus.

It was fortunate for *Sweden*, that duke *John*, brother of the late king, loved his nephew and his country. Though he could have claimed the guardianſhip of *Guſtavus*, who was but eighteen, for three years longer, yet he joined with his countrymen in acknowledging, that the pregnancy of the young prince's parts, made up for the defect of years, and in a diet of *Nikoping*, duke *John* was the firſt that conſented to *Guſtavus* taking into his own hands the reins of government. He began his reign with a reſumption of the exceſſive grants of the crown, and other internal regulations, and he made his great chancellor, *Oxenſtiern*, his firſt miniſter. After this, at the mediation of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, *Guſtavus* would have concluded an equitable peace with *Chriſtian*, but he found him intractable. The *Swedes* fell into *Schonen*, but that diviſion of their army which was commanded by duke *John*, was defeated by the *Danes*, who vigorouſly invaded *Weſt Gothland*, and obtained many advantages by ſea. At laſt, in 1612, a peace was concluded between the two powers, by which *Guſtavus* reobtained poſſeſſion of *Calmar*, as *Chriſtian* did of *Elſburgh*, and each renounced their pretenſions to the others dominions. This peace, by which *Guſtavus* agreed to pay a million of crowns to the *Danes*, left him at liberty to purſue the vaſt deſigns he had formed in *Ruſſia*, where the inhabitants were far from being averſe from chuſing a prince of the houſe of *Vaſa* for their ſovereign; and *Guſtavus*, after ſome deliberation, preferred himſelf to his brother. All the ſchemes of *Gardie*, who had intrigued for duke *John*, were thereby defeated. The *Ruſſians*, barbarous as they were, were tenacious of their independency, and dreading to become a province to *Sweden*, they raiſed to their throne *Michael Romanow*, a young *Ruſſian* gentleman of fifteen years of age, and ſon to the archbiſhop of *Rotow*, their embaſſador to *Poland*, but detained there againſt the law of nations. *Charles Philip* was far from lamenting his diſappointment, which was wholly owing

1613.

Views of *Guſtavus* in *Ruſſia*,

owing to his elder brother, whose subjects were not in a much better state of civilization than the *Russians*, whom they affected so much to despise. Nothing was wanting on the part of their young monarch for their improvement. He regulated trade, introduced strangers and manufacturers, and restricted young people from studying at foreign universities; but above all, he was anxious about relieving his peasantry from some of their most oppressive taxes, and in abridging law proceedings.

Gustavus, in hopes of being raised to the throne of *Russia*, had lent the *Russians* money, and upon demanding the repayment in vain, he entered *Ingria* with an army, took *Kexholm*, and invested *Pleskow*. *James* the 1st of *England* had offered his mediation, and a peace was concluded, by which *Sweden* recovered *Livonia*, and four towns in the prefecture of *Novogorod*, besides nine thousand pounds in money. This peace was concluded at *Stolbova*, in 1617. This short campaign in *Russia*, and the instructions of *la Gardie*, one of the wisest men, and greatest generals of the age, first inspired *Gustavus* with true military ideas. His *Finlanders*, by perpetual wars with the *Russians*, the *Tartars* and other barbarians, had become the best troops in *Europe*, and so well disciplined, that they seemed to have no passion, but obedience to the order of their general. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, was still alive, and still a pretender to the crown of *Sweden*. *Gustavus* resolved either to gain him over or to humble him, and *Sigismund*, on his part, employed one *Furenbach*, an artful officer, to surprize, under the mask of friendship, the person of *Gustavus*. The discovery of this base design rendered the breach between them irreconcileable. *Gustavus* borrowed money from the *Dutch*, with which he satisfied the remaining claims of his *Danish* majesty, married the princess of *Brandenburg*, and besieged *Riga* with an army of twenty thousand men, under himself, *Gardie*, and other excellent generals. It was hard to say, whether the defence or the attack of the place was carried on with greater resolution and judgment. The *Poles* acquired immortal honour, nor did they think of capitulating, till the garrison was reduced to skeletons by famine, and their city to a heap of ruins, by the fury of the *Swedish* artillery. They obtained an advantageous capitulation, and an honourable testimony of their valour, from *Gustavus*, who preserved inviolate the privileges of the townsmen, but banished the *Jesuits*.

which he enters.

1617.

Treachery of *Sigismund*.

Gustavus married.

A truce of a year followed between *Sweden* and *Poland*, and *Gustavus*, by making a sudden motion towards *Dantzic*, compelled the implacable *Sigismund* to prolong it for two years longer. *Sigismund*, against the inclinations of his *Polish* subjects, refused to convert the truce into a perpetual peace, and rejected all terms of accommodation. Upon this, *Gustavus* entered *Livonia*, cut in pieces three thousand *Poles* under *Stanislaus Sapieha*, and reduced all the strong holds of the country,

A truce.

try, excepting *Duneburg*. From thence, *Guſtavus* moved the
Vol. IX. ſeat of war into *Lithuania*, where he took *Birſen*. The obſti-
p. 156, nacy of *Sigiſmund* was fomented by the imperial court, who
& ſeq. treated the great *Guſtavus* with the utmoſt contempt. He had, by this time, acquired perhaps too great a taſte for military glory, and till then he ſeems to have been inſenſible of ambition, for notwithſtanding his repeated defeats of the *Poles* and *Lithuanians*, he ſtill offered equitable terms to *Sigiſmund*. Perceiving that they were rejected with contempt,
1626. in the ſpring of the year 1626, he carried an army of twenty-eight thouſand men to *Pilau*, which he took, with the connivance of the elector of *Brandenburg*, as he did *Elbring*, *Marienburg*, and all the chief places in *Poliſh Pruſſia*. *Sigiſmund*,
Sigiſmund defeated. who thought *Guſtavus* had been in *Sweden* when he received the account of theſe loſſes, prepared to retrieve them, but was defeated with great loſs by the *Swedes* in every encounter. In
1627. *May* 1627, *Guſtavus* beſieged *Dantzic*, but was unable to take it, chiefly becauſe of a wound he had received with a cannon
Guſtavus beſieges *Dantzic*. ball in the belly. While he was intent on this ſiege, the *Dutch* made freſh efforts for an accommodation, but they were defeated, by the magnificent promiſes of the houſe of *Auſtria* to *Sigiſmund*. *Guſtavus* being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Dantzic*, received ſome checks in the *Poliſh Pruſſia*. In the beginning of 1628, he renewed the ſiege of *Dantzic*, defeated the *Poliſh* and *Daniſh* ſquadrons which attempted to raiſe it, and by a ſeries of the moſt amazing conſtructions and conveyances, over a moraſs of fifteen miles, that we meet with in hiſtory, a few hours muſt have put him in poſſeſſion of the city, when the ſudden riſe of the *Viſtula* deſtroyed his works, and obliged him to abandon the ſiege. In his retreat, he defeated a *Poliſh* army, took five large towns, two of them by ſtorm, and made a great
Vol. IX. booty. *Wallenſtein*, the imperial general, had been lately in-
p. 156. veſted with the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, which he governed with independent powers; and among other great projects he formed, one was to become maſter of the trade of the *Baltic*, by taking *Stralſund*. With this view he ſought to bring over the king of *Denmark*, by favouring him with his vaſt intereſt at the imperial court; but the affair was of ſuch dangerous conſequence to that monarch, that he aſſiſted *Leſley*, one of *Guſtavus*'s *Scotch* generals, in defending *Stralſund*, and *Wallenſtein*'s attempts were defeated, though the ſiege continued three months.

Wrangel defeats the *Poles*. Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable aſſiſtance given to *Guſtavus*, he and his *Daniſh* majeſty continued ſtill to be on very bad terms, and the emperor expreſſed himſelf in the moſt contemptible manner, both as to the power and policy of *Guſtavus*, an indignity he never could digeſt. His general, *Wrangel*, had compleatly defeated a body of *Poles*, who had blocked up *Brodnitz*; and *Guſtavus* himſelf had beaten, near *Stum*, the combined army of *Poles* and *Germans*, commanded by the imperial general, *Arnheim*, whom *Guſtavus* attacked againſt the opinion

opinion of his beſt generals, and though far inferior in number, gained a complete victory. The *Poles* were, at the ſame time, beaten before *Stum*, and the plague raging in their army, they at laſt liſtened ſo far to the advice of the *Engliſh*, *French* and *Dutch* embaſſadors, that they agreed to a truce for ſix years, during which *Marienburgh* was to be ſequeſtered in the hands of the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and *Guſtavus* was to keep *Murel*, and all his conqueſts in *Livonia*, but to reſtore to the *Poles* all he had conquered from them beſides. A peace.

The public was ignorant of the reaſons *Guſtavus* had for this ſtep. He had ſecretly agreed to meaſures for reducing the houſe of *Auſtria* in concert with the courts of *France* and *England*. We have already given an account of his engagements with *Richlieu*. *Charles* the Iſt furniſhed him with a large ſum of money, promiſed him a farther ſupply, and to ſend his couſin *Hamilton* to his aſſiſtance with eight thouſand men; all which he punctually performed. Before *Guſtavus* choſe to throw the die againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, he wiſely convoked the ſtates, laid before them his provocations and deſigns, and demanded their aſſiſtance. The aſſembly was at firſt divided. The conſideration of the imperial and *Spaniſh* power, ſtruck the boldeſt with diſmay; but *Guſtavus* harangued them in a ſtrain of eloquence, that the aſſembly was diſſolved in tears, and with one voice cried out, that *Sweden* was ready to empty her blood and treaſures in the ſervices of her beloved ſovereign. *Guſtavus* them aſſembled his force, and ſaw under his command ſixty thouſand fighting men, ſeventy ſail of ſhips, the largeſt carrying above forty guns. Among thoſe were about eight thouſand *Scotch* mercenaries (excluſive of thoſe under the marquis of *Hamilton)* of whom *Guſtavus* had a vaſt opinion, and he raiſed the officers of that nation, whom he eſteemed equally for their ſagacity as their intrepidity, to the chief poſts of his army. We have already given a conciſe, and we hope a comprehenſive account, of the military and other operations of *Guſtavus* in *Germany*. We ſhall therefore only glean up a few that we omitted, and make a general recapitulation of the whole, to preſerve the thread of our narrative. He ſent *Guſtavus Horn* to aſſiſt the depoſed duke of *Mecklenburgh*, where he took *Griffenhagen* by ſtorm. Another of his generals, *Kniptrauſen*, was defeated by the young count, afterwards the famous, *Montecuculi*, with the loſs of two thouſand brave *Swedes*, at *New Brandenburgh*; and, in order to encourage the proteſtant princes who were aſſembled at *Leipſic*, to act with more vigour in his favour, he took *Gripſwald*, and reduced all *Pomerania*. He had, by this time, received three hundred thouſand crowns from *France*, and agreed with her for an annual ſubſidy of twelve hundred thouſand livres, but he reſerved this money for extraordinary occaſions, for his ſoldiers made their pay and quarters good wherever they came in their enemies country.

Vol. XI. p. 474.

Vol. IX. p. 157.

Guſtavus invades *Germany*.

Vol. IX. p. 158. &c. ſq.

Scarcely

Progreſs of the war there.

Scarcely had *Guſtavus* reinſtated the dukes of *Mecklenburgh* and *Guſtrow*, when he flew to the other ſide of *Germany*, where he took *Mentz*, and carried the elector palatine to *Munich*, the capital of the elector of *Bavaria*, by whom his family had been depoſed. The vaſt fortune of *Guſtavus* was even ſecretly favoured by the court of *Rome*, who leſs dreaded the heads of the proteſtants, than ſhe did thoſe of the houſe of *Auſtria*. It ſeems, however, more than probable, that *Guſtavus* was not in earneſt in aſſiſting the elector palatine, without conſulting the *French* miniſter, though the conſequence of his victories contributed chiefly to re-eſtabliſh that houſe. Some writers, however, have not ſcrupled to ſay, that had *Guſtavus* ſurvived that fatal battle in which he fell, he would have reſtored the elector not only to his palatinate, but to the crown of *Bohemia*. Be that as it will, it is undoubted, that after *Guſtavus* had forced the inhabitants of *Augſburgh* to take an oath of fidelity to his own perſon, his allies grew jealous of his ſucceſſes, and nothing but the impolitic and impotent devaſtations which *Wallenſtein* made in the elector of *Saxony*'s dominions, could have kept that prince firm to his cauſe. It was thought, that after gaining the battle of *Leipſic*, *Guſtavus* ought to have advanced directly to *Vienna*, againſt *Tilly*, inſtead of taking *Muſburg* and entering *Franconia*. It was his zeal to keep the elector of *Saxony* on his ſide, and to prevent his ruin, that induced him to that ſtep, which might undoubtedly have carried the war into the very vitals of the *Auſtrian* dominions. He was diſſuaded from it by his favourite general, the duke of *Saxe Weimar*, againſt the opinion of the ſage *Oxenſtiern*. Upon *Wallenſtein* being reſtored to the command of the imperial army, the *Swedes* in *Germany* received ſome checks, and *Guſtavus* was forced to leave *Bavaria*, to make head againſt *Wallenſtein*, who retired to *Lutzen*. *Puffendorf* and other writers, accuſe the *Saxon* general, *Arnheim*, of having been all along ſecretly in the *Auſtrian* intereſt, and of giving intelligence of *Guſtavus*'s motions. *Arnheim* had been reproached by *Guſtavus* with cowardice, and it is natural to think, that the elector himſelf could not be eaſy at ſeeing the duke of *Saxe Weimar*, who had a hereditary claim to his electorate, ſo great a favourite with *Guſtavus*, whoſe deſigns upon the imperial dignity were now but too conſpicuous.

Great ſucceſſes of *Guſtavus*,

who is killed.

Guſtavus returning out of *Bavaria*, to the aſſiſtance of the duke of *Saxony*, thought that an opportunity now preſented for ſtriking a deciſive blow, by fighting *Wallenſtein*, whoſe army was then very numerous. *Guſtavus* watched his occaſion, and reſolved to attack *Wallenſtein* in *Miſnia*, juſt after his army had been weakened by a detachment of ten thouſand men under *Papenheim*. *Guſtavus* formed his diſpoſitions with his uſual judgment, and attacked his enemy with his uſual fury. He defeated the right wing of the imperialiſts, and took their artillery. Hearing that his left wing was not equally ſuc-

ſucceſsful, he poſted, attended by not above ſix or eight of his light cavalry, to reconnoitre, but in the way, he was encountered by a body of *Auſtrian* horſe, who, without knowing him, rode him down and killed him with a piſtol bullet. Some writers, and *Puffendorf* among the reſt, lays his death to the charge of the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, who, he ſays, was with *Guſtavus* at the time of his death, and treacherouſly gave him the fatal wound. All we can ſay, amidſt ſuch a variety of contradictory evidence, is, that the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* had a very indifferent character for his ſteadineſs to any party; that *Oxenſtiern* endeavoured to diſſuade his maſter from admitting him into his company, and that the reigning houſe of *Saxony* was far from being pleaſed with the ſucceſſes of *Guſtavus* at the time of his death, which happened in the 38th year of his age, in the year 1633. Vol IX. p. 163. 1633.

The death of *Guſtavus* did not terminate the battle. Some ſay, that, when he fell, he was attended only by the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* and two equerries, and others, that he headed the regiment of *Smaland*. Both might be true, for it is agreed that he was exhorting the regiment to make more haſte in paſſing a brook or a ditch, when he was killed, and it is poſſible his impetuoſity might have left it behind him. His death was ſoon known, as his figure was conſpicuous wherever he fought. The duke of *Saxe Weimar*, who inſtantly took upon himſelf the command, was even at pains to propagate the melancholy news, which, inſtead of damping, enraged his troops to ſuch a degree, that they obtained a complete victory, and all the imperialiſts muſt have been put to the ſword, had not *Patenheim*, who was on his march to rejoin *Wallenſtein*, returned time enough to favour the eſcape of the remainder, but at the expence of his own life.

His character.

As the name of *Guſtavus* is but another appellation for all the military virtues, we ſhall not inſiſt upon that part of his character. The death of *Guſtavus* alone diſcovered how great a man he had been in his lifetime, for the alliances he had formed, and the reſources he had provided, not only prevented the ruin of his country from the houſe of *Auſtria*, but raiſed its glory. It ſeems paſt all diſpute, that he never was ſeriouſly inclined to favour the elector palatine. He would not even ſuffer his *Britiſh* auxiliaries to enter *Sileſia*, or any place or country where the palatine intereſt was ſtrong. When *Charles* ſent his embaſſador, Sir *Henry Vane*, to expoſtulate with him on that head, he evaded the ſubject, becauſe *France* had guarantied the palatinate to the houſe of *Bavaria*; and when he could no longer avoid explaining himſelf, he propoſed terms to the embaſſador more arbitrary and imperious than the emperor had propoſed to the elector. In ſhort, they were ſuch as the meaneſt vaſſal of an *Ottoman* court would have rejected. Notwithſtanding this, never did any prince engage in a cauſe with greater reputation than *Guſtavus* did when he entered *Germany*, or execute his purpoſe with greater glory, witneſs his

his diſintereſted generoſity to the dukes of *Mecklenburgh*, *Magdeburg*, the landgrave of *Heſſe*, and other princes of the empire. Succeſs inſpired him with ideas of his becoming its head, a conſideration which we do not find ſtipulated on the part of any of the princes he came to relieve. The wiſdom of his negotiations ſeconded the vigour of his arms, and if he was guilty of cruelty towards his enemies (which too often happened) he alledged, with great juſtice, that they ſet him the example. He was thought to love money, and to be too ſcanty in rewarding military merit. The vaſt deſigns he had in view, accounts for the firſt charge, and the ſecond was, perhaps, the effect of ſound policy, as it ſecured the dependence of his officers upon himſelf. He might have been called a learned prince, tho' many of his foreign officers, having raiſed themſelves from the loweſt ſtations in the army, could neither read nor write. He diſcouraged duelling, was a rigorous exacter of military diſcipline, but he appeared in private parties with eaſe and affability towards his officers, of whoſe company he was fond, which may be the reaſon why ſo many of them were heirs to his warlike abilities.

Chriſtina queen.

Wallenſtein, notwithſtanding his haughty, overbearing conduct, ſeems to have been the only man of ſenſe who had any influence at the imperial court, upon the death of the great *Guſtavus*. He had experienced the valour of his troops, and the capacity of the duke of *Saxe Weimar* (whom we ſhall call duke *Bernard*) who took upon him the command of the *Swediſh* army, and he adviſed the emperor, by all means, to make ſuch a peace as ſhould rid *Germany* of the *Swedes*. His advice was rejected, and *Bernard*, before the end of the campaign, drove *Wallenſtein* out of *Saxony*, to the amazement of all *Europe*. *Oxenſtiern*, who was privy to all the views of *Guſtavus*, continued to direct the *Swediſh* cabinet; and ſuch had been the foreſight and œconomy of *Guſtavus*, that his armies were as numerous at the time of his death, as when he entered *Germany*. This was the great conſideration that rendered the acceſſion of *Chriſtina* to the throne of her father, *Guſtavus*, ſo peaceable. She was then but ſix years old, but poſſeſſed of a pregnant ſpirit. The five principal officers of the court, who were the grand bailif, the marſhal, the admiral, the chancellor, and the treaſurer, were appointed regents, but *Oxenſtiern* acted as firſt miniſter, and from him the regents received all their advices and directions. The infancy of *Chriſtina* was fortunate in this adminiſtration. Both branches of the houſe of *Auſtria*, aſſiſted by that of *Bavaria*, prepared to continue the war with more vigour than ever. They depended greatly upon the *Poles*, but *Uladiſlaus*, who ſucceeded his father, *Sigiſmund*, was engaged in a war with the *Ruſſians* and *Turks*, and his ſentiments were moderate. As to the *Danes*, *Chriſtian* refuſed to do any thing againſt *Sweden*, that might interrupt the proſpect he had of a match between his ſon and *Chriſtina*. *Oxenſtiern*'s difficulties thus lay in manag-

Duke *Bernard* ſucceeds to the command of the *Swedes*.

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ing the pride and haughtineſs of his maſter's *German* allies. He ſaw the elector of *Saxony* renewing his efforts to place himſelf at the head of a proteſtant confederacy in *Germany*, but *Oxenſtiern* had credit enough to bring an aſſembly together at *Heilbron*, where the elector of *Brandenburgh* convinced the aſſembly that they had no ſafety but in preſerving their connections with the *Swedes*.

The vaſt ſucceſſes of the *Swedes*.

While the imperialiſts were flattering themſelves that the proteſtant princes of the empire, headed by the duke of *Saxony*, would ſeparate themſelves from the *Swedes*, they were amazed to ſee the war renewed with vigour, and that *Oxenſtiern* had made no propoſitions for peace. He divided the *Swediſh* army into two bodies; one conſiſting of fourteen thouſand men, was commanded by the duke of *Lunenburg*, in *Weſtphalia*; and the other diviſion was ſent to join count *Horn*, in *Thuringia*; where, and in *Alſace*, he made very conſiderable conqueſts, and performed many noble exploits. Count *Thurn* commanded the *Swedes* in *Sileſia*, but was thwarted by the overbearing ſpirit of *Arnheim*, the *Saxon* general, who wanted to give him the law; and their differences were productive of very bad effects to the common cauſe. The diet ſtill continued to ſit at *Heilbron*, and *Oxenſtiern* brought the deputies of the circles of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, to agree to a league with *Sweden*. Not having the ſame views of ambition as his maſter, he laboured earneſtly to eſtabliſh the children of the elector palatine (who died with grief ſoon after he heard of the fate of *Guſtavus*) in their family poſſeſſions; but in fact, the difficulties he met with, could be ſurmounted only by the greateſt patience and foreſight. Through the treachery of *Arnheim*, *Wallenſtein* had defeated the *Swedes* in *Sileſia*, and the reader will find, in our hiſtory of *Germany*, a narrative of the principal events of that war, which makes it unneceſſary to repeat them here. It is ſufficient to ſay, that ſuch were the amazing abilities of *Oxenſtiern*, that even the loſs of the battle of *Nordlingen*, where the *Swedes* were entirely defeated under count *Horn*, could not ſhake his credit; for notwithſtanding the defection of the duke of *Saxony*, he continued to act as the dictator of the proteſtant intereſt in *Germany*. The aſſaſſination of *Wallenſtein*, the beſt and moſt ſucceſsful of the imperial generals, delivered *Sweden* from a formidable enemy; but *Oxenſtiern* was obliged to enter into a freſh treaty with *France* in 1635, by which he put *Alſace* into her hands, and marſhal *de la Force* was ordered to advance with an army to the aſſiſtance of the *Swedes*. By this time, the duke of *Saxony* had brought over the elector of *Brandenburgh* to his views of forcing the *Swedes* to evacuate the empire, and to abandon their conqueſts. They even made peace with the emperor upon ſcandalous terms, by which they loſt ſight of the original cauſe of the war. But a ſtorm now broke upon the empire that altered the face of affairs.

Vol. IX. p. 164, &c. ſeq.

Ibid. p. 166.

1635.

Ibid.

Ibid.

France declares war against the *Auſtrians*.

Upon the ceſſion of *Alſace* to *France*, *Richelieu* thought proper to diſcontinue his neutrality, and to declare war againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*. This blow, which had been effected by the dexterity of *Oxenſtiern*, had not been foreſeen by the proteſtant princes, who had made their peace with the emperor, and it was ſoon known that the court of *France* had, by treaty, guarantied the poſſeſſion of *Alſace* to duke *Bernard*. To give ſome diverſion to the *Swedes*, the imperialiſts, upon the expiration of their truce with the *Poles*, attempted to renew that war, but upon *Oxenſtiern*'s ceding to them *Pruſſia*, at the requeſt of *France* and *Holland*, the truce was prolonged for twenty-ſix years. The treaſures left by *Guſtavus* were now exhauſted, by the expenſive engagements that *Sweden* had been obliged to form with her auxiliaries and mercenaries, and even the venal part of her own ſubjects became mutinous for want of pay; nor were the *French* ſubſidies ſufficient to ſupply them. It was with difficulty that the duke of *Saxony* was prevented from cutting off the communication of the *Swedes* with the *Baltic*, by the valour of *Bannier*, who defeated his troops twice with great ſlaughter, and thereby raiſed the ſpirits of his countrymen, and changed the ſentiments of all *Europe*, with regard to the ſtate of the war. The *Swedes*, it is true, had loſt great part of their conqueſts, but their ſtrength was more compact, and they were no longer connected with lukewarm, or treacherous, friends.

Vol. IX. p. 170.

Gallant behaviour of *Bannier*, the *Swediſh* general.

Bannier's reputation was then ſecond only to that of the great *Guſtavus*. Duke *Bernard* had defeated *Gallas*, the imperial general in *Alſace*, while he was endeavouring to penetrate into *Burgundy*, and cut off half his army, and all the mighty expectations of the court of *Vienna* now vaniſhed. *Oxenſtiern*, however, found his miſtreſs's enemies amongſt the proteſtants, ſtill bent upon continuing the war, and he ſent his orders to *Bannier*, who, though weak, forced eight battallions of *Saxons* in *Torgau* to lay down their arms, and the greateſt part of them enliſted in his army; but an irruption of the imperialiſts into *Thuringia*, diſconcerted all his meaſures. His enemies were ſo greatly ſuperior to him in numbers, and had cut off his communication with the quarters from whence he could expect to be relieved, ſo effectually, that he was obliged to make his retreat into the lower *Pomerania*, but it was a retreat that was equal to a victory. Whilſt he waited there, to be joined by *Wrangel*, that general was defeated by *Gallas*, who took *Uſedom*, *Wollin*, and *Demarin*, and reduced all the upper *Pomerania*. This misfortune, together with the inactivity of the *French*, who had neglected to ſupport duke *Bernard*, reduced the affairs of *Sweden* once more to a deſperate ſtate. *Oxenſtiern* had no reſource but to endeavour to renew his engagements with *France*, and *Bannier* remained inactive for all the winter, till he was reinforced in the ſpring of 1638, from *Sweden*, which enabled him to puſh into the duchy of *Mecklenburgh*, where he defeated *Gallas*, who retreated

The *Swediſh* affairs deſperate.

1638.

treated precipitately over the *Elbe*, after losing three thousand men. The reader has already seen the astonishing exploits of duke *Bernard* at the same time upon the *Rhine*, and the consequences of his death, in the 30th year of his age, which placed *Bannier* at the head of the *Swedish* army in *Germany*. He had reduced *Misnia*, and defeated the *Saxon* general, *Maracini*, so completely, that scarcely a *Saxon* escaped slaughter or captivity. The fruits of this victory were the reduction of *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, the greatest part of *Saxony* and *Misnia*, the *Saxon* army not daring to venture without the protection of the walls of *Dresden*. *Bannier* even laid great part of *Bohemia* under contribution, and crossing the *Elbe*, he cut in pieces two thousand men under general *Hofskirk*, near *Brandeis*, pursuing the fugitives to the gates of *Prague*. In this battle *Montecuculi* was made a prisoner. We have already mentioned the secret negotiation which *Bannier*, instigated by his wife, and provoked by the treachery of the *French*, entered into with the imperial court; but he was soon undeceived, by the emperor ordering *Picolomini* and archduke *Leopold* to march from the *Netherlands* towards *Bohemia*.

Vol. IX. p. 172, &c.

Ibid. p. 174.

The great reputation of *Picolomini*, and of his army, obliged *Bannier* to march towards *Misnia*, after cutting in pieces a body of three thousand *Croats*; and, about the same time, count *Coningsmark*, another *Swedish* general, beat the imperialists near *Leipsic*. *Picolomini* still advancing, *Bannier* threatened to make a separate peace with the imperialists, if the *French* duke of *Longueville*, who now commanded duke *Bernard*'s army, did not march to his assistance, which, the duke, finding he could no longer dally, was compelled to do, and his example was followed by the duke of *Lunenburg*, who had broken with the emperor. *Bannier* was then at the head of a stronger army than ever had been commanded in one body by any *Swede* in *Germany*; but, while he was expecting to bring *Picolomini* to a decisive battle, he found that the *French*, who had discovered his negotiation with the emperor, had prevailed with the regency at home to cramp his powers. He was opposed and outvoted in the councils of war, where all his schemes for bringing the enemy to a battle, were defeated. At last, perceiving his army in danger of being starved, he marched towards the *Sala*, in order to reach a strong encampment. Finding all the passes possessed by the enemy, he contented himself with taking up his quarters in *Lunenburg*, but remained inactive during the rest of the campaign. In the beginning of the year 1641, *Bannier* made a noble attempt to march over the ice and seize *Ratisbon*, where the diet, with the emperor at its head, was then sitting, but it was prevented by a sudden thaw. We have already given our readers a detail of this war, till the death of the brave *Bannier*, together with his character. He was succeeded in his command of the *Swedish* army by *Torstenson*, a genius equal, in military affairs, if not superior to him; but we must not omit that *Bannier* was then said,

Distresses of *Bannier*.

Death of *Bannier*.

1641.

Ibid. p. 176.

Succeeded by *Torstenson*.

ſaid, by the proteſtants, to have been poiſoned by the *French*. His death was more probably owing to a fever he had contracted by his aſtoniſhing retreat before the greatly ſuperior numbers of his enemies, through the dreary foreſts of *Bohemia*.

His rapid progreſs in *Germany*.

The original army of the *Swedes* which *Guſtavus* had led into *Germany*, was now almoſt entirely worn out, and nothing but the fidelity of *Bannier*'s ſoldiers, moſt of whom were *Germans*, could have prevented them from mutinying before his death, for want of pay. He left his command to four major generals, *Wrangel*, *Koningſmark*, *Willenberg* and *Pful*, but the inferior officers excited their ſoldiers to mutiny, and they refuſed to ſerve but upon their own terms. Good words, ſome money raiſed by the *French*, and the fear of being cut in pieces by the enemy, reduced them to their duty, and the major generals continued their march, though not without ſuſtaining ſome loſs from *Picolomini*. *Torſtenſon*, beſides eight thouſand troops, brought with him a large ſum from *Sweden*. Upon his arrival at the army, he found it ſeparated from the *French*, but they advanced him two hundred thouſand livres. This enabled *Torſtenſon*, after he had recovered from a ſevere fit of the gout, to begin his operations, by baffling all the attempts of the enemy to force him in his camp, and then marching into *Sileſia*, where he reduced *Great Glogaw* and *Sweidnitz*, he beat the duke of *Sax Lawenburgh*, who was taken priſoner and died of his wounds, under the odium of having been the aſſaſſin of the great *Guſtavus*, to which his immediate deſertion from the *Swedes*, gave but too much countenance. In conſequence of this victory, the greateſt part of *Sileſia* again fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Olmutz* reſiſted *Torſtenſon* no more than five days, and he made a very conſiderable impreſſion upon *Moravia* itſelf.

Vol. IX. p. 177.

He defeats the *Auſtrians* near *Leipſic*.

Torſtenſon being at laſt joined by *Wrangel*, took *Littau*, and recovered many of his ſoldiers, by executing a cartel for the change of priſoners, an expedient then firſt introduced into the art of war. Perceiving that he could not penetrate into *Bohemia*, he laid ſiege to *Leipſic*. This brought on the battle of *Brietenfeld*, already deſcribed, which was fought on the very ſpot where *Guſtavus Adolphus* had before beaten the imperialiſts, in which they were again completely defeated, under the archduke *Leopold*, and *Picolomini*. *Leipſic* ſurrendered ſoon after, but *Torſtenſon*'s bad ſucceſs before *Friburg*, retarded the progreſs of his arms; tho' he immediately turned them towards *Bohemia*, where he proved victorious over *Gallas*, the imperial general. While he was proceeding ſucceſsfully in that country, the war which we have already mentioned broke out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and, by orders of the *Swediſh* regency, *Torſtenſon* made a march at once, ſo ſecret and ſo rapid, that he had conquered the greateſt part of *Holſtein* and *Jutland*, while *Chriſtien* thought he was ſtill in *Sweden*. *Guſtavus Horn*, at the ſame time, fell into *Schonen* with fourteen

fourteen thouſand men, where he beat the *Danes*, took *Landſkroon*, with many other places, and laid ſiege to *Malmoe*. *Torſtenſon* had left his command in *Germany* to *Coningſmark*, who acted with that ſpirit, rapidity and ſucceſs, which diſtinguiſhed all the generals bred up under the great *Guſtavus*. He ſubſiſted his army upon contributions he raiſed in *Miſnia* and *Franconia*. He took *Halbertſtadt*, in the *Lower Saxony*, and drove the *Poles* out of *Pomerania*; but there he met with the melancholy news that the *Weimarian* army had ſuffered a total defeat from the *Bavarians*. Notwithſtanding this, he ſtill kept his ground againſt the imperialiſts and the archbiſhop of *Bremen*, and *Torſtenſon* cut off the rear of the imperial army under *Gallas*.

State of *Sweden*.

It is unuſual, in hiſtory, to ſee a people with no internal riches, and that never exceeded the bounds of *Scandinavia* till *Guſtavus* led their army into *Germany*, making head on all hands againſt moſt of the great powers in *Europe*. *France*, it is true, pretended to be their friend; but ſhe was ſo only from intereſted motives, and her alliance had more than once proved detrimental to *Sweden*, who, at this time, reaped no other advantage by it, than that both crowns had the ſame enemy. The numbers of *Swedes* who had fallen in the *German* and *Daniſh* wars, though they generally were victorious, was ſo exceſſive, that we are at a loſs to account how *Sweden* could furniſh the neceſſary hands for agriculture, notwithſtanding the number of foreigners ſhe took into her pay. But though the *Swedes* were thus ſurrounded with what ſeemed to be unſurmountable difficulties, they dictated, at this very time, to all *Europe*, and, with an air of authority, preſcribed the terms that were to purchaſe their friendſhip. Not contented with acting upon the defenſive, they fell upon the powers whom they ſuſpected, and forced them to quit their neutrality, by engaging either for or againſt them. A conduct like this was entirely agreeable to the genius of their young queen, who ſhewed great talents for government, though ſhe affected, at the ſame time, a philoſophical indifference for power and grandeur. Her exerciſes, as well as ſtudies, were all manly, and ſhe divided her time between the affairs of ſtate, and of learning, and underſtanding that the *French* complained of their being overburthened in *Germany* ſince the war had broken out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, ſhe magnanimouſly ordered *Torſtenſon* to purſue *Gallas* into the heart of the empire, which he did, with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Gallas* loſt half of his army. Thoſe advantages, with thoſe which *Wrangel* obtained in *Holſtein*, and *Coningſmark* in other parts of *Germany*, where he took *Stade*, were more ſplendid than ſalutary to *Sweden*. She was deſtitute of reſources equal to thoſe of her enemies, and ſhe muſt have been obliged to have treated with them, at leaſt upon equal terms, had not the *French* arms been victorious in *Alſace* and the *Low Countries*, under *Conde* and *Turenne*, by which his *Daniſh* majeſty was obliged to conclude the peace

Noble behaviour of *Chriſtina*.

See p. 436.

we have already mentioned, which was so much for the honour and advantage of *Sweden*. *Christina*'s pride was gratified, in being no longer embarrassed with a *Danish* war, because it left her at liberty to employ her arms with the greater effect in *Germany*, and flattered her with the glory of being the arbitress of *Europe*, as she actually was in the negotiations for a general peace then carrying on at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*.

Separate views of *France* and *Sweden*.

Her views were agreeably seconded by the *French*, who enabled prince *Ragotzki* to act on the side of *Hungary*, where *Torstenson* proposed to join him. For that end he penetrated into the heart of the empire, obliged the elector of *Saxony* to renounce his alliance with the emperor, and gained the great battle of *Jancowitz*, against the imperial general, *Hatfield*, who lost ten thousand men. *Torstenson*'s success in this action was owing to his superior management of his artillery. Even the great *Gustavus* had never brought the house of *Austria* into such jeopardy as it was in by the loss of this battle. He effected his junction with *Ragotzki*, but losing too much time in the siege of *Brin*, and being disappointed in the reinforcements he expected from *France*, *Ragotzki*, whose junction with the *Swedes* proved rather detrimental to *Torstenson* than otherwise, made a separate peace with the emperor, and *Torstenson* knowing himself too weak to undertake the siege of *Vienna*, was forced to return to *Bohemia*, where he found himself so afflicted with the gout, that he resigned his commission to *Wrangel*, and retired to *Leipsic*. Though *Wrangel*, by the reinforcements he had brought from *Holstein*, was at the head of an excellent army, and was a most accomplished general, yet the imperialists and *Bavarians* were so superior to him in force, that he acted on the defensive, and pushed on towards the *Weser*, to join *Turenne*. Being disappointed in that design, the imperialists and *Bavarians*, who had no great opinion of his abilities as a general, attacked him, but were defeated with considerable loss, and *Wrangel*, by a masterly train of operations, joined *Turenne*. Though the latter had no superior in *Europe* as a general, yet after the junction was formed, the successes of the united army were not near so brilliant as when the *Swede* acted by himself; the reason was, that they had separate interests. Their joint operations were of no great consequence. They were obliged to raise the siege of *Augsbourg*; and *Turenne*, against the sentiments of *Wrangel*, concluded a truce with the elector of *Bavaria*, which the latter soon broke, and once more joined his forces with those of the imperialists. As it was not doubted that the example of *Bavaria* would be followed by many other princes, *Wrangel* and his army in all probability must have been destroyed, had not *Turenne* generously prevailed with his court to send him to his assistance.

Vol. IX. p. 180. Ibid. p. 191.

Turenne saves *Wrangel*.

1648. In 1648, the combined armies fell into *Bavaria*, but *Turenne* was so much cramped in his powers, that he durst not second the enlarged views of *Wrangel*. The elector of *Bavaria* retired

tired to *Saltzburg*, but *Turenne* was ſo cautious, that all he did was to plunder the country, and *Picolomini* accepting of the command of the imperial and *Bavarian* armies, defeated *Wrangel*, and forced him to repaſs the *Lech*.

At this time, *Charles Guſtavus*, the preſumptive heir to the crown of *Sweden*, commanded as generaliſſimo of the *Swedes* in *Germany*. His progreſs there was ſuch, that he even beſieged *Prague*, and took up his winter quarters in *Bohemia*. By this time the treaty of *Weſtphalia* was concluded, and for the particulars of it we muſt refer to our hiſtory of *Germany*. Whatever intrigues the *French* entered into for bringing about that pacification, it appears plainly, from the negotiations that have been publiſhed, that they were chiefly directed by *Oxenſtiern*, who acted as the *Swediſh* plenipotentiary, and was aſſiſted by *Salvius*; nor did *Oxenſtiern* himſelf venture upon any meaſure that was not allowed of by his young miſtreſs. In the publiſhed negotiations, it appears by letters from the *French* plenipotentiaries, dated the 7th of *December* 1646, that they ſuſpected he was under the influence of his father, the great chancellor, and the latter, no doubt, adviſed *Chriſtina*, as to the inſtructions ſhe ſent to her plenipotentiaries. The peace was glorious to *Sweden*, by the ceſſions of the archbiſhopric of *Bremen* and *Verden*, the port of *Weimar*, in *Mecklenburgh*, *Stetin*, and all the other *Pomerania*. The *Swediſh* plenipotentiaries likewiſe obtained five millions of crowns for payment of their army. It is to the glory of *Chriſtina* and her miniſtry, that notwithſtanding many diſagreeable events which happened to their arms during that long negotiation, all the arts and offers (ſome of which were very enticing) of the imperial court, could not diſunite *Sweden* from her allies, or even divert her attention from the eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant religion, and the balance of power in *Germany*; all which were effectually ſecured by this peace, and *Europe*, to this day, feels its ſalutary effects. Old *Oxenſtiern* was for purſuing the plan laid down by the great *Guſtavus*, of depriving the houſe of *Auſtria* of the imperial crown, which, conſidering the ſtate of the *Swediſh* arms at that time, was by no means impracticable. Her army amounted to ſeventy thouſand of the fineſt troops in *Europe*, and they were in poſſeſſion of above a hundred ſtrong places in the heart of *Germany*. But the ſtate of *Europe* was then greatly changed, from what it had been in the time of *Guſtavus*. *Holland* was now linked with *Spain*. The ſelfiſh views of *France* were but too apparent, and ſhe was torn to pieces by civil diſſentions. One defeat muſt have proved fatal to *Sweden*, who had then no reſources, and *Chriſtina*, even if her arms had been ſucceſsful, could not have mounted the imperial throne.

Peace of *Munſter*. Vol. IX. p. 192.

Ibid.

Its conſequences.

By a peculiarity of conſtitution, ſhe is ſaid to have been formed for love, but not for marriage; for though ſhe expreſſed the higheſt regard for her couſin, *Charles Guſtavus*, yet ſhe declined giving him her hand as a wife, though he courted her,

Charles Guſtavus the preſumptive heir of *Sweden*.

her, and his advances were ſtrongly ſeconded, by the addreſſes of the ſtates. He was the ſon of the count palatine, duke of *Deux Ponts*, and every way qualified for the government of ſo warlike a people as the *Swedes*. *Chriſtina* promiſed, if ever ſhe married, he ſhould be the man, but we are not to adopt the private ſcandal of memoir writers and others, which purſued her character at this time. The truth is, ſhe was whimſical to the laſt degree in all her affections. She invited to her court *Deſcartes*, *Saimaſius*, and other learned men, of whom ſhe was fond for ſome time, and then growing tired of them, diſmiſſed them in a manner unworthy of a royal or a generous character. She was injudicious and indelicate in her choice of her private favourites, who were generally ignorant, worthleſs, low born perſons; yet with all thoſe oddities ſhe diſcharged the duties of her ſtation. She paid to *Charles Guſtavus* the reſpect and honours that were due to his rank and relationſhip; ſhe received love-letters from him while he was in *Germany*, and even treated him with ſome degree of affection; but in *February* 1650, ſhe publicly declared ſhe could not ſubmit to marriage, though ſhe was reſolved to ſettle her ſucceſſion agreeably to the wiſhes of her people. The ſenate, to whom ſhe made this declaration, at firſt oppoſed her reſolution, which ſhe imputed to their deſire of rendering her crown elective after her deceaſe without marrying. Her conduct, on this occaſion, was ſo firm, that *Charles Guſtavus* being nominated by her as her ſucceſſor, was received as ſuch by the ſtates of *Sweden*. He received the title of royal highneſs, with an appanage in money, but not in lands, and he took an oath to behave with the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to the queen, and an entire conformity to the intereſts of *Sweden*, for he was to conſult them even in the choice of a wife, who was to be a proteſtant. After the ſucceſſion was thus ſettled, *Chriſtina* was crowned, not at *Upſal*, the place being too ſmall for the magnificence of the ceremony, but at *Stockholm*; and ſhe was then conſidered as the happieſt and the wiſeſt princeſs in *Europe*, and the moſt powerful monarch that had ever ſate on the throne of *Sweden*.

He is declared prince ſucceſſor.

1650.

Unaccountable conduct of *Chriſtina*.

Chriſtina, however, was deſtitute of that philoſophy and true wiſdom which ſhe affected to prize, even to a ruſtic cynical degree, and to the neglecting a decent care of her perſon. At the ſame time, her court was magnificent, and ſhe ſpared no expence in procuring pictures, ſtatues, medals, and other curioſities, which ſhe did not underſtand, though ſhe ſeemed to place in them, and the converſation of learned men, the whole enjoyment of her life. The reſpectful ſubmiſſion which the prince ſucceſſor paid to her perſon, prevented the heart-burnings of ſome of her ſubjects, at ſeeing *Chriſtina* living in a manner ſo very unſuitable to their ideas, from breaking out. Several of her great nobility could not brook the favours ſhe heaped upon worthleſs favourites; they deſpiſed the arts for which ſhe valued herſelf, as being incompatible with the martial

tial ſpirit of the *Swedes*. It muſt not be diſſembled, that ſome writers repreſent the domeſtic ſituation of *Chriſtina*, at this time, in a far more favourable light, and repreſent her as reigning in the hearts of her ſubjects to the very day of her abdication. The truth perhaps lies in a mean, many might be diſcontented, but ſeveral circumſtances prove that *Chriſtina* ſtill retained her authority in the main.

State of her kingdom.

Before ſhe made her final reſolution public, *Chanut*, the *French* embaſſador, and ſeveral of her miniſters ſuſpected it, from the hints ſhe dropt. At laſt, *Chriſtina* ſent for the prince ſucceſſor, and imparted to him her deſign of reſigning the crown. *Charles*, ever ſince his being raiſed to that honour, had employed himſelf chiefly in the affairs of the army, of which he was the head, and appeared equally aſtoniſhed and dejected at the mention of the honours intended him. Had *Chriſtina* been the unpopular princeſs, which ſome have repreſented her to be, this conduct of *Charles* would have been very abſurd; but he knew that *Sweden* was then labouring under vaſt difficulties, from which ſhe could be extricated only by *Chriſtina*'s credit and authority. The *Poles* were ſtill in a ſtate of warfare with *Sweden*, and it was neceſſary that great reſumptions ſhould be made to enable the crown to maintain its luſtre, eſpecially as *Chriſtina* was to reſerve to herſelf a conſiderable appointment, which ſhe alone could effect. *Charles* applied to the other great officers of ſtate, and they joined him in their remonſtrances againſt her reſignation. *Chriſtina* appearing to be determined, her chief nobility and ſenate attended her, with *Oxenſtiern* at their head, and their repreſentations were ſo moving, being mingled with their tears, that *Chriſtina* at laſt conſented to ſuſpend the execution of her deſign, provided they did not inſiſt upon her marrying.

She narrowly eſcapes being drowned,

This great point being gained, *Chriſtina* returned to her uſual ſtudies, but ſtill without relaxing in the cares of government. As ſhe went one day with admiral *Fleming*, to ſee a ſhip launched, ſhe fell into the ſea, from a very conſiderable height, and it was almoſt by a miracle, that one of her attendants plunging in after her, dragged her to the ſhore by her hair. She ſupped that night in public, behaved with her uſual freedom, and rallied the admiral upon the accident. It appears as if *Chriſtina*, ſome time before ſhe reſigned the crown, had reformed many points of her conduct, which made her people receive the news of her final determination in 1654, with grief and aſtoniſhment. The prince ſucceſſor perceiving ſhe was not to be diverted from her purpoſe, agreed that *Gottenburg*, *Pomerania*, with the iſlands of *Oeland* and *Gothland*, ſhould be reſponſible to her for the payment of two hundred thouſand rixdollars. She filled the remainder of her reign with great wiſdom and dignity, and agreed to leave her crown to *Charles* in full ſovereignty, and unincumbered with any engagements, but the payment of her own annuity.

1654.

The

and resigns her crown.

The ceremony of her resignation was performed on the 16th of *June*, with circumstances of the most awful solemnity. She met with little opposition to her will, only she was obliged to promise to return to *Sweden* after she had passed some time at the *Spa*, for the recovery of her health, and then she resigned the badges of sovereignty, with more seeming cheerfulness than others assume them. Though she had bound up her successor and his future queen to the profession of protestantism, yet she herself was fully determined to embrace popery, and immediately left *Sweden* to go to *Rome*, where her public conduct was as weak and ridiculous, as it had been wise and respectable in *Sweden*. She assumed the habit, and affected the manners of a man, and was often heard to lament that she had been born a woman. Though she had formally resigned her crown, yet she pretended to act as sovereign in the states through which she passed, and actually ordered her guards to assassinate one of her domestics who had offended her, before her face, in the royal castle at *Fontainebleau*. She had not been long at *Rome*, before she repented having resigned her throne, and more than once paid a visit to *Sweden*, in hopes of remounting it. She was there received with diffidence and distrust, by *Charles* and the *Swedes*, and at last, she fell into absolute contempt with the whole nation; but whatever her demerits might be, it was ungenerous in *Charles* to suffer her to fall into the greatest distresses, by not paying her pension. Being disappointed in *Sweden*, she was so wrong-headed as to form intrigues for being elected queen of *Poland*, in which she was equally unsuccessful. As her history is now unconnected with that of *Sweden*, we shall only add, that after a variety of adventures, it was with difficulty that she could preserve any respect, even with the pope and the court of *Rome*, where she died in an advanced age, leaving little behind her, but an expensive, though curious, cabinet of pictures, antiques and other rarities.

Charles becomes master of *Poland*,

Charles Gustavus, soon after he mounted the throne, assembled the states of *Sweden*, to deliberate upon the state of the nation, and above all, upon its situation with regard to *Poland*, a nation which continued the inveterate enemy of *Sweden*. *Casimir* was then king of *Poland*, and had, by his embassador, strongly opposed the resignation of *Christina*, in favour of *Charles*, for which the latter ordered the embassador to leave the kingdom. *Charles*, besides his being brought up to a military life, had political reasons for reviving the martial ardour of his new subjects, as he thought it was the only means by which they could recover their importance in *Europe*. After many formal conferences between his ministers and those of *Poland*, which meant nothing on his part, but that he might commence hostilities with the better grace, he entered that kingdom with a powerful army, and with a secret intention of raising himself to its throne. The behaviour of the

Poles

Poles was infamous. They opened their gates to *Charles*, their nobility acknowledged him for their lord; nor could *Caſimir*, in all his populous country, raiſe above ten thouſand half armed peaſants for the defence of his crown and perſon, and they were routed almoſt as ſoon as the *Swedes* appeared. *Caſimir*, after ſuffering a ſecond defeat, fled to *Sileſia*, and *Charles* took *Cracow*, then deemed the capital of *Poland*. From thence he moved to *Warſaw*, where he received the ſubmiſſion and homage of almoſt all the great *Poliſh* nobility, and the *Swedes* now talked that *Caſimir*'s abdicated throne ought to be filled up by *Charles*. While this affair was under deliberation, all *Europe*, the *Roman* catholic princes eſpecially, took the alarm, at the near proſpect of ſeeing *Poland* united under ſo warlike a head. *Charles* was obliged to march to the ducal *Pruſſia*, from whence he drove the *Brandenburghers* who had invaded it; but the empire, *Holland*, *Denmark* and *Ruſſia*, now declared againſt him, and the *Poles* being abſolved from their oaths of fidelity to *Charles*, pretended they had only taken them upon compulſion. *Caſimir* returned from *Sileſia*, the *Poles* being aſſured of ſupport from abroad, were inſtantly in arms, and when *Charles* was in the ducal *Pruſſia* with part of his army, the other part, which he had left behind him in *Poland* and *Lithuania*, were ſlaughtered, few eſcaping. Upon his return, he defeated *Czarneſki*, the *Poliſh* general; but all the *Poles* he had enliſted in his army left him, and *Czarneſki* was inſtantly at the head of a freſh army. It was in vain for *Charles* to defeat all the bodies of his enemies that he ſaw in the field, for he could not protect his troops from a ſevere winter, famine and fatigue. The *Poles* kept a-loof, cut off all his convoys, and after being expoſed to the utmoſt peril and miſery, he returned to *Pruſſia*, where he meditated the ſiege of *Dantzic*.

Charles, in this flattering, but fatal, expedition, diſcovered great fortitude of body and mind. One of his generals, the marquis of *Baden*, had been defeated, but *Charles*'s brother, *Adolphus*, in his turn, beat *Czarneſki*. The *Dutch* protected *Dantzic* with twenty eight men of war, and offered their mediation, which was accepted of. *Charles*, in like manner, propoſed an accommodation with the elector of *Brandenburgh*, one of the greateſt politicians in *Europe*, and it terminated to the advantage of the latter, who thereby acquired the ſovereignty of the ducal *Pruſſia*, from whence his deſcendents derive their title of kings. *Charles* made this great ſacrifice, on condition of the electoral troops joining him in a new expedition againſt the *Poles*, over whom their combined army obtained a moſt glorious victory; but *Charles* was politically wrong in his meaſures, and his ſucceſſes in the field contributed only to the brilliancy of his martial reputation. His new ally did not wiſh him ſucceſs, and returned to defend *Pruſſia* againſt an irruption of the *Poles* and *Tartars*. The *Swediſh* general, *Steenbock*, gave them another defeat, but that did

out of which he is driven.

did not prevent the elector from inſiſting upon more advantageous terms with *Charles*, as his provinces of *Carelia*, *Ingermania* and *Livonia*, were now over-run by the *Ruſſians*, who had actually beſieged *Riga*. *Charles* and his generals were victorious on all hands. *La Gardie*, who defended *Riga*, attacked and defeated the barbarians who beſieged it; the *Poles* were cut in pieces wherever they encountered the *Swedes*, and harraſſed the troops of *Charles* by their flying parties, for which he took a body of *Tranſilvanians* into his ſervice, but with very little effect.

The warlike ſpirit of *Charles* diſplayed itſelf more and more every day. *Leopold*, king of *Hungary*, and the *Dutch*, ſollicited the court of *Denmark* to declare war againſt *Sweden*. *Leopold* was inſtigated to this by his animoſity againſt *Ragotzki*, prince of *Tranſilvania*, the *Swede*'s ally; and the *Dutch*, by their being excluded from the trade of the *Baltic*. The *Danes* had given *Sweden* no diſturbance during the abſence of *Charles*, but their king could not withſtand the flattering propoſitions made to him, and notwithſtanding the peace of *Munſter*, he declared war againſt *Charles*, among other reaſons, for his being in poſſeſſion of *Bremen*, which the *Danes* immediately invaded. *Charles* flew to the defence of his dominions, when he heard that his only ally, *Ragotzki*, had been defeated and killed by the *Turks*.

Charles and his general, *Wrangel*, as uſual, carried all before them in the field, defeated the *Danes*, and drove them out of *Holſtein* and *Bremen* with great ſlaughter; and the *Swediſh* fleet had the advantage, in a ſea fight, over that of *Denmark*. In *Poland*, where duke *Adolphus* commanded, both *Warſaw* and *Cracow* were taken from the *Swedes* by the *Imperialiſts*, and the *Swediſh* ſubjects of *Pomerania* were butchered by *Czarneſki*. *Charles* once more ſaw his dominions beſet with enemies, of whom *Denmark*, becauſe the neareſt, was the moſt dangerous; and even the elector of *Brandenburgh* had joined in the confederacy againſt him. He took the advantage of a providential froſt, to march over the ice to the iſland of *Funen*, where he defeated a body of four thouſand five hundred *Danes*, and became maſter of the whole iſland, as he did of *Langland*, *Laaland* and *Falſtre*. He proceeded to *Zealand*, with an intention, at firſt, to lay ſiege to *Copenhagen*. His progreſs aſtoniſhed, and ſeemed to diſpirit, the *Danes*, and he met with no oppoſition. Reflecting on his own circumſtances, and that the reduction of *Copenhagen* might be of as little ſervice to his affairs as that of *Cracow* had been, he preſcribed his terms to the king of *Denmark*, who was obliged to comply with them; and, by a treaty concluded at *Roſchild*, his *Daniſh* majeſty ceded to *Charles*, *Schonen*, *Halland* and *Bleking*, with *Lyſter* and *Huwen* in *Denmark*; the iſle of *Borkholm*, and *Bahus* and *Dronthein* in *Norway*.

He beſieges *Copenhagen*.

Charles, perhaps, had acted more wiſely, had his terms been more moderate. He experienced in *Denmark* what he had

had done in *Poland*, that fear had been the only motives of his enemy's conceſſions. His *Daniſh* majeſty no ſooner ſaw his dominions evacuated by the *Swedes*, than he began to put them in a reſpectable poſture of defence, and made preparations for acting offenſively in his turn. Before a declaration of war iſſued, *Charles* anticipated the blow. He gave out that his fleet was about to beſiege *Dantzic*, when all of a ſudden it appeared before *Copenhagen*. We have already ſeen how gallantly his *Daniſh* majeſty behaved on this occaſion, and how well he was ſeconded by the inhabitants of his capital, which was relieved by the *Dutch*, when it was reduced to extremity; but *Wrangel* reduced *Cronenburg*, as the *Swediſh* general, *Douglas*, did *Mittau*, from whence he carried *Ketter*, duke of *Courland*, who had declared againſt *Sweden*, priſoner to *Riga*.

See p. 439, & ſeq.

All the power of the *Dutch* could not oblige *Charles* to abandon his deſigns upon *Copenhagen*, and he perſevered ſo obſtinately in his enmity to the *Danes*, that *France* and *England*, who till then had favoured him, entered into meaſures for obliging him to give tranquillity to the north. An *Engliſh*, as well as a *Dutch* fleet, arrived in the *Sound*. *Charles* had been the favourite ally of *Cromwell* (who was now dead) and *Engliſh* commiſſioners, the chief of whom was the famous *Algernoon Sidney*, were ſent to mediate a peace between the two crowns, while the *Engliſh* admiral, *Montague*, had orders to deſiſt from all hoſtilities during the negotiation. *Charles* was a match for the *Dutch*, but he was overawed by the *Engliſh*. Notwithſtanding the proffered mediation of both, hoſtilities continued between him and the *Danes*. *Charles* invented excuſes for declining a conference with the mediators. At laſt, admitting them to his preſence, in a ſurly manner, he told them he admitted them as mediators, but not as arbiters; and putting his hand to his ſword, with a ſtern countenance, "You (ſaid he) make projects on the ſtrength of your fleets, "I carry my project by my ſide." The conferences proved unſucceſsful, through the high ſpirit of *Charles*, who was exaſperated beyond meaſure, at the breach of the treaty of *Roſchild*, and the interpoſition of the maritime powers, which he thought had an inſulting appearance. The mediators ſought to ſoothe him, by making the treaty of *Roſchild* the baſis of the negotiation; but the ſucceſſes of his arms in *Ruſſia* and *Poland*, rendered him intractable. The *Poles* had been defeated before *Riga*, the *Ruſſians* had been forced to make a peace, and *Wrangel* had beaten the *Auſtrians* and *Brandenburghers* in *Holſtein*, and obliged them to raiſe the ſiege of *Stetin*, with vaſt loſs.

His conference with the *Engliſh* miniſter. 1659.

Notwithſtanding the glory which the *Swediſh* arms obtained at this time, the high ſpirit of *Charles* muſt have been brought down, had not *Montague*, upon private intelligence received from *England*, all of a ſudden left the *Sound* with his fleet, that he might aſſiſt in the reſtoration of *Charles* the IId. The *Dutch*, on his departure, carried over a body of *Danes* to *Fu-*

xen,

nen, where they cut in pieces two thouſand *Swedes*, and forced two thouſand more, all of them excellent troops, to lay down their arms. While *Charles* was meditating to retrieve this loſs, by the aſſiſtance of the ſtates, which he aſſembled at *Gottenburg*, he was attacked by an epidemical fever, which carried him off on the 23d of *February* 1660. He was a prince who poſſeſſed all the ardour and martial ſpirit of his two great predeceſſors, *Vaſa* and *Guſtavus Adolphus*, but was deſtitute of their prudence and political abilities, and was juſt beginning to know the true intereſt of *Sweden* at the time of his death.

Death of *Charles*.

1660.

The crown of *Sweden* was now inherited by the late king's ſon, *Charles* the XIth, who was no more than five years of age. By his will, he had left his brother, *Adolphus*, regent during his ſon's minority; but the queen, who was a princeſs of great prudence and foreſight, found means to remove him, and to get all the power into her own hand. The death of the enterprizing *Charles* the Xth, was ſo far ſerviceable to the *Swedes*, that they were no longer conſidered as the formidable dictators of the north, and conſequently a peace with their enemies became practicable. The queen and the regency ordered their miniſters to make peace with the *Poles*, the emperor, and the elector of *Bavaria*. The treaty of *Oliva* was concluded, by which *John Caſimir* gave up all his claims upon *Sweden* and her crown; and the republic of *Poland* renounced thoſe ſhe had formed upon *Livonia*. A peace was likewiſe concluded with *Frederic*, king of *Denmark*, upon the footing of the late treaty of *Roſchild*, only that the *Danes* recovered *Bornholm* and *Drontheim*. All differences were accommodated, at the ſame time, with *Ruſſia* and *Holland*. The terms which the *Swedes* obtained, during the then exhauſted ſtate of their country, from ſo many powerful enemies, gives us a high idea of the abilities of their miniſters. Upon the whole, *Sweden*, through the wiſdom and moderation of the queen mother and the regency, made a very reſpectable figure in the affairs of *Europe*, during the long minority of *Charles* the XIth. The great care which was taken to preſerve the public tranquillity, gave *Sweden* time to recruit; and her mediation was treated with ſuch reſpect, that it put an end to the war between *England* and *Holland*, by the treaty of *Breda* in 1667.

Acceſſion of *Charles* the XIth.

1667.

We have already ſeen how much *Richelieu* prized the friendſhip of *Sweden*, and his example was followed by *Lewis* the XIVth. When *Charles* the XIth took the reins of government into his own hands, he conſidered the *French* king as being his ſureſt guarantee, for what his crown had obtained by the treaty of *Munſter*. *Lewis*, on the other hand, engaged to pay him a ſubſidy, to retain him in his friendſhip while he made his famous irruption into the *United Provinces* in 1672. His miniſters, however, opened his eyes to the danger of *Europe*, through the ambition of *Lewis*, and his miniſters acted as mediators in the conferences for peace held at *Cologne*; nor muſt it be forgot, that *Charles* had the glory of being one of the

He enters into the triple alliance.

1672.

p. 32.

the parties in the triple league that was formed with *England* and *Holland*, for balancing the powers of the houſe of *Bourbon*. The conferences at *Cologne* coming to nothing, through the violence of the emperor, *Charles* took part with the *French*, and invaded *Brandenburgh*, in order to detach that elector from the imperialiſts. *Wrangel*, after hoſtilities began (for *Charles* had proceeded very cautiouſly) at firſt obtained great advantages over the *Brandenburgers*, before that elector could come to the aid of his ſubjects, but in 1675, he beat the *Swedes* at *Fehr-Bellin*, and forced them to give up all their conqueſts in his electorate. The neighbouring princes ſeized on that opportunity to recover all that the *Swediſh* arms had forced them to reſign by former treaties, and *Charles* was left alone to oppoſe the joint powers of *Denmark*, the *States General*, the biſhop of *Munſter*, the duke of *Lunenburg*, and other northern potentates. He concluded a treaty with the elector of *Bavaria*, but the troops of *France* were too much employed in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, to give him any aſſiſtance. He received ſome relief by the death of *Alexis*, the czar of *Muſcovy*, as he probably would have joined the confederacy againſt him. *Charles* loſt *Verden*, to the warlike biſhop of *Munſter*, as he did almoſt all *Pomerania*, to his other enemies; while the *Danes* took *Damgarten* and *Wiſmar*. The combined fleets of *Denmark* and *Holland* ruined the marine of *Sweden*, by two dreadful defeats it received off the coaſt of *Norway*; and the king of *Denmark* carried eighteen thouſand men againſt *Helſingburg*, which he took. *Charles*, who inherited the courage which ſo peculiarly diſtinguiſhed the kings of *Sweden*, put himſelf at the head of his troops; but they were feeble, compared to thoſe of his enemies, and the *Danes* remained maſters of the fine province of *Schonen*. The *Danes* likewiſe took *Landſcroon* and *Chriſtianſtadt*.

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A powerful confederacy againſt him.

This rapid progreſs of the *Danes* was checked by the battle of *Helmſtadt*, where *Charles* cut in pieces almoſt four thouſand of the beſt troops in *Denmark*, three hundred only eſcaping, under general *Duncamp*. He after that fought the battle of *Lunden*, by which, though he could not boaſt of a victory, yet the *Danes* were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Malmoe*, and the *Swedes* ſuffered ſo ſeverely in the engagement, that their king offered to yield up *Bremen* to the duke of *Lunenburg* and the biſhop of *Munſter*, for a body of auxiliaries. In *Pomerania*, where *Coningſmark* commanded, the *Swedes* loſt *Stetin*, after a glorious defence, which reduced the garriſon from three thouſand to three hundred and twenty men; and *Zebland*, the *Swediſh* admiral, was again defeated by the *Danes*, in a ſea engagement. Upon this, the *Danes* renewed the ſiege of *Malmoe*, but were ſo vigorouſly received, that they raiſed it, as the *Swedes* did that of *Chriſtianſtadt*, after recovering *Helſinburg*. A ſecond defeat by ſea, in which the *Swedes* loſt ſeven ſhips, had almoſt completed the ruin of the *Swediſh* marine; and by land, the two kings fought the bloody, but drawn battle

He defeats the *Danes*.

1678.

battle of *Landſcroon*. In *Norway*, the *Swedes* were defeated by the *Danes*, who over-ran moſt of the iſlands belonging to *Sweden*, but count *Coningſmark* defeated the imperialiſts and *Brandenburghers* near *Stralſund*.

His fortitude.

Charles ſhewed an invincible fortitude of mind during thoſe viciſſitudes of war, and retook *Chriſtianſtadt*, though the *Danes* recovered *Helſinburg*. In *Pomerania*, *Coningſmark*, notwithſtanding his late victory, could not keep his footing. The *Brandenburghers* took the important cities of *Stralſund* and *Gripſwald*, and *Charles* ſent a fleet to bring his remaining ſoldiers from that province, but it was wrecked, and two thouſand of them periſhed. Thus *Pomerania* was entirely evacuated by the *Swedes*.

An advantageous peace for *Sweden*.

By this time, the general pacification was concluded at *Nimeguen*, and *France* was ſo generous as to inſiſt upon the *Swedes* repoſſeſſing all they were entitled to by the peace of *Weſtphalia*. The emperor made no great objection to this propoſal, to which the elector of *Brandenburgh* and his *Daniſh* majeſty were ſo averſe, that in order to evade it, they offered to enter into a ſeparate treaty with *Lewis*, who rejected all their advances. An armiſtice was agreed upon; but the elector appeared inflexible; till ſeeing that he was left ſingle to oppoſe the power of *France*, he at laſt concluded a treaty on the footing of that of *Weſtphalia*, on his obtaining from the *Swedes* the poſſeſſion of a few eſtates which lay convenient for him, acroſs the *Oder*; and at the ſame time, he engaged not to aſſiſt the enemies of *Sweden*. It is to the immortal honour of *Lewis*, that, after this, he refuſed to ſheath the ſword, till he obliged the *Danes* to reinſtate *Charles*, in all that had been taken from him ſince the commencement of the late war.

Marriage of *Charles*.

The crown of *Sweden* thus recovering its luſtre, *Charles* married the princeſs *Ulrica Eleonora*, his *Daniſh* majeſty's daughter; and convoking his eſtates, he made large reſumptions of crowns lands and palaces, while the aſſembly came to ſeveral reſolutions for reſtoring the finances, the fleet, and the army of *Sweden* to a reſpectable footing. The ſenate of *Sweden* was, at this time, a committee of the ſtates, and *Charles* artfully fomented a difference between them. He pretended that the ſenate took upon themſelves ſo much power, both over the crown and the people, that the ſtates ſerved for no more than a money court, to ſupply the exigencies of the public. The ſtates were alarmed, and they bounded the power of the ſenators ſo, that they became little better than cyphers in the affairs of government, the king not being obliged to conſult them but when he pleaſed; but at the ſame time, a new, called the grand, commiſſion, was eſtabliſhed, to enquire into the conduct, both of the miniſters and ſenators. Thoſe regulations were ſo many ſteps towards the king's acquiring abſolute power; and on pretext of taking the ſenſe of his ſtates, as to his foreign affairs, he again aſſembled them, and had the art to foment an irreconcileable difference between the nobility and

and the other orders. Thoſe of the burghers and peaſants were for reducing the public taxes, and confirming the grand commiſſion, which circumſcribed the power of the nobility. *Charles* ſeemed to take neither ſide; and at laſt, both agreed, rather than truſt each other, to make him abſolute. Thus the conſtitution of *Sweden* became to be pretty ſimilar to that of *Denmark*, and for the like reaſons. He is rendered abſolute.

The ſtates of *Sweden* ſoon were ſenſible of the value of the jewel that they had ſo inconſiderately reſigned. They had paſſed an act, by which *Charles* was left at liberty to take what meaſures he pleaſed, for the defence and welfare of his kingdom, in conſequence of which, he raiſed the nominal value of his coin ſo high, that his creditors loſt nine millions of crowns. The profound tranquillity which *Sweden* enjoyed, ſtrengthened the hands of *Charles*, but having ſecured it by the treaty of *Altena*, concluded with *Denmark* in 1689, he diſregarded all the remonſtrances of his nobility. Thoſe of *Livonia* were the moſt turbulent, and inſiſted upon the faith of thoſe articles by which they became ſubjects to *Sweden*. They pitched upon the famous *Patkul*, the braveſt and moſt accompliſhed member of their body, to ſpread their grievances before *Charles*, and to plead the cauſe of public liberty at the foot of his throne. *Patkul* diſcharged his commiſſion with a noble freedom and intrepidity, which *Charles* conſtrued into rebellion and mutiny. The whole body underwent a proceſs, and were convicted of high treaſon, but *Patkul* alone was condemned to loſe his head and his right hand, with his honours and eſtates, and to undergo other marks of ignominy. To prevent the execution of this cruel ſentence, he fled, and took ſervice under a foreign power. Though thoſe proceedings rendered the *Swedes* and the *Livonians* ſlaves, yet it added vaſt luſtre to *Charles*. His friendſhip was courted by all the powers of *Europe*, he became the arbiter of their differences, and the conferences at *Ryſwick*, for a general peace, were begun under his mediation. While that negotiation was going forward, *Charles* died, in the forty ſecond year of his age, on the 15th of *April* 1697. When we conſider all circumſtances, we are apt to think that *Charles* the XIth was the moſt powerful king that ever reigned in *Sweden*. His dominions were not, indeed, ſo extenſive as thoſe of many of his predeceſſors, but the poſſeſſion of them were far better ſecured, and leſs liable to revolutions, while *Charles* himſelf was maſter of the purſes, as well as the liberties, of his ſubjects. Though he was a wiſe and moderate prince, with regard to foreign affairs, yet his proceedings towards the *Livonian* nobility, whoſe ſentence he commuted into that of perpetual impriſonment, and towards *Patkul*, prove him to have been a determined tyrant, and an enemy to the liberties of his people. He plunders his ſubjects. Hiſtory of *Patkul*. 1697. Death of *Charles*.

The peace of *Ryſwick*, which ſecured to *Charles* XII. the poſſeſſion of all his dominions, left his grand-mother, who was appointed regent during his minority, little public buſineſs to attend, Acceſſion of *Charles* the XIIth.

attend, but to ſoften the rugged, obſtinate diſpoſition of her grand-ſon, which was already but too apparent. Perhaps the hiſtory of no prince is better known than that of *Charles* the XIIth, which facilitates the writing of it at this time. We ſhall omit the anecdotes of his childhood, becauſe they are neither very inſtructive, nor well authenticated, and thoſe given us by Mr. *Voltaire*, partake too much of the hiſtorian's manner, to obtain credit. Though the late king had fixed the majority of his ſon to the age of eighteen, yet the precedent of the great *Guſtavus*, and the impatience of *Charles* himſelf, to take into his hands the reins of government, favoured the deſign of his two favourites, the famous count *Piper* and *Alix Sparre*, in their attempt to ſet aſide the will of *Charles* the XIth, in which they were perfectly ſucceſsful with the ſtates, to the great mortification of the queen regent, who was a woman of unbounded ambition, though of middling abilities. This laid the foundation of *Piper*'s intereſt with *Charles*, who, from his favourite, became his miniſter, *Sparre* being little more than his agent. The coronation of *Charles* was magnificent, and for a day or two he was prevailed upon to lead a ſocial civil life. He reſumed it at the time that the duke of *Holſtein* arrived at *Stockholm* to marry his ſiſter. It was about this period that *Charles* gave a very diſagreeable ſpecimen of his diſpoſition, by putting marſhal *Bielk* under arreſt, without ſpecifying his crime, and placing centinels in his chamber, to prevent his ſpeaking, even to his wife. It is ſurprizing that *Voltaire* ſhould pretend that the duke of *Holſtein* and his ſpouſe, at this juncture, took refuge in *Sweden*, ſince nothing can be more certain, than that they were married after *Charles* came to that crown. The king of *Denmark*, it is ſaid, had broken the treaty of *Altena*; *Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*, at the inſtigation of *Patkul*, who had taken refuge at his court, had formed deſigns againſt *Livonia*, as the czar, *Peter*, had upon *Ingria*; and all thoſe three princes, were encouraged in their ungenerous projects, by the cold, dogged diſpoſition of *Charles*, which gave them a mean opinion of his abilities; but they were fatally deceived.

who is crowned.

He alters his habit and manners, on hearing of the confederacy againſt him.

Thoſe three princes reſolved to fall upon the dominions of *Charles* at once. When certain intelligence arrived of their preparations, *Charles*, who before that time had always behaved like a changeling at the council board, all of a ſudden aſſumed a new character, declared he was reſolved to head his own armies, and to puniſh that prince who ſhould attack him firſt, to ſtrike terror into the others, but that he never would forgive him. This declaration, to which he was ever afterwards brutally conſtant, ſtruck his counſellors with admiration, little knowing how dear it would coſt their country. He altered his habits and manners of life at the ſame time. He left off the finery of dreſs, for plain coarſe cloaths, and his table was no better ſerved than that of one of his ſubalterns; but, perhaps, the only true heroic virtue he ever exerted, was

was his denying himſelf from thenceforth the uſe of wine, becauſe it inſpired him with a diſpoſition more brutal than what he had received from nature. In a few weeks all the north was involved in the flames of war. The duke of *Holſtein* oppoſed the *Danes*, at the head of eight thouſand *Swedes*, after he had loſt almoſt all his dominions; and the jealouſy of the *Dutch*, leſt the king of *Denmark* ſhould ſhut them out of the *Baltic*, rendered them the duke's friends, as guarantees of the treaty of *Altena*. *Charles* underſtanding that the *Saxons* had entered *Livonia*, ſettled the departments that were to take care of his affairs during his abſence, and embarked on board his fleet, conſiſting of forty-three ſhips of war, the largeſt carrying a hundred and twenty guns. General *Renſchild* ſerved under him, and having joined the *Dutch* fleet, he began to bombard *Copenhagen*; and *Charles*, with all the deliberation of an old warrior, landed his troops to beſiege it by land.

He himſelf was among the firſt who reached the ſhore, by throwing himſelf into the ſea out of his chaloupe, and wading with the water above his waiſt. The *Danes* durſt not ſtand the charge, and fled; and *Charles*, (who was devout ſometimes, even to enthuſiaſm) when he took poſſeſſion of their entrenchments, publicly thanked God, upon his knees, for his ſucceſs. His diſpoſitions for the ſiege ſoon brought deputies from the city, to know at what price they could mitigate his diſpleaſure; *Charles* demanded four hundred thouſand crowns, and a ſupply of proviſions for his camp, which, to the amazement of the *Danes*, were punctually paid for, even by the meaneſt ſoldier of the *Swedes*. *Charles*, on this occaſion, behaved like a prince who had been all his life enured to victories. His camp was as regular as a well policed city; and when the king of *Denmark* returned from *Holſtein*, inſtead of ſtripping that duke of his dominions, he ſaw himſelf in danger of loſing his own capital. Nothing could exceed the moderation of *Charles*. He informed his *Daniſh* majeſty that he might have peace, by doing juſtice to the duke of *Holſtein*, and the treaty of *Travendahl* was inſtantly concluded, by which the duke of *Holſtein* was indemnified for the expences of the war, and re-eſtabliſhed in his dominions. All *Europe* was ſtartled, equally by the wiſdom, as by the ſpirit of enterprize with which *Charles*, at the age of eighteen, conducted this expedition. The public, from having the meaneſt opinion of his abilities, began to think him inſpired. No more than ſix weeks brought this war to a glorious concluſion for the ally of *Charles*.

He defeats the *Danes*, and beſieges *Copenhagen*.

Peter Alexiowitz, of *Ruſſia*, whoſe name does honour to hiſtory, was under the ſame miſtake that had miſled his *Daniſh* majeſty. He thought it was eaſy for him to conquer, from a raw unexperienced ſtripling, the territories that formerly belonged to *Ruſſia*; and while the king of *Poland* was beſieging *Riga*, without effect, he was ravaging *Ingria*, at the head of

He gains the battle of *Narva*.

eighty thouſand men. In *October* he had laid ſiege to *Narva*, a weak town, but bravely defended by the *Swediſh* baron *Hern*. The duke *de Croix* was the *Ruſſian* general, and *Peter* ſerved under him as a ſubaltern. Both of them, ſenſible of the inexperience of the *Ruſſians* in the art of war, fortified their camp, on hearing that *Charles* was approaching to raiſe the ſiege, and *Peter* left it, that he might haſten the march of thirty thouſand additional troops. Thoſe under *Charles* did not exceed twenty thouſand; and ſuch were the diſpoſitions of the *Ruſſians*, that he muſt beat two armies, each more numerous than his were, before he could raiſe the ſiege. His intrepidity ſupplied the place of numbers. *Charles* was ſo impatient, that he advanced, at the head of eight thouſand men, and beat the three diviſions of the enemy. He then, againſt the advice of his generals, attacked the main body, and gained over them a complete victory. Such of them as eſcaped from the battle ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, among whom were the duke *de Croix*, and the other *Ruſſian* general officers. A body of thirty thouſand men, who lay at a diſtance, followed their example, and *Charles*, at the head of eight thouſand *Swedes*, had the glory to ſee thirty thouſand of his enemies, with their officers, lay their arms at his feet. His magnanimity was as conſpicuous as his ſucceſs; for he detained the general officers, but ſuffered the ſubalterns and common men to return to their own country. He was even ſo generous as to relieve the wants of the duke *de Croix*, and the other *Ruſſian* generals, with preſents of money, and he expunged, with his own hand, every favourable mention that was made of himſelf in the public accounts of the victories he had gained. The czar heard of thoſe mortifying events at *Narva*, with aſtoniſhment, and his barbarous ſubjects attributed them to necromancy.

He invades *Poland*.

This ſucceſs did not diſcourage *Peter*, with whom the lives of men were of ſmall conſideration. He renewed his alliance with *Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*, who had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Riga*. Nothing could ſtop the rapidity of *Charles*. He paſſed the *Duna*, to attack the *Saxons* under marſhal *Stenau*, who, at firſt, diſordered the *Swedes*, till they were rallied by *Charles*, and dearly earned a victory. He then took poſſeſſion of *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, from whence he paſſed to *Lithuania*, all places ſubmitting to him in his march, and planned the dethroning of the king of *Poland*, which he purſued with invincible obſtinacy, becauſe he knew that the czar and his *Poliſh* majeſty had formed an alliance, which might have proved fatal, not only to the north, but to all *Europe*. *Charles* knew that the *Poles* were diſſatisfied with their king, becauſe he governed them by *Saxon* officers and miniſters. Part of the *Poles* ſought the protection of *Charles*; and in the heart of *Poland*, ſo ſound was his judgment at that time, he raiſed a party againſt her king. He had, by his miniſter *Piper*, formed ſecret connections with the cardinal primate,

mate, and *Auguſtus* ſaw the *Poles* in general ſo determined againſt him, that, out of indignation, he reſolved to apply for peace to *Charles*. *Auguſtus*, the moſt voluptuous prince of his time, who thought that he could not employ a better agent, with a young prince, than one of the fineſt women in *Europe*, ſent the counteſs of *Coningſmark*, a *Swede* by birth, as his embaſſadreſs to *Charles*, who refuſed to ſee her. This is an extraordinary inſtance of ſelf-diſtruſt. It has been ſaid, that *Charles* had an early inclination for that lady; but be that as it will, his thoughts were ſo wholly abſorbed in war and politics, that all her engaging arts proved vain, though *Charles* readily admitted the deputies of the ſenate to an audience. At firſt he ſeemed favourable to their applications, and told them that he had taken arms to defend them againſt the *Saxon* government; but ſoon after, he told them they ſhould know his mind at *Warſaw*. He advanced to that city, from which *Auguſtus*, being deſerted by the *Poliſh* nobility, was obliged to retire. *Charles* became maſter of that capital, and of *Cracow*; and in a conference he had with the primate of *Poland*, who acted as embaſſador from *Auguſtus*, the depoſition of that prince from the throne was finally concluded. *Auguſtus* brought in his *Saxon* army, to ſupport the few *Poles* that remained firm to their allegiance. The *Saxons* were thirty thouſand in number, and were ſuppoſed to be as fine and as well diſciplined a body as any in *Europe*. Their ſituation was thought to be inacceſſible, but *Charles*, at the head of no more than twelve thouſand *Swedes*, beat them, killed four thouſand, and took two thouſand priſoners. His great ſucceſſes in that kingdom.

Soon after this battle was fought, *Charles* had, by a fall from his horſe, broken his thigh bone, which occaſioned the report of his death to be ſpread all over *Europe*. During his illneſs, he expreſſed the ſame unrelenting animoſity as before, againſt the king of *Poland*. He ordered a *Poliſh* diet to be convoked at *Warſaw*, and he again beat the *Saxons* under general *Stenau*. *Auguſtus* retired to his electoral dominions, while *Charles* took *Thorn*, and ſent the garriſon, who had ſurrendered at diſcretion, priſoners to *Sweden*. *Charles*, about this time, ſeems to have loſt all feelings, but for the gratification of his own revenge, for he cannot be ſaid to have been ambitious, at leaſt not according to the general acceptation of the word. Even his virtues proceeded from caprice, rather than any ſteady reſolution of doing good. He put the towns of *Dantzic* and *Elbing* under heavy contributions, and puniſhed them ſeverely, becauſe they offered to diſpute his will. He affected to leave the diet, he ordered to be convened at *Warſaw*, at liberty in their proceedings, though he knew that the terror of his arms had made them reſolve to dethrone *Auguſtus*, which they actually did. He offered the crown of *Poland* to the *Sobieſki* family, but the two elder brothers being carried priſoners to *Leipſic*, prince *Alexander Sobieſki* refuſed the crown, to the great diſappointment of *Charles*. *Piper* adviſed His ca-pricious character. His war with *Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*.

viſed him to take it himſelf, but he rather choſe to beſtow a crown than accept of one. *Staniſlaus Leczinſki*, who had come as a deputy from the diet at *Warſaw* to *Charles*, captivated him by his appearance, which was equally filled with dignity and ſweetneſs. Upon enquiring into his character, *Charles* determined to give him the crown of *Poland*; and, notwithſtanding the applications of the primate to the contrary, he gave notice to the diet at *Warſaw*, that in five days time they muſt chuſe *Staniſlaus*, and no other, for their king, which they accordingly did. *Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*, was a prince of great courage and unbounded generoſity. He was immenſely rich, and maſter of the fineſt province in the empire, that of *Saxony*. For ſome time he made an oppoſition to *Staniſlaus*, whom he had almoſt ſurprized at *Warſaw*, while *Charles* was reducing the town of *Leopold*, in which he found vaſt treaſures. In the flight of *Staniſlaus* from *Warſaw*, which was entered by *Auguſtus*, at the head of twenty thouſand men, the nurſe of one of his daughters, who is now queen of *France*, hid her in a manger, where ſhe was happily diſcovered; and in the mean while, *Auguſtus* obliged count *Horn*, whom *Charles* had appointed governor of *Warſaw*, to capitulate, and to ſurrender himſelf and his garriſon, which conſiſted of fifteen hundred *Swedes*, priſoners at diſcretion.

Charles hearing of the ſurrender of *Warſaw*, returned from *Leopold*, with his army, and beat *Schulenberg*, one of the moſt experienced officers in *Europe*; but he made a moſt glorious retreat from *Charles*, while *Auguſtus* retired to *Dreſden*. By his retreat, *Charles* was maſter of *Poland*; but the *Ruſſians* took *Narva*, and ſome other places, and treated the brave count *Horn* and his officers moſt barbarouſly.

1705. whom he defeats. In 1705, the pope declared himſelf in favour of *Auguſtus*, which was of infinite diſſervice to *Staniſlaus*; but at laſt, after many difficulties, he was crowned at *Warſaw*. Czar *Peter*, far from being affected or daunted at the fate of *Auguſtus*, invaded *Poland* with a hundred thouſand men, and ſixty thouſand *Coſſacks*. They deſtroyed the eſtates of all who adhered to *Staniſlaus*; but they were ſoon driven out of *Poland* by *Charles*; and the *Swediſh* general, *Renſchild*, beat the *Saxon* army under *Schulemberg*. *Renſchild* made a barbarous uſe of his victory, by maſſacring, in cold blood, a thouſand of his *Ruſſian* priſoners; but it was ſo complete, that *Charles* had now no obſtacle to his entering *Saxony*, which he did with twenty-four thouſand men, defying and deſpiſing all the menaces of the diet at *Ratiſbon*. *Auguſtus* was then at *Cracow*, and in great hopes of recovering his crown, by the aſſiſtance of the *Ruſſians*, when he heard that *Charles* was in poſſeſſion of his electorate. It is ſaid, to the honour of *Charles*, from the beſt authorities, that while he was in *Saxony*, the inhabitants lived in perfect ſecurity, both as to their perſons and properties; but he taxed the government moſt unmercifully, and obliged the people to furniſh his ſoldiers with neceſſaries.

His

His orders on that head, were so strict and so well obeyed, that the *Saxons* at last were reduced to beggary, through the extravagant demands made upon them by *Charles*. *Augustus*, finding himself abandoned on all hands, threw himself upon the generosity of *Charles*, and commissioned his ministers to make the best peace for him they could. The answer of *Charles*, to this distressful application, was, that their master should for ever renounce the crown of *Poland*, and acknowledge *Stanislaus*; that he should abandon the enemies of *Sweden*, release the *Sobieski* princes, all his *Swedish* prisoners, and deliver up the brave count *Patkul*, who was then in his service; besides agreeing to several other mortifying conditions: all which he drew up with his own hand, and forbade *Piper* to abate the smallest circumstance.

He invades *Saxony*.

The exorbitancy of *Charles*'s demands proved favourable to *Augustus*. *Germany* and the other powers of *Europe* took his part, and prince *Menzikof*, the *Russian* general, entered *Poland* with thirty thousand men, without knowing that *Augustus*, at that time, was in actual treaty with the king of *Sweden*. His arrival rendered the situation of *Augustus* extremely embarrassing. He was under apprehensions, equally from his ally as his enemy; but the *Russians*, against his intentions, beat the *Swedish* general, *Meyerfeld*; upon which he once more regained possession of *Warsaw*. This, from a consciousness of his having tampered with *Charles*, served only to accelerate an accommodation between them. He accepted of the terms prescribed by *Charles*, but hoped to mollify them, by paying him an open confidential visit. He met with *Charles* in count *Piper*'s tent, but found him exasperated, instead of being rendered more tractable, by *Meyerfeld*'s defeat. They dined together, and *Augustus* endeavoured to prevail with *Charles* to desist from claiming *Patkul*, who was at that time actually embassador from the czar of *Muscovy* at his court. *Charles* was so far from relaxing upon that or any other point urged by *Augustus*, that he rose in his rigid terms. He obliged *Augustus* to sign an order for delivering up *Patkul*. *Augustus*, sensible of the horror of such an action, sent a private order to the officer who had *Patkul* in custody (for he had been already arrested) to suffer him to escape. The officer knew *Patkul* had money, and began to bargain with him, without discloſing his master's orders. *Patkul*, not dreaming that he was not safe by his public character, refused to gratify the avarice of the officer, and while they were in dispute, a *Swedish* party took him into custody. It is to the eternal infamy of *Charles*, that he ordered the brave *Patkul* to be tried, condemned, and broken upon the wheel, with every circumstance of barbarity and cruelty. The pretext was, that being a subject of *Sweden*, he had served under the enemies of *Charles*; and it was in vain for him to urge, that being proscribed for pleading the capitulations of his countrymen, the *Livonians*, he had transferred his allegiance, and was then in a public character.

Barbarous execution of *Patkul*.

This violation which *Charles* committed againſt the laws, not only of nations, but humanity, paſſed unreſented by the other princes of *Europe*, whoſe ſituation was ſuch at this time, that *Charles* actually held the balance of power in his own hand, and each preſſed forward to court his alliance. The czar ſtormed and remonſtrated, but all in vain; and at laſt, perceiving that *Charles*, who was then in *Saxony*, had ſuch a contempt for the *Poles*, that he had left but a handful to keep their country in awe, he fell into it with ſixty thouſand men, and dethroned *Staniſlaus* in the ſame manner as *Charles* had dethroned *Auguſtus*; but upon the return of *Staniſlaus*, with ſome *Swediſh* troops, the czar retired to *Lithuania*, and *Staniſlaus* recovered his intereſt in *Poland*.

Charles pays a viſit to *Auguſtus*.

Charles, all this while, remained in *Saxony*, where he had his pride and vanity gratified to the full, in ſeeing the moſt powerful princes in *Europe* courting his alliance. Even the victorious duke of *Marlborough* made him compliments on the part of his miſtreſs, queen *Anne*, and thought it equal to a victory, when he had reaſon to believe that *Charles* did not intend to take part with *France*. The haughty court of *Vienna* was forced to deliver up a priſoner, one of its chief miniſters, who had put a ſlight upon a *Swediſh* envoy; and had not fifteen hundred *Ruſſians*, who had fled from the *Swedes* and taken refuge in *Germany*, fortunately made their eſcape, *Charles* would have forced the emperor to deliver them up in chains. But while *Charles* had thus the glory of ſeeing his homely court and mean dreſt perſon, attended by foreign embaſſadors, each ſtriving to outdo the other in their reſpectful ſubmiſſions to his will, his brain was turned upon the means of dethroning the czar; and imitating the example of his predeceſſor, the great *Guſtavus*, in *Germany*, he obliged the emperor to reſtore to his proteſtant ſubjects their churches. So greatly did he deſpiſe *Auguſtus*, after he had obliged him to renounce the title of king of *Poland*, that he paid him a viſit at *Dreſden*, attended by no more than three or four gentlemen; but without relaxing in the tyrannical terms he demanded. This was an adventure that indicated madneſs itſelf, but *Auguſtus* was too magnanimous to take advantage of it; and *Charles*, all of a ſudden, appeared in the middle of his troops, while they were deliberating how they ſhould proceed had he been detained a priſoner.

He defeats the *Ruſſians* anew.

The more that the courts of *Rome*, *Vienna*, *Dreſden* and *Peterſburgh* complained of the unrelenting firmneſs of *Charles*, he grew the more obſtinate, till, through the perpetual conceſſions of the emperor and *Auguſtus*, all his demands were gratified, and then he made diſpoſitions for evacuating the empire. He had then ſeventy thouſand excellent troops on foot, and he left *Germany* at the head of forty-three thouſand of them. Arriving in *Poland*, he found czar *Peter* there with an army of ſixty thouſand men, upbraiding *Auguſtus* for the meanneſs of his conduct, and endeavouring to revive the party

that

that had formerly declared themſelves againſt the *Swedes*. Hearing, however, that *Charles* was approaching, he quitted *Grodno*, and the *Swedes* cut in pieces a party of two thouſand *Ruſſians*. The alarm of *Peter*'s army was ſo great, that it made no head againſt *Charles* in a body. The latter left *Lewenhaupt* to command under *Staniſlaus*, with twenty thouſand men in *Poland*, and *Peter* retired, before *Charles*, towards the *Boriſthenes*. At laſt, with great difficulty, *Peter* brought twenty thouſand of his beſt troops to make a ſtand within their entrenchments, at a place called *Holloſin*. *Charles*, though at the head only of his own foot guards and a party of horſe, attacked and routed them, though their ſituation was thought to be inacceſſible, and they retreated acroſs the *Boriſthenes*. It is ſaid that *Charles*, in this action, diſplayed greater military talents than ever he did in any other of his life; but his conduct and intrepidity in the day of battle, were, perhaps, inferior to his providence and perſeverance, in carrying an army over wilds and moraſſes, acroſs rivers and mountains, where probably no human creature ever appeared before. *Charles*, notwithſtanding his natural modeſty, ſuffered this march to be commemorated on a medal; and it is remarkable, that when he was leading his troops on horſeback to the attack, he reſigned his horſe to a young *Swediſh* gentleman, who was diſabled from marching on foot by a wound. What makes this expedition ſtill more wonderful, is its being performed in the middle of a ſevere winter, while the ground was covered with froſt and ſnow; and though the country round did not afford ſubſiſtence, even for wild beaſts, yet ſo great had been the foreſight of *Charles*, in erecting magazines, that his ſoldiers never were without bread and proviſions.

His regular diſcipline.

We can account for this by the immenſe contributions that *Charles* raiſed in *Saxony*, *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, which enabled him and his ſoldiers to pay ready money for whatever they received. This punctuality was the wiſeſt and moſt admirable part of the *Swediſh* diſcipline, as it habituated his ſoldiers to ſobriety and ſubmiſſion. It would exceed our bounds to recount the inferior actions, ſome of which were very conſiderable, that happened in the courſe of this celebrated march. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the *Swedes* were victorious in every encounter; and at laſt, the czar ſent a *Poliſh* gentleman, after he had repaſſed the *Boriſthenes*, to offer *Charles* terms. *Charles* haughtily replied, that he would treat with him at *Moſcow*, and purſued *Peter* in his retreat towards *Smolenſko*. Near that city, on the 22d of *September* 1708, he fell in with ten thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand *Calmuck Tartars*, though *Charles* had with him no more than ſix regiments of horſe. *Charles* attacked the enemies horſe, and put them into diſorder, but purſuing them at the head of only his *Oſtrogothic* regiment, he fell in with an ambuſh of the *Calmucks*, who ſurrounded and cut him off from the reſt of his army. *Charles* had never been in ſuch imminent danger. His horſe was ſhot; he ſaw

1708.

his

his braveſt officers killed by his ſide; he ſlew twelve of the enemy with his own hand; and at laſt he was reduced to oppoſe thouſands, at the head of no more than five perſons. As he was ſinking under numbers, one of his colonels, named *Dardof*, with a ſingle company of his regiment, cut his way through the *Calmucks*, and relieved *Charles*, by giving time for the reſt of his regiments to come up. Without reflecting on his danger or deliverance, he mounted a freſh horſe, and continued the purſuit of his enemies.

His great danger.

Fortune turns againſt him.

This engagement may be called the criſis of *Charles*'s good fortune, which had been hitherto ſo remarkable, that he had not ſo much as received a wound during all his perilous conflicts. The reſt of his life was filled with miſconduct and misfortunes. Had he reflected on his own ſituation, he might have eaſily diſcovered that the *Ruſſians* were no longer the contemptible troops that *Peter* had found them, but were every day gaining upon the *Swedes* in point of diſcipline. It is true, they had not yet been brought to ſtand the impetuoſity of his charge, but freſh troops were daily arriving, and the czar himſelf had acquired great knowledge in the art of war, and had, at that time, the reputation of being one of the beſt generals in *Europe*; while the troops of *Charles* were weakened by their victories, and the only reſource he had, was fifteen thouſand men which *Lewenhaupt* was bringing to *Lithuania*.

His injudicious and difficult march.

Inſtead of waiting for this reinforcement, or of purſuing his march towards *Moſcow*, from which he was diſtant only a hundred leagues, *Charles*, who on all other occaſions was inflexibly obſtinate, was perſuaded by *Mazeppa*, the hetman of the *Coſſacks*, to turn off towards the *Ukraine*. This *Mazeppa* was a *Pole*, and owned allegiance to the czar, but the latter having affronted him, he agreed to betray him to *Charles*, and to join him with thirty thouſand men, and all kinds of ſtores and ammunition. With this romantic view it was that *Charles* ſtruck off from *Mohilow*, a ſmall town on the banks of the *Boriſthenes*, and advanced towards the *Deſna*, on *Mazeppa*'s promiſing to join him between thoſe two rivers. This march was more unfortunate than any he had yet performed, the country being more encumbered with woods and moraſſes, in which *Charles* loſt his artillery and horſes. To complete his misfortunes, his magazines of proviſions were now exhauſted, and he arrived on the banks of the *Deſna*, which were lined with eight thouſand *Ruſſians*, without hearing of *Mazeppa*, and being harraſſed all the way by his enemies, who cut off numbers of his troops. Nothing could daunt *Charles*, and though his army had been led thirty miles out of his right road, he beat the *Ruſſians* from the *Deſna*, and continued his advantages, though nothing but waſtes and wilds before his eyes. No people but the *Swedes* would have followed the king, and no king but *Charles* could have led on troops under ſuch circumſtances; for even his general officers were ignorant of his engagements with *Mazeppa*.

At

At last that general appeared, at the head of five or six thousand miserable troops, to announce his own hard fate, and to inform *Charles* that all their joint schemes had been discovered and defeated by the *Muscovites*, who had butchered his friends, seized upon his magazines, and laid his towns in ashes. *Charles* comforted himself, that by the arrival of *Mazeppa* his army would be supplied with provisions, and in the mean while he sent off dispatches, ordering *Lewenhaupt* to quicken his march to join him. That general passed the *Boristhenes* above *Mohilow*, and escorted eight thousand waggons with money and provisions. When he was advanced between the *Boristhenes* and the *Sossa*, the *Russian* army appeared, near the village of *Lesnau*, under the czar in person. *Menzikof* and general *Bahr*, two of his best general officers, served under him; and though *Lewenhaupt*, for three days together, fought with incredible courage, he was at last defeated by the obstinate perseverance of the czar, who ordered his troops to fire upon himself, if he should give way. Authors differ with regard to the numbers, and *Voltaire* is positive that the army of the *Russians* did not exceed twenty thousand men; but other accounts, which seem to come nearer the truth, make them amount to double that number. Be that as it will, it is certain, that in three days engagements, *Lewenhaupt* lost above eight thousand men, seventeen pieces of artillery, and forty-four pair of colours, besides having about a thousand men taken prisoners. In his retreat, he continued to fight with intrepidity; nor could all the repeated efforts of *Peter* and his generals, who had been strengthened with fresh reinforcements, prevent his joining *Charles* with four thousand men, after losing all his waggons, and, according to the *Swedish* accounts, (which seem to be exaggerated) killing thirty thousand of his enemies. The distress of the *Swedish* army, during the severe winter of 1708, is no more to be described, than the patience and perseverance of *Charles* amidst such complicated horrors. He saw two thousand of his troops perish in one day with cold; the survivors were, for the most part, destitute of all clothing, but what they made up from the skins of wild beasts, and their communication was cut off between *Sweden* and *Poland*. *Charles* still went on, but in *April* 1709, he found his army reduced to seventeen thousand men, with whom he resolved to get possession of the *Russian* magazines at *Pultowa*. He had, by this time, heard of the death of his sister, the duchess of *Holstein*, and of the bad situation of his affairs on the frontiers, in *Ingria*, where his troops had been defeated by the *Russian* general, *Apraxin*. The country round *Pultowa* was inhabited by the *Zaporavians*, the most savage of all the *Ukrainers*, and the town itself is situated on the river *Worsklaw*, near a chain of mountains on the north; and by the assistance of *Mazeppa*, *Charles* had formed some regiments of *Zaporavians*, *Cossacks*, and *Walachians*, which raised his army to about thirty thousand men, but destitute of arms, and

He besieges *Pultowa*,

1709.

and ſubſiſting only on the proviſions which were procured to them by *Mazeppa*'s credit.

where he is totally defeated.

Notwithſtanding all the madneſs of *Charles*'s conduct, had he ſucceeded in reducing *Pultowa*, he might ſtill have made his march good to *Moſcow*, and that he did not ſucceed, was owing only to a variety of accidents. *Pultowa* being inveſted, *Charles* found himſelf without the means of carrying on his approaches, or of preventing *Menzikof* from throwing in relief to the garriſon, which conſiſted of above ſix thouſand men, and were therefore ſtrong enough to diſappoint all *Mazeppa*'s intrigues within the place, on which *Charles* had great dependence. Now was the time that *Peter* ſaw his prophecy fulfilled, that his ſubjects, by being often beat, would, in the end, learn to beat the *Swedes*. Senſible of the importance of *Pultowa*, he aſſembled a body of ſixty thouſand regulars, whom he diſpoſed in a moſt maſterly manner, and all his motions diſcovered how great a proficient he had become in the art of war. The river *Worſklaw* was between him and *Charles*, who, perceiving that he was in a manner ſurrounded, without calling a council of war, ordered his general, *Renſchild*, to prepare for attacking the *Ruſſians* next day; but in the intermediate time, *Charles* had received a wound in the heel, which diſabled him from ſitting on horſeback, and therefore he was carried at the head of his army in a litter.

Peter's vaſt ſuperiority in numbers did not diminiſh his caution, for he fortified his camp with a moſt aſtoniſhing train of artillery, raiſed upon redoubts, and *Charles* gave general *Slippenbach* orders to begin the attack. This he performed with ſo much intrepidity, in the mouth of ſeventy cannon, that the *Swedes* took two redoubts; and *Charles*, thinking that he was now in poſſeſſion of victory, diſpatched *Creuts*, one of his generals, with five thouſand horſe, to attack the *Ruſſians* in flank, but *Creuts* loſt his way, as *Charles* did the battle. *Peter* and the other *Ruſſian* generals, leaving the fury of the *Swedes* to ſpend itſelf, advanced out of their entrenchments, and attacked in their turn, while prince *Menzikof* made ſo fine a motion, that he took poſt between *Pultowa* and the *Swediſh* army, after cutting in pieces a reſerved body of three thouſand. *Peter* led on the *Ruſſians*, as *Charles* did the *Swedes*, in perſon. The hat and cloaths of the former were ſhot through, the horſes of the latter were killed, and his litter ſhattered to pieces by a cannon ball; but the match was no longer equal. The *Swediſh* ammunition failed; *Slippenbach* and *Renſchild* were taken priſoners, and *Peter*, who acted as major general under *Zermetoff*, leading up a choſen body of ten thouſand men, fairly defeated the *Swedes*, without any other advantage than what their courage and diſcipline gave them. *Charles* now loſt the name of *invincible*, and reſolved to fly, perceiving the battle to be irretrievable on his part. He muſt, however, have fallen into the hands of his enemies, had not the *Poliſh* general, *Poniatowſki*, who ſerved under him as a volunteer, formed a body

a body of five hundred men around him, and carried him off, through ten regiments of *Ruſſians*, to the place where his baggage was, and there putting him into count *Piper*'s coach, he fled towards the *Boriſthenes*, on the banks of which they joined the remains of his army, under *Lewenhaupt*.

His loſs, and flight to the *Turkiſh* territories.

In the battle of *Pultowa*, *Charles* loſt nine thouſand men, killed, and ſix thouſand taken priſoners, and ſix millions of crowns that were in his military cheſt. While *Charles* was paſſing the *Boriſthenes*, prince *Menzikof* came up at the head of ten thouſand men, and forced *Lewenhaupt* and his army to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, without obtaining any other terms than having their lives ſpared. Thoſe troops were afterwards baniſhed to *Siberia*, in the wilds of which they introduced manufactures and arts to the acquaintance of the *Ruſſians*. Among the other *Swediſh* priſoners was count *Piper*, who died in *Muſcovy*. In the mean while, *Charles* travelled over a frightful deſert, in a poor calaſh. His wound was attended with a fever, which brought on a lowneſs of his ſpirits, ſo that he had ſcarcely any appearance of that implacable warrior who had dethroned kings and given laws to *Europe*. The *Swedes* who attended him were in danger of periſhing with thirſt, amidſt burning, dreary, deſerts, till they came to a muddy pool, which relieved them and their monarch. He then purſued his journey to *Oczakow*, and in five days reached the *Bogh*, on the banks of which that town ſtands. The governor of *Oczakow* made, at firſt, ſome difficulty in furniſhing him with boats, which at laſt he agreed to; but before *Charles* reached the farther ſhore, the *Ruſſians*, who were in purſuit of him, came up, and carried off ſeven hundred of his attendants priſoners, at which he is ſaid to have ſhed tears. Upon his arrival at *Oczakow*, he reſumed his former ſpirit, and ſeverely reprimanded the governor, but accepted of a magnificent equipage from the *Turkiſh* ſeraſkier, to carry him to *Bender*, the capital of his government, where he was moſt nobly entertained. Inſtead of accepting an invitation to enter the city, his fondneſs for a military life made him form an encampment on the banks of the *Nieſter*, where he and his attendants lodged.

His behaviour at *Bender*.

Charles there ſettled his houſhold, and wrote in a ſovereign ſtile to the *Othman* court. He was ſhocked to underſtand that, through the omiſſion of ſome formalities, ſeveral weeks paſſed before his letter found acceſs to the *Turkiſh* emperor. Having recovered his health, he reſumed his martial exerciſes, and with them, the thoughts of being revenged on his enemies, and even of dethroning the czar. In this he was well ſerved by his friend *Poniatowſki*, the ſame whoſe ſon now fills the throne of *Poland*, and who acted with ſo much addreſs at the *Porte*, that he gained the emperor's mother to the intereſt of *Charles*. His favourite, while he remained near *Bender*, was *Grothuſen*; but *Charles*, during his ſplendid exile, diſplayed a ſtupid, ungenerous inſenſibility, which ſome writers have affected

affected to call magnanimity, without producing one magnanimous action he performed. He was rapacious that he might be profuse, for which his generosity has been extolled. He and his train received a most noble allowance of provisions, and five hundred crowns were allowed him every day for his pocket. The *French* king having expressed great concern for his misfortunes, *Charles* made his commiseration an argument for his borrowing from the *French* merchants in *Turkey* all the money he could, though he did not know how to repay them. Though he was living upon the charity which he received from the *Othman* court, yet he employed part of that charity in procuring friends among the *Turkish* ministers. The fame of his great valour supported his credit for some time, but it was soon known that *Augustus* had broken through the treaty of *Alt-Ranstadt*, reconciled himself to the czar, and remounted the throne of *Poland*. A body of eighty thousand troops, to be commanded by *Charles*, was at this time defiling towards *Bender*, and every thing wore a promising aspect for his affairs, when a vast remittance of money, sent by *Peter* to his embassador, *Tolstoy*, at *Constantinople*, overwhelmed *Poniatowski*'s interest at that venal court. The vizier all of a sudden turned his enemy, the warlike preparations in his favour were countermanded, and *Tolstoy* obtained all he desired. *Poniatowski* linked himself with the vizier's enemies, had the address to convey a charge against him into the emperor's own hand, which procured the vizier's disgrace, and he was banished to *Tartary*. He was succeeded by *Cuprogli*, a descendent from the famous viziers of that name, and heir to the virtues of his ancestors.

Success of the *Russians* in his absence from *Sweden*,

The new vizier was equally insensible to *Tolstoy*'s gold, as to *Poniatowski*'s applications in favour of *Charles*. He sent the latter, at one time, a present of four hundred thousand crowns in his master's name, but advised *Charles* to return, in a *French* ship which was offered him, to *Europe*; and laid before his master the injustice of making war upon the czar on the *Swedes* account. *Charles* treated the vizier's advice with the utmost contempt, but accepted of his money. While he was thus intriguing at the *Othman* court, his *Swedish* territories were torn in pieces, by the very princes whose confederacy he had broken, when but a stripling. The czar invaded *Carelia* and *Finland*, took *Wyburg*, and laid siege to *Riga*. He had forced *Augustus* to cede *Livonia* to him for ever. His *Danish* majesty disclaimed the treaty of *Travendahl*. The kings of *Great Britain* and *Prussia*, and many other princes of the empire, had all of them claims upon *Charles*, which they were preparing to make good, and a manifesto for that purpose was published, laying all the blame upon the obstinacy and injustice of *Charles*. This manifesto was followed with an invasion of *Schonen*, by his *Danish* majesty, who took *Helsinburg*, and returned to *Copenhagen*. General *Steenbock* commanded the army of *Sweden*, where the people called out to be instantly led against the ungenerous

generous invader. All difference between the ſenate and the regency which *Charles* had left, now ceaſed, and by recruiting his army out of the militia, was at the head of twenty thouſand men, whom he led into *Schonen*, and there he gave a complete defeat to the *Danes* under general count *Rantzau*, who loſt eight thouſand men in the battle, beſides numbers who died of their wounds. The court of *England* and the republic of *Holland*, were afraid that this victory would encourage the *Swedes* to enter *Germany*, to the prejudice of the grand alliance againſt *France*, and took meaſures for preventing it; but the regency of *Sweden* reproached them for not having executed their guaranty of the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, and gave the allies but little ſatisfaction on that head, which obliged them to conclude a treaty for keeping the *Swediſh* dominions in *Germany* free from the flames of war; but with very little effect.

who are beaten by *Steenboek*.

Charles was revived, when he heard at *Bender* of the defeat of the *Danes*, and of their having been obliged to evacuate *Schonen*, with the loſs of almoſt all their army. The depoſition of *Cuprogli*, from the vizierſhip, gave him new pleaſure. He had fallen a ſacrifice to his moderation and integrity, which were diſagreeable to all parties at the *Porte*, and he was ſucceeded by *Baltagi Mohammed*. The ſultana mother had formed ſuch a party at her ſon's court, that an immediate reſolution was taken to aſſemble two hundred thouſand men to act againſt the *Ruſſians*. *Tolſtoy* was ſhut up in priſon, and the khan of *Crim Tartary* received orders to raiſe forty thouſand men for the ſame ſervice. That barbarian had been bribed by *Charles* to befriend him; and to ſhew how much he was in his intereſt, he offered to bring his army to the neighbourhood of *Bender*, to receive their directions from *Charles*, but *Baltagi* ordered the general rendezvous to be at *Adrianople*.

His vaſt intereſt at the *Porte*.

The preparations of the *Turks* alarmed the czar, who immediately left the ſiege of *Riga*, and all his conqueſts over the *Swedes*, that he might oppoſe the infidels. In *January* 1711, his armies began their march towards the frontiers of *Turkey*. His general, *Zeremetow*, was marching towards *Jaſſi*, the capital of *Moldavia*, the prince of which country, *Cantemir*, wanted to ſhake off the *Othman* yoke. *Baltagi* had now croſſed the *Danube*, with a hundred thouſand men, and was marching along the river *Pruth*, to fight *Zeremetow*, who was joined by the main army under *Peter* himſelf, on the 4th of *July*. He had been diſappointed in the promiſes made him by *Cantemir*, in the ſame manner as *Charles* had been by *Mazeppa*; for both the *Moldavians* and *Walachians* continued firm to the *Porte*; ſo that the *Ruſſian* army, which was encamped on the banks of the *Pruth*, was in a miſerable condition, eſpecially after *Baltagi* appeared in their ſight, at the head of his army, and hemmed in the *Ruſſians* on all ſides. *Peter*, in deſpair, ordered his troops to break through the enemy, who were now a hundred and fifty thouſand men, beſides *Tartars*, with

Danger of the czar on the banks of the *Pruth*, 1711.

with their ſwords in their hands, but all his efforts were in vain, and he was forced to return to his camp, which the *Turks* twice endeavoured to ſtorm, but were repulſed. *Poniatowſki* adviſed *Baltagi* to ſpare his troops, and to ſtarve out the *Muſcovites*; but in the mean time, he ſent intelligence of the ſituation of the *Ruſſian* army to *Charles*, who immediately ſet out from *Bender*, to enjoy his triumph over the czar. The night before, another attempt was to have been made, by which *Peter* had reſolved either to effect his deliverance, or to periſh with his army. His wife, the famous *Catharine*, perſuaded him to ſend a meſſage, deſiring peace from the vizier. She undertook to tranſact the affair in perſon; and having muſtered up all the jewels ſhe could, either belonging to herſelf or others, ſhe managed with ſo much addreſs, that *Baltagi* (who was no ſoldier) and his officers, ſoftened by her preſents, finiſhed the tranſaction in ſix hours time, and ſigned a peace, which ſaved the *Ruſſian* army. We ſhall have occaſion to mention this affair more at large.

out of which he is extricated.

Arrival of *Charles* in the *Turkiſh* camp.

Charles, by an expeditious, but dangerous, journey, arrived in the *Turkiſh* camp juſt as *Peter* was drawing off his troops. Enraged with what had happened, he flew to *Baltagi*'s tent, reproached him for his treachery and puſillanimity, tore his robe with the rowel of his ſpur, and remounting his horſe, galloped back to *Bender*; while the *Turk*, who ſmiled at his rage, and the remonſtrances of *Poniatowſki*, went to attend his evening prayers. Upon the return of *Charles* to *Bender*, finding that the *Nieſter* had overflowed his camp, he built ſome ſtone houſes, for the accommodation of himſelf and his attendants at *Varnitza*, a village in the neighbourhood; but he ſtill continued his intrigues at the *Othman* court. *Baltagi* was ſo much afraid of theſe, that he obtained leave from the court of *Vienna*, for a free paſſage for *Charles* to his own dominions; and he ſent three baſha's to acquaint him that he muſt leave thoſe of the ſultan. *Charles* received the meſſage, which was delivered in the moſt reſpectful terms, with ſilent contempt; and *Baltagi* ſeeing him thus bent upon his ruin, ordered all his meſſengers to *Conſtantinople* to be intercepted, beſides cutting off his daily allowances. *Charles*, whoſe profuſion encreaſed with his wants, muſt have at laſt been without neceſſaries for his own table, had not *Fabricius*, the *Holſtein* agent, and *Jefferies*, the *Britiſh* miniſter, ſupplied him with all the money they had; but his beſt friend, on this occaſion, was Mr. *Cooke*, an *Engliſh* merchant, who ſent him five thouſand pounds, and truſted to his honour for the repayment.

Revolutions at *Conſtantinople*.

By this time, the failure of the czar to execute the treaty of *Pruth*, and the intrigues of *Poniatowſki*, and the other friends of *Charles*, had wrought the diſgrace and baniſhment of *Baltagi*; and *Oſman*, the chief officer under him, who had adviſed him to make the peace, was ſtrangled, *Ruſſian* money, with the czarina's ring and jewels, having been found in his coffers. He was ſucceeded as vizier by *Juſſuf*, who accommodated

modated matters with the czar, and one of the articles of the treaty was, that *Charles* ſhould be obliged to leave *Turkey*. This reſolution was communicated to *Charles*, by a letter from the emperor *Ahmed* himſelf, and an eſcort of eight or ten thouſand men was offered him, to attend him to *Poland*. *Charles* anſwered the ſultan's letter, by informing him that ſuch an eſcort would be too weak to protect him againſt the *Ruſſian* armies, who were very numerous in *Poland*. The ſultan finding this to be true, would have ordered the vizier to be ſtrangled, but he was ſaved by young *Coumourgi*, *Ahmed*'s favourite, who was a friend to the *Ruſſians*, and who intended to employ the *Othman* arms againſt the *Venetians*. A new ſyſtem of politics again took place; a freſh treaty was made with the czar, and the ſeraſkier of *Bender* acquainted *Charles* that he could no longer reſide where he was. The miniſters of *Ruſſia* and *Poland*, rendered their own perſons anſwerable for his ſafety in paſſing through the dominions of their maſters, and therefore we can pay but little regard to a correſpondence which was ſaid to have been entered into between the khan of the *Tartars* and king *Auguſtus*, for delivering him up. He demanded money for the payment of his debts, which he computed at two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and *Ahmed* ſent him that ſum, with twenty-five thouſand pounds more, with orders that he ſhould paſs under his protection through the kingdom of *Poland*; but the money was not to be paid to *Charles* till he took his departure. *Charles* and his miniſter wheedled the baſha out of the money under very mean pretexts, and when he came to receive his commands for his departure, *Charles* demanded two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds more. This was a mean, infamous proceeding of the *Swede*, as it expoſed the baſha to the loſs of his head, for his generous confidence. The demand being made, a final reſolution, ſtrengthened by the mufti's feſta, was ſent to the baſha, with orders that he ſhould oblige *Charles*, by force, to leave *Turkey*. When the baſha intimated thoſe orders to *Charles*, he drove him with contumely and menaces out of his preſence, and twenty thouſand *Tartars*, with ſix thouſand *Turks*, inveſted *Charles*'s houſe and camp. The envoys of *England* and *Holſtein* endeavoured to mediate, but all was to no purpoſe; and the khan of the *Tartars*, who was to act in conjunction with the baſha, ordered his *Tartars* not to ſpare the life of *Charles* if he made reſiſtance.

Deſperate imprudence of *Charles*,

During this mediation, and the time of the baſha's waiting for freſh orders from his court, *Charles* was buſy in fortifying his houſe and his camp, paid very little regard to the two envoys for their kind interpoſition; and though he had under him only his domeſtics, and three hundred *Swediſh* ſoldiers, he made diſpoſitions for defending himſelf. Orders, at laſt came, for the *Turks* and *Tartars* to put all to the ſword, not ſparing the king himſelf, who ſhould make reſiſtance. It was in vain for *Charles*'s faithful ſervants and officers to throw themſelves

who is made priſoner by the *Turks*,

at his feet, imploring him not to force the infidels to extremities, for *Charles* remained unmoved, ridiculed their entreaties, and ſeemed to enjoy his ſituation with pleaſure. Even the ſcullions of his kitchen were aſſigned to their military poſts; and at laſt the infidels advanced to the attack, but at the requeſt of *Grothuſen*, they obliged the baſha to delay it for three days. When the baſha returned to *Bender*, he produced his maſter's orders, and ſixty of the moſt venerable among the janiſaries, with grey beards, and wearing white rods in their hands, ſet out to perſuade *Charles* to ſave his life. His anſwer was provoking to a *Turk*, in the laſt degree, for he deſired them to be gone, otherwiſe he would ſhave their beards. Inſtantly the attack began, and the three hundred *Swedes* who were in the camp, threw down their arms, on which *Charles*, with his generals, *Hord*, *Dardof* and *Sparre*, gallopped to his houſe, which he propoſed to defend with about forty of his domeſtics, the whole number who now attended him amounting not to above ſixty. *Charles* was obliged to force his way, at the imminent danger of his life, into his houſe, which he found already poſſeſſed by the infidels, many of whom he killed with his own hand, and cleared the houſe of the reſt. His attendants then barricaded the rooms, and from the windows, did ſome execution with their fire-arms upon their enemies, of whom they killed about two hundred, ten pieces of cannon all the time playing upon the houſe. The baſha gave orders to fire it with lighted matches, which were fixed upon arrows and diſcharged upon the roof. The inſide of the houſe was immediately reduced to aſhes, but the king and his little company ſallying out, killed or diſperſed all before them, and endeavoured to reach another houſe, which had a ſtone roof. Before he reached it, the *Turks* rallied and ſurrounded *Charles*, whoſe ſpurs being entangled in one another, he fell to the ground, and he was inſtantly ſeized by twenty-one janiſaries, who carried him off. This very extraordinary action happened on the 12th of *February* 1713.

1713.

He finds friends at the *Porte*.

No ſooner was *Charles* made priſoner, than all his turbulence forſook him, and he appeared with a reſigned behaviour before the baſha, who, with great politeneſs, conducted him to *Bender*, where he was lodged in his own palace, and treated with vaſt honours, but with a guard in his room. Next day he was, by the baſha, carried in a chariot covered with ſcarlet, towards *Adrianople*. While he was upon this uncomfortable journey, he received certain intelligence that his friend, *Staniſlaus*, had arrived at *Bender* ſoon after he left it, and was then a priſoner in the hands of the *Turks*. *Charles*, through his natural inſenſibility, made no other reflection upon this news, than to order *Fabricius* to poſt away to *Staniſlaus*, and to deſire him not to make a peace with king *Auguſtus*, becauſe he was ſure of the friendſhip of the *Othman* court, and that the khan and the baſha had no orders for what they had done. Upon the arrival of *Charles* at *Adrianople*, his friends drew up

a memorial, which was presented by a *French* gentleman, one *Villelongue*, to *Ahmed*'s own hands. He read it, and found it filled with invectives against the khan and the bashaw. *Villelongue* was secured for his boldness in approaching the sultan's person; but *Ahmed* had the curiosity to examine him in person, disguised like an officer of the janisaries. It was owing to this conference, according to *Voltaire* and other authors, that a new revolution at the *Porte* was effected. The mufti was deposed, as were some of the chief officers about court; and *Charles* was carried to the little castle of *Demetash*, in the neighbourhood of *Adrianople*. Soon after, the vizier was deposed, and *Ibrahim Molla* succeeded him. He was an enemy to the *Russians*, and invited *Charles*, who then resided at *Demotica*, to see him. *Charles* avoided the visit, by pretending sickness; and that he might not be obliged to any disagreeable interview of that kind, he actually kept his bed during ten months, while he was at *Demotica*. We shall make use of that interval to attend the affairs of *Sweden*.

Confederacy against him in *Europe*.

Riga was then in the hands of the czar, who broke the capitulation with the garrison, by detaining them prisoners, and soon after he became master of all *Livonia* and *Finland*. The victory obtained by *Steenboek*, and the offer made by the *Dalecarlians*, of raising twenty thousand men for the relief of their king, together with the prospect of his deliverance, if he would accept of it, renewed the confederacy between the czar, *Augustus*, and his *Danish* majesty; and it was resolved to wrest from *Charles* the *Swedish Pomerania*, by an army of forty-six thousand men, to be commanded by the king of *Denmark*. All *Europe* looked upon this confederacy as being ungenerous, and founded on allegations that had no existence in truth. *Augustus* entered the *Swedish Pomerania*, and the *Danes* forced the garrison of *Damgarten* to retire to *Stralsund*, which was immediately besieged by the troops of the confederates; and *Wismar* was invested at the same time. The *Stralsunders* made so brave a defence, that the besiegers, numerous as they were, were obliged to abandon their undertaking, and *Wismar* was defended with the same success.

Successes and barbarities of *Steenboek*.

The kings of *Denmark* and *Poland* returned to their respective capitals in the winter, but the *Russians* blocked up *Stetin*. Count *Sparre* was sent, by the regency of *Sweden*, to solicit some money at the *French* court, for the payment of *Steenboek*'s army, which alone could save *Pomerania*. The *French* minister told him, that his master had not money sufficient to maintain his own table; but *Bernard*, the famous banker, gratified a generous pride, by giving *Sparre* fifty thousand pounds sterling, and telling *de Torci*, the *French* minister, that he had lent it in his master's name to the crown of *Sweden*. This vast supply, at a juncture when *Steenboek* surrounded by the armies of *Russia*, *Denmark* and *Saxony*, was imploring them for an armistice, relieved him, and he was soon at the head of twelve thousand brave troops, calling to be led out against

their enemies. By this time, the king of *Denmark* was in poſſeſſion of *Bremen* and *Verden*, and had laid *Stade* in aſhes. *Steenbroek* took *Roſtock*, and marched to attack the *Saxon* and *Daniſh* armies in *Mecklenburgh*. He came in ſight of them at
1712. a place called *Gadeſbuſh*, on the 20th of *December* 1712, king *Staniſlaus* ſerving under him as a volunteer. The *Ruſſian* army lay at three leagues diſtance, but his *Daniſh* majeſty could not be perſuaded to wait its coming up. A moſt deſperate battle was fought, in which the allied army were completely defeated. About ſeven thouſand of the runaways, and all their artillery, fell into the hands of *Steenboek*, who gained the victory merely by his ſuperior generalſhip and intrepidity. *Steenboek* then, in order to retaliate the loſs of *Stade*, laid *Altena*, a famous and a flouriſhing town belonging to the king of *Denmark*, in aſhes, with all the circumſtances of barbarity and brutality that characterized his nature. Great part of the wretched inhabitants fled to *Hamburgh*. The *Hamburghers*, on pretence that they brought with them infectious diſeaſes, ſhut their gates upon them, ſo that moſt of them periſhed with hunger and cold before that city.

who, with his army, are made priſoners of war.

Steenboek juſtified this cruelty by the barbarities that had been committed by his maſters enemies in *Pomerania*, but he could not improve his ſplendid victory. He loſt two thouſand of his men as they were croſſing the *Eider* to go into winter quarters. The *Ruſſian* army was ſtill entire, and before *Steenboek* could reach *Pomerania*, it was in poſſeſſion of the *Danes* and *Saxons*. Being thus ſurrounded by powerful enemies on all hands, he threw himſelf into the neutral town of *Tottingen*, with the conſent of the biſhop of *Lubec*, adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*. There he was obliged to deliver up himſelf and his army priſoners of war. It was on this occaſion that the famous baron *Goertz*, afterwards ſo eminent for his negotiations and misfortunes, began to make a figure; for when he found the biſhop heſitating upon admitting the *Swedes* into the place, he produced to the governor an order for their admiſſion, in the name of the young duke, nephew to *Charles*. This expedient, though it gained him the friendſhip of *Charles*, did not ſave his army.

Intrigues and negotiations of *Goertz*.

The misfortunes of *Sweden* ſeemed now to be complete. The czar had conquered all *Finland*, where he had beaten the *Swedes*; and his *Daniſh* majeſty, in reſentment of the part acted by the adminiſtrator, ſtript his ward of great part of his duchy; his army of *Ruſſians* and *Saxons* were acting in the iſland of *Rugen*, and *Stetin* was on the point of falling under their power. *Goertz*, who was then no more than a privy-counſellor to the biſhop adminiſtrator, formed, at this criſis of her diſtreſs, the more than romantic project of delivering *Sweden*, and rendering *Charles* more powerful than ever. His admirable penetration led him to reflect, that ſo many various intereſts as were then combined againſt *Sweden*, muſt ſoon claſh, and by an indefatigable courſe of negotiations, for which

which he had no authority but from the biſhop adminiſtrator, he ſowed the ſeeds of jealouſy among the allies, by forming a plan for procuring a neutrality for *Charles*'s *German* dominions. For this purpoſe, he perſuaded the governor of *Bremen* and *Verden* to ſequeſter them, together with *Stade*, into the hands of the elector of *Hanover*; by which he ſaved them from the *Danes*. He prevailed with the king of *Pruſſia* to accept, in like manner, of the ſequeſtration of *Stetin* and *Wiſmar*, which he was to reſtore to *Sweden* upon the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, and upon being paid his expences, which amounted to four hundred thouſand crowns; and the king of *Denmark* was perſuaded not to ſeize upon *Tonningen*. *Goertz*'s ſcheme was ruffled by *Mayerfeld*, governor of *Pomerania*, being ordered by *Charles*, not to deliver up an inch of ground to his enemies; but he was not diſcouraged, and even made the ſame bargain with the king of *Poland* for *Stralſund*, that he had done for *Stetin*.

Charles's ſiſter made regent of *Sweden*,

The maſter-piece of *Goertz*'s politics lay, however, in his gaining over *Menzikof*, the czar's favourite miniſter, to his views. He flattered him with the ceſſion of *Holſtein* to *Peter*, who might acquire as much *German* territory as would entitle his miniſter to a ſeat in the diet at *Ratiſbon*, which was one of the *Ruſſian*'s greateſt objects of ambition. *Goertz* had even the addreſs to perſuade *Menzikof* to aſſiſt him in getting poſſeſſion of *Stetin*, in which he ſucceeded, by the help of four hundred thouſand crowns, lent by the king of *Pruſſia* to *Peter*. But *Goertz* was not ſucceſsful in all his ſchemes, for the king of *Denmark* reſumed his deſign of ſeizing on the duchy of *Holſtein*, and the fortreſs of *Tonningen*; neither could that prince be perſuaded to execute the capitulation he had made with *Steenboek*, for he refuſed to admit his *Swediſh* priſoners to ranſom. The regency and ſenate of *Sweden* ſeeing, to all appearance, that their country was on the verge of total deſtruction, and underſtanding that their king was ſtill obſtinately bent not to return to *Europe* but at the head of a hundred thouſand men, offered the regency to his ſiſter, *Ulrica Leonora*, who accepted of it, and convoked the ſtates. It was there reſolved that all the plate of the kingdom ſhould be converted into coin, that thirty thouſand men ſhould be raiſed for the defence of the ſtate, and that conferences ſhould be opened for a peace. The princeſs-regent oppoſed the laſt reſolution, becauſe ſhe had no authority from *Charles*; but, in the mean while, the *Swediſh* fleet under admiral *Erenſchild*, was defeated by the czar in perſon, who completed his conqueſt of *Finland*, and the iſland of *Oeland*.

Charles ſtill remained in a ſtate of torpid captivity at *Demotica*, and all that the generoſity of the *Turks* did, was juſt to ſubſiſt him and his followers. He had given his conſent to the marriage of the prince of *Heſſe* with his ſiſter, the princeſs *Ulrica*; but by this time, his friend, the vizier *Ibrahim Molla*, was ſtrangled, and ſucceeded by the favourite *Coumourgi*, who

was not in *Charles*'s intereſt. Having now loſt all his towering hopes, and ſtimulated with indignation at hearing of the behaviour of his ſtates, he ſent *Grothuſen* with a magnificent retinue, raiſed at the rate of fifty *per cent.* for the money that fitted it out, to *Conſtantinople*, where he was to apply for a hundred thouſand crowns, and for a paſſport for *Charles*'s return to *Europe*. Though *Grothuſen* was received with proper honours in his public character, yet he was treated in a very dry manner in the private conference he had with the vizier. The latter refuſed either to give or lend *Charles* money, but procured for him the neceſſary paſſports, ſent him three-ſcore carriages, with proviſions, and a proper eſcort to conduct him to the frontiers of *Tranſylvania*, together with a few preſents. The *Turkiſh* ſlowneſs in travelling was diſagreeable to *Charles*, who was treated, after he entered into the imperial dominions, with vaſt reſpect, by order of the court of *Vienna*. All of a ſudden he took leave of his *Turkiſh* eſcort and his own retinue, and putting himſelf in diſguiſe, he ſet out, attended only by two officers, *Roſen* and *During*, for *Sweden*. The fatigues he underwent in his journey, which, notwithſtanding his vaſt expedition, coſt him ſixteen days, are incredible; but he arrived at *Stralſund* on the 21ſt of *November* 1714, at one in the morning. It was with difficulty that the governor recognized his maſter, who had been in boots for ſixteen days, by which his legs were ſo ſwelled, that they were cut off, when he went to bed.

to which he returns.

1714.

The return of *Charles*, ſingle and unattended as he was, was followed by effects next to miracles. The *Swedes*, without once reflecting that his madneſs, pride and obſtinacy, had occaſioned the miſeries their country then ſuffered, flocked to his ſtandard, and thought of nothing but revenging his diſgraces. They flew to execute his orders, and though oppreſt with beggary and famine, they ſeconded their king in the high tone with which he talked and treated. He diſowned all the ſequeſtrations that had been made, refuſed to conſent to any neutrality, demanded reſtitution of *Stetin*; and becauſe it was refuſed, till a general peace could be ſettled, he drove the *Germans* out of the iſle of *Uſedom*. It was retaken by the *Pruſſians*; and it ſoon appeared, by the directions *Charles* gave to his officers, that misfortunes had rather encreaſed than abated his brutal obſtinacy. The *French* king endeavoured to mediate a peace, but nothing leſs than a ſimple reſtitution of all he had loſt would ſatisfy *Charles*. Upon this, all the powers of the north, and among the reſt, the king of *Great Britain*, as elector of *Hanover*, and adminiſtrator of *Bremen* and *Verden*, renewed their confederacy againſt him with double force. The *Ruſſian* fleet commanded the *Baltic*, and the kings of *Denmark* and *Pruſſia* beſieged *Stralſund* with thirty-ſix thouſand men. It was defended by *Charles* in perſon, inch by inch, and he again diſplayed moſt amazing inſtances of inſenſible valour. His enemies having landed twelve thouſand men upon the iſland of *Rugen*, where they fortified themſelves under the

He renews the war, but loſes *Stralſund*, after a deſperate defence.

prince

prince of *Anhalt*, *Charles* undertook to diſlodge them with two thouſand. After fighting with his uſual intrepidity, he was forced to retreat, and day beginning to break, his enemies ſurrounded, and one of them knew, him. *Charles* diſengaged himſelf, by ſhooting him with a piſtol; but he muſt have been killed or taken priſoner, had he not been mounted on horſeback by count *Poniatowſki*, who once more ſaved him, and he returned to *Stralſund*. In this mad expedition, *Charles*, without expreſſing concern, ſaw his favourite *Grothuſen*, his companion *During*, and the brave general *Dardof*, killed by his ſide, and he himſelf received a wound in the left breaſt.

The enemy's artillery and bombs had now reduced *Stralſund* to a heap of ruins, and the breaches in the walls were practicable. *Croiſſy*, the *French* ambaſſador, endeavoured to renew the negotiation, but the obſtinacy of *Charles* proved invincible. At laſt a lodgment was made in the outworks, and *Charles*, after performing prodigies of valour, amidſt all the thunder of the enemy's artillery, paſt in a little boat to *Schonen*; and general *Ducker* gave up the place, upon a better capitulation than he had a right to expect. The *Stockholmers* now expected that *Charles* would honour them with his preſence, but he was out of humour with his ſenate; nor did he chuſe to viſit his capital but with triumphal honours, ſo that he paſſed the winter at *Carelſcroon*.

His ingratitude and inſenſibility.

As a mark of *Charles*'s ſavage diſpoſition, we are to obſerve that his great miniſter, count *Piper*, was ſtill detained in the *Ruſſian* dominions, and *Charles*, without expreſſing any concern for his misfortunes, ſuffered that great and able miniſter to die a cloſe priſoner in the caſtle of *Schluſſelburg*, at the age of ſeventy. His brave general *Steenboek*, underwent the ſame fate in *Denmark*. But *Charles* was now immerſed in new projects. Though he had diſclaimed thoſe of *Goertz*, yet that inſinuating miniſter made his court ſo effectually, and reaſoned ſo plauſibly, that *Charles* received him into a greater degree of confidence than ever he had done count *Piper*. Having, by means of the moſt oppreſſive taxes ever invented, and through the credit of his brother-in-law, the prince of *Heſſe*, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, he all of a ſudden, to the amazement of *Europe*, fell into *Norway*, where the prince and he at firſt carried all before them, and beat the *Daniſh* troops in ſeveral engagements. The *Danes* returned to the charge, and drove the *Swedes* from a ſtrong poſt they had ſeized. The prince of *Heſſe* was diſabled by a wound, and *Charles* finding that his army could not, at once, make head againſt an enemy, fatigue and famine, in that unhoſpitable country, returned to *Sweden*, where he found that in his abſence he had loſt the town of *Wiſmar* to the *Ruſſians*, the *Saxons* and *Hanoverians*.

He invades *Norway*.

His alliance with the czar.

The ſagacious conjectures of *Goertz* began now to be fulfilled. *George* the 1ſt, and the other princes of the empire, had formed a deſign to prevent the czar from getting any foot-

ing in *Germany*, and with that view, he had not been conſidered in the capitulation of *Wiſmar*, from which his troops were excluded. The czar blamed *George* the Iſt, as being at the bottom of this, and all his other diſappointments; and *Charles* hated the ſame prince, for buying *Bremen* and *Verden* of the *Danes*, more than he did the czar. The artful *Goertz* ſucceeded ſo well with *Charles*, that in hatred to *George* the Iſt, he entered with the czar into a concert for placing the pretender, ſon to *James* the IId, on the throne of *Great Britain*, and *Staniſlaus* was to be reſtored to that of *Poland*. *Goertz* had even the addreſs to bring the *Spaniſh* miniſter, *Alberoni*, into the ſame romantic project, and the court of *England* was alarmed, when it was underſtood that *Peter*, inſtead of attacking *Sweden*, had ſent his troops to take their winter quarters in *Mecklenburgh*. *George* the Iſt, and the court of *Vienna* made ſtrong remonſtrances upon this conduct; but one *Erſkine*, a *Scotchman*, chief phyſician to the czar, had introduced to that court ſeveral of his countrymen who had been proſcribed for their rebellion in 1715, and they had the art to fortify the czar againſt all oppoſition to his new ſyſtem. The duke of *Mecklenburgh* had married his niece, and *Peter* declared himſelf his protector, not only againſt his own ſubjects, with whom he was at variance, but againſt the *Danes*, who were in poſſeſſion of *Wiſmar*, one of his towns. Under this pretext it was, that *Peter*, inſtead of invading *Sweden*, as he had promiſed his allies, plainly enough diſcovered his intention of gaining a footing in *Germany*, an event which the *German* princes dreaded.

Great power of *Goertz*.

Goertz was provided with full powers from *Charles*. He was maſter of all the money of that crown, and diſpoſed of all the jewels and valuable effects, for carrying his mighty ſchemes into execution. He diſſembled ſo exquiſitely, that he pretended to treat ſecretly with the *Ruſſian*, *Hanoverian* and other miniſters, at the very time he was perſuading his maſter to give up every thing the czar required. A negotiation, into which *Goertz* was at this time brought, ſhews him to have more levity and credulity in his temper than became a great and wiſe miniſter, and that his talents lay chiefly in the conduct of dark meaſures and daring expedients. He had heard of a ſet of *European* pirates, who had been proſcribed from all civilized countries; were ſettled, with immenſe riches, at *Madagaſcar*, who would be glad to act under the protection of the *Swediſh* flag. *Goertz* was weak enough to ſend two gentlemen to treat with thoſe banditti, but the event of the negotiation never was certainly known.

His intrigues againſt *England*.

The negotiations of *Goertz* with the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* malecontents, were equally romantic and void of probability. Count *Gyllembergh*, the *Swediſh* ambaſſador at *London*, was inſtructed by him to form cloſe correſpondences with thoſe malecontents. They were indeed powerful and ſanguine, but being actuated only by diſappointment and reſentment at the court,

court, they differed in their views, and very few of them were diſpoſed, in earneſt, to cooperate with *Goertz* in his ſcheme of ſetting the pretender on the throne of *Great Britain*. *Goertz*, afraid, during his abſence from the perſon of *Charles*, that he might be prevailed upon to reſume his former animoſities againſt the czar, had encouraged the exiled duke of *Ormond* to repair to *Mittau*, the capital of *Courland*, in order to be at hand, not only to negotiate a marriage between the pretender and the ducheſs of *Courland*, afterwards the czarina, another of *Peter*'s nieces, but to paſs over to *Sweden* with a public character from the pretender, to keep *Charles* firm to his new engagements. The court of *England*, which before this time, had diſcovered that *Goertz* had had a private interview with *Peter* in *Holland*, where the latter had paſſed ſome months, took the alarm, and put all her allies on their guard; and the great ſchemes of *Goertz* being not yet ripe for execution, *Charles* excuſed himſelf from publicly receiving the duke as the pretender's embaſſador. Notwithſtanding this, *Goertz* continued to treat with *Jernegan*, an *Engliſhman*, who was the pretender's embaſſador at the court of *Peterſburgh*.

Cardinal *Alberoni* was then at the head of affairs in *Spain*. Not only his politics, but his diſpoſition, ambition and turbulence, agreed with thoſe of *Goertz*; and what is ſtill more remarkable, the ſame capital meaſures led each to the end he propoſed, for both of them concurred in endeavouring to dethrone the elector of *Hanover* in *England*. *Alberoni* had done miracles in reſtoring the *Spaniſh* marine, army, and finances, and *Spain* was the moſt convenient ally that either *Charles* or *Peter* could have in *Europe*, becauſe ſhe could ſupply, with her money, the principal wants of both. The regent duke of *Orleans* felt, at *Paris*, the effect of this confederacy. He gave notice of it to the courts of *Vienna* and *London*, with whom he connected himſelf more cloſely than ever. *Gyllembergh* was arreſted at *London*, where his papers were ſeized and printed; nor was there any denying, upon their being publiſhed, that he had entered into very unwarrantable connections in *England*. He had even deſired money to print and diſperſe ſeditious libels againſt the government, and had propoſed that ten thouſand *Swedes* ſhould be ſent over to *England*, who would be ſufficient for placing the pretender on the throne, and that money would not be wanting. All *Europe* applauded the precautions taken by *George* the Iſt. The *Dutch* were ſo complaiſant, that they ordered *Goertz* to be ſeized at *Deventer*, in their dominions, together with his two ſecretaries. This was thought to be a very extraordinary ſtretch of complaiſance in their high mightineſſes, and was ſeverely cenſured by ſeveral courts, becauſe it did not appear that the ſchemes of *Goertz* were to affect the United Provinces. They thought themſelves, however, defenſible in what they had done, becauſe they were guarantees for the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of *Hanover*. When thoſe proceedings were related to *Charles*, he treated

ſeconded by cardinal *Alberoni*.

Goertz ſeized.

treated them with a diſdainful ſilence, but gave orders for arreſting *Jackſon*, the *Engliſh* miniſter in *Sweden*, and ordered the *Dutch* reſident, *Rumpf*, to be prohibited from his court. The *Swediſh* miniſter at the *Hague* preſented three different memorials, complaining of the ſeizure of *Goertz* and his papers. As the regency of *Holland* were ignorant of his *Britannic* majeſty's ſentiments, they returned no anſwer to his complaints. At laſt, to the reaſons we have already mentioned, they added the very extraordinary one, that *Goertz*'s powers were defective in point of form, and that they therefore could not conſider him as a public miniſter.

His behaviour.

As to *Goertz* himſelf, he acted with great ſpirit. The count *de Welderen* was ſent to examine him, but he inſiſted upon his public character, and refuſed to anſwer any queſtion. The czar was then at *Paris*, where he propoſed to comprehend the regent in the intended accommodation between him and *Charles*. From this propoſal, which was declined by the duke of *Orleans*, it appears as if *Peter* was, at this time, ignorant of the whole extent of *Goertz*'s plan, which ultimately tended, in conjunction with cardinal *Alberoni*, to deprive that prince of the regency. The houſe of *Bourbon* being thus divided, the whole ſyſtem of *Europe* received a new face, and the regent called in for his ſupport the natural enemies of *France*, the houſes of *Auſtria* and *Brunſwick*. By this time, *Goertz*, though he avowed his deſign of invading *England*, was ſet at liberty, as was count *Gyllembergh*. The former was more exaſperated than ever againſt the enemies of *Charles*, whom he conſidered as the authors of his confinement. Tired of truſting the negotiation to other hands, he went directly to the czar, and undertook to prevail with his maſter to grant *Peter* all he demanded, including *Carelia*, *Ingria* and *Livonia*. The czar had nothing in his eye but the aggrandizement of the dominions and the trade of *Ruſſia*, and had entered into the pretender's intereſt no farther than as *Goertz* had perſuaded him that thoſe ends would be thereby anſwered. He kept himſelf upon the reſerve, but his conduct ſufficiently intimated that he was reſolved to ſtrike in with *Goertz*, if the latter could make good what he had undertaken; and *George* the Iſt, in the manifeſtos he publiſhed, charged *Peter* with being the firſt mover of all the meaſures againſt him; but we ſhall have occaſion to diſcuſs this point farther in the hiſtory of *Ruſſia*. It is ſufficient to ſay here, that *Peter* ſhewed his vaſt ſagacity by ordering the duke of *Ormond* to leave his dominions, and *Jernegan* to remain in a manner incognito at *Peterſburgh*, till *Goertz* could return to the iſland of *Oeland*, or (as it was then called) *Aland*, with the reſult of his negotiation with his maſter. *Charles* had then returned from another unſucceſsful expedition into *Norway*, and was at the head of thirty-five thouſand men, but money was wanting to pay them, and the keeping them on foot was one of the preliminaries for which *Goertz* ſtood engaged to the czar. This could

He is ſet at liberty.

could not be done without money; *Sweden* was exhauſted, all reſources from *France* were dried up, and the remittances from *Spain* were all ſpent, with but a very diſtant proſpect of obtaining more.

In this diſtreſs, *Goertz* had recourſe to an expedient which had been often practiſed in other kingdoms, but ſeldom with ſucceſs, that of raiſing copper money to the nominal value of ſilver. *Goertz*, at the ſame time, perſuaded his maſter to conſent to a taxation upon the clergy, another very unpopular meaſure. The price of all the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life immediately roſe to a moſt exorbitant height, which rendered *Goertz* the object of public execration. This poſſibly might be one of the reaſons why he became a greater favourite than ever with his obſtinate maſter, who agreed to all he propoſed, for rendering the conferences at *Aland* ſucceſsful. *Oſterman* acted there as plenipotentiary for *Peter*, and *Goertz* being returned with full powers from *Charles*, the following plan was concerted between them.

He alters the *Swediſh* coin.

The czar was to march an army of eighty thouſand men into *Poland*, where he was to be joined by an army of *Swedes* under *Charles*, in order to ſupport the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, by replacing *Staniſlaus* upon the crown of *Poland*. By the ſecond article of this plan, his czariſh majeſty became mediator between *Charles* and the king of *Pruſſia*, "in conſequence (ſays the plan) whereof his ſaid czariſh majeſty will employ all means for accommodating, in a friendly manner, the differences relating to *Stetin*, and the territories poſſeſſed in *Pomerania*, as alſo relating to the demoliſhing of *Wiſmar*. But if the king of *Pruſſia* ſhould refuſe to give the king of *Sweden* reaſonable ſatisfaction for *Stetin* and its diſtrict, the two contracting parties ſhall act in concert, to procure to the king of *Pruſſia* another, equivalent to his convenience, which ſhall coſt *Sweden* nothing. In return, the king of *Pruſſia* ſhall be obliged to reſtore to the crown of *Sweden Stetin*, and that part of *Pomerania* which did belong to it, to become guarantee of the treaty to be made between that crown and the czar, and to conclude with them a defenſive alliance, purſuant to the plan formed on this ſubject. And this alliance with *Pruſſia* ſhall be concluded to the mutual ſatisfaction of the parties, two months after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty between *Sweden* and *Muſcovy*."

His ſchemes of coalition between *Charles* and *Peter* of *Ruſſia*.

By the third article, the czar obliges himſelf to procure for *Charles* an equivalent for the ceſſions that the latter was to make, and if the king of *Sweden* ſhould paſs over into *Germany* with a body of forty thouſand men, the czar was to join it with twenty or twenty-five thouſand men, of the army he had in *Poland*; the whole expence to be defrayed by the czar, and to be commanded by the king of *Sweden*. The fourth article is the moſt remarkable of all, and runs as follows. "The czar promiſes and engages to act with all his troops, to compel the king of *England*, as elector, not only

to

to reſtore *Bremen* and *Verden* to the king of *Sweden*, but alſo to give him due ſatisfaction for the damage he has ſuſtained; and if it happens that the crown of *England* ſhould oppoſe this, the two contracting powers promiſe to unite all their forces againſt it, and not to lay down their arms till that reſtitution and ſatisfaction be really obtained from *Hanover*. However, in caſe the king of *Sweden* ſhould chuſe, before the exchange of the ratifications, to excuſe the czar from this obligation, his czariſh majeſty promiſes, and takes upon himſelf, to diſpoſe the duke of *Mecklenburg* to yield up voluntarily and for ever, to the king and crown of *Sweden*, the duchy of *Mecklenburg* and its dependencies, for a proper equivalent, which the czar promiſes to procure for that duke; and as ſuch equivalent cannot be found but on the ſide of *Poland*, the king of *Sweden* ſhall engage to aſſiſt in getting it."

We have been the more explicit in our relation of this plan, becauſe it has been groſsly miſtaken by *Voltaire* and other writers. The copy from which we have taken the above extracts, was publiſhed by authority of the *Britiſh* court, and therefore muſt be authentic. Beſides this plan, *Goertz* drew up the conditions for attaining peace, by which his czariſh majeſty promiſed to reſtore to *Sweden* the great duchy of *Finland*, and part of *Carelia*. This barrier was not indeed ſpecified in the project, but a geographical map was joined to it, in which is ſeen a line drawn from *Wyburg* to the *White Sea*, paſſing by the lakes of *Ladoga* and *Onega*; and the countries on this ſide of that line, were to be yielded up for ever to *Sweden*. The ceſſions which the king of *Sweden* was obliged to make to *Peter*, upon the latter indemnifying him, either by procuring for him the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, or lands in *Poland*, are not expreſſed in this project; but from the abovementioned line, it appears they were to conſiſt of part of *Carelia*, all *Eſthonia*, *Livonia* and *Ingria*, then eſteemed the fineſt provinces belonging to the crown of *Sweden*. By the plan of execution of this treaty (the moſt important that had ever been concluded in the north) it was agreed, by the eighth article, "As for what relates to *England*, the two parties ſhall take their meaſures to diſable the court from engaging the nation in any proceedings contrary to theſe ſchemes. The like ſhall be done with reſpect to *Holland*." The court of *England* conſidered this ſtipulation as aimed at dethroning king *George* the Iſt, and looked upon the preparations then making by *Charles* for conquering *Norway*, to be only in order to facilitate *Charles*'s deſcent upon *Scotland*. The impenetrable diſpoſition of *Charles*, and the profound diſſimulation obſerved both by him and the czar, through the whole negotiation, renders this a matter of ſome doubt, but there is reaſon to believe that *Charles* had poſtponed all other conſiderations to the capital one, his expedition to *Great Britain*. Be that as it will, we know, that in *October* 1718, he again marched his army to *Norway*; and in *December*, while the froſt was ſo

Charles invades *Norway*.

intenſe

intenſe as to kill not only vegetables, but animals, he laid ſiege to *Fredericſhal*, while general *Arenfield* and the hereditary prince of *Heſſe*, commanded ſeparate bodies, and beat the *Danes* in ſeveral encounters. Though the ground was frozen almoſt to marble, yet *Charles*, who, by conſtant habit, had acquired an iron conſtitution of perſon, perſevered in opening the trenches. Finding the works not advancing ſo faſt as he expected, on the 11th of *December* he went to viſit them by ſtar-light, where expoſing half his body to a battery of cannon which was playing fiercely on an angle where he ſtood, a ball of half a pound ſtruck him in the right temple, and killed him. *Siguier*, one of his aids-de-camp, and *Megret*, the engineer of the ſiege, ſaw him fall, and acquainted count *Schwerin* with his death; upon which his body was carried through the midſt of the camp, under the name of one captain *Carlſberg*. His death,

The character of *Charles* the XIIth is ſo well known, that we need not enlarge on it here, farther than by obſerving that every part of it, excepting his perſonal courage, which thouſands of his ſoldiers poſſeſſed as well as himſelf, was either contemptible or deteſtable. The ſpirit he ſhewed at his outſet in life, and his moderation with regard to *Denmark*, finiſhed all that was laudable in his conduct. Had he made peace, after diſſolving the powerful confederacy formed againſt him, he might have been the arbiter of the north, inſtead of being the ſcourge of the beſt ſubjects any prince ever governed. His ſtupid pride of making and unmaking a king of *Poland*; his fantaſtical march after the *Ruſſians*; his conduct in *Turkey*, which was equally mad and mean; his diſregard of the blood and lives of his ſoldiers; his ingratitude to faithful ſervants, and his inſenſibility of the ſufferings of all about him, proclaim him a being diveſted not only of the feelings, but the virtues, of humanity. It is in vain for the flatterers of his memory to plead, that he himſelf ſuffered the ſame hardſhips as his meaneſt ſoldiers. There is no merit in a robuſt conſtitution, and an obſtinate attachment to ſelf-will. The ſpilling of blood, if we except his temperance with regard to wine and women (the latter of which was very probably conſtitutional likewiſe) fill the ſum total of the virtues of *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, who was killed in the 36th year of his age. and character.

Never, for the repoſe of *Europe* as well as *Sweden*, did a death happen more critically than that of *Charles*. He had no reaſon for loving his brother-in-law, the prince of *Heſſe*, who had ſerved againſt him, but becauſe he was brave. He and his wife condemned his meaſures, and deteſted *Goertz*, but were obliged to do both in ſecret. That ſtateſman had left *Aland*, and was known to be on the road to the camp. The prince immediately ſent an officer, who arreſted, and carried him priſoner to *Stockholm*. He bore his fate with great fortitude and compoſure, and wrote a letter to the king, not knowing of his death. Orders were immediately given for raiſing the Succeeded by his ſiſter *Ulrica*.

the ſiege of *Fredericſhal*, and the princeſs *Ulrica Leonora* was proclaimed queen by the army; a proceeding which was too prepoſterous, and too much ſavouring of pretorian deſpotiſm. Her conduct, on the occaſion, was prudent to the laſt degree. She publiſhed a declaration of her acceptance of the government by hereditary right, but at the ſame time, her intention to aboliſh all deſpotic ſovereignty out of *Sweden*; and ſhe ordered the ſtates to aſſemble on the 31ſt of *January*, which they accordingly did. They diſclaimed her hereditary right as inconſiſtent with the laws and conſtitution of the kingdom, but agreed to elect her queen, upon her conſenting to ſubſcribe to certain articles for regulating her government. The moſt important of thoſe were, that ſhe ſhould neither make peace or war without the conſent of her ſtates; that ſhe ſhould be aſſiſted by a council; that the ſenate, which was to be nominated by the nobility, ſhould give authority to public acts, and manage all affairs of ſtate in abſence of the ſovereign, and when the throne ſhould become vacant. The nobility were to elect a marſhal, who was to preſide in a meeting of the ſtates, which was to be called at leaſt every three years; and that the nobility of *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, *Oeſel* and the *Swediſh* provinces in *Germany*, ſhould be reinſtated in their privileges, as ſoon as they returned to the crown of *Sweden*. Thoſe articles were duly ſigned and ſealed, though the queen had already, by virtue of her hereditary prerogative, put a ſtop to the currency of the money coined by *Goertz*.

The people recover their liberties.

The firſt exerciſe of the peoples recovered liberties, was in bringing up baron *Goertz* to his trial, which was done before a court compoſed of delegates from the four orders of the kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, the burghers, and the peaſantry; to which were added deputies from the army and from the courts of law. The deputies diveſted the baron of the order of the black eagle, which he had received from the king of *Pruſſia*, and proceeded againſt him in other reſpects, with a ſeverity that ſhocked count *Ribing*, the preſident of the court, for they even addreſſed the queen not to pardon him. After a trial of thirteen days, during which he behaved with great firmneſs and preſence of mind, he was condemned to loſe his head under the gallows, and to be there buried, which ſentence was accordingly executed.

Negotiation with *England*.

The ſyſtem of politics at the court of *Sweden* was now altered all of a ſudden. Lord *Carteret* arrived at *Stockholm*, in quality of his *Britannic* majeſty's embaſſador, to make up all differences between his maſter, both as king of *England* and elector of *Hanover*, with *Sweden*, which were accordingly finiſhed, to the ſatisfaction of all parties. It was agreed that a *Britiſh* fleet ſhould be ſent to the *Baltic*; and a million of crowns were to be paid by his majeſty as elector of *Hanover*, for the perpetual poſſeſſion of *Bremen* and *Verden*. The czar demanded the performance of all the ſtipulations that had been concluded with the late king in the conferences at *Aland*; and

and his demand being rejected, the *Britiſh* fleet, which was then in the *Baltic*, and conſiſted of large ſhips, could not prevent his ſlight gallies from renewing their ravages on the coaſts of *Sweden*. *Pruſſia*, as well as *Great Britain*, became now the friend of *Sweden*, on condition of having *Stetin* yielded up to her; and his *Daniſh* majeſty was overawed by the *Britiſh* fleet, upon which the czar ſhewed himſelf inclinable to an accommodation; as did the republic of *Poland*. A peace was accordingly concluded with *Denmark* and *Poland*. His *Daniſh* majeſty thereby yielded to *Sweden* all he had acquired during her late troubles, and was to receive, in ſatisfaction, a ſum of money. By the peace with *Poland*, the crown of *Sweden* agreed to acknowledge *Auguſtus* as king of *Poland*, and *Auguſtus* conſented to *Staniſlaus* retaining the title of king.

Ulrica propoſes her huſband to be king of *Sweden*.

During thoſe negotiations, her *Swediſh* majeſty, on the 2d of *February*, aſſembled the ſtates of her kingdom, and laid before them an ample detail of the public affairs. While this was under their deliberation, ſhe ſent them a meſſage, propoſing that her huſband, the hereditary prince of *Heſſe*, ſhould be joined with her in the adminiſtration of the regal power. This propoſal met with great difficulty, but was approved of after warm debates. The prince gave all the ſecurity for his future government that was required of him; and the queen declared that her intention was to devolve upon him the executive part of government, which was to be enjoyed by the ſurvivor. An act of election was accordingly drawn up in his favour; and the ſtates laid hold of that opportunity for making ſome alterations in their form of government. Beſides thoſe precautions, the prince ſent a very full inſtrument of aſſurance for protecting the liberties of the ſubject, and the due adminiſtration of juſtice.

Succeſſes of the czar.

The czar ſtill continued the war. His gallies beat thoſe of *Sweden*, but he congratulated the new king, *Frederic*, upon his advancement to the throne, though without relaxing in his demands. Admiral *Norris* was ſtill with the *Engliſh* fleet in the *Baltic*, and his behaviour was ſo tame, that it became deſpicable to the *Ruſſians*, ſo that they continued their depredations. Upon this, his *Swediſh* majeſty, finding the *Britiſh* fleet rather obſtructed than advanced the work of peace, entered into negotiations with other powers. The young duke of *Holſtein*, nephew to *Charles*, was upon the point of marrying the czar's daughter, and became a party in the negotiation. He demanded that the ſtates of *Sweden* ſhould procure to him reſtitution of his duchy of *Sleſwick* from the crown of *Denmark*, and ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown of *Sweden* upon him; in which caſe he was to marry *Peter*'s eldeſt daughter, whoſe marriage portion was to conſiſt of the provinces of *Finland*, *Eſthonia* and *Livonia*. Thoſe propoſitions were given in at the court of *Vienna*, from whence *Hopkens*, the *Swediſh* reſident there, carried them to *Sweden*, and laid them before the king and ſenate, who diſapproved of them ſo much, that he

he was confined a priſoner in his houſe, for his officiouſneſs.

A negotiation.

The mediation of the regent duke of *Orleans*, by his miniſter *Campredon*, had better ſucceſs; for though the czar ſtill continued his ravages on the *Swediſh* coaſts, and made an unmerciful uſe of his ſuperiority at ſea, yet he conſented to the opening conferences at *Nyſtadt*, a little town of the *Bothnic Gulf*, in *North Finland*. Here the terms were rather preſcribed than negotiated; for, by the treaty which was concluded and ſigned on the 10th of *September* 1721, the czar "was to remain in perpetual poſſeſſion of all that his arms had conquered, from the borders of *Courland* to the extremity of the gulph of *Finland*; and from thence again, of the whole extent of the country of *Kexholm*, and that narrow ſlip of *Finland* which ſtretches out to the northward of the neighbourhood of *Kexholm*; ſo that he remained maſter of all *Livonia*, *Eſthonia*, *Ingria*, *Carelia*, with the country of *Wybourg*, and the neighbouring iſles, which ſecured to him the ſovereignty of the ſea; as likewiſe of the iſles of *Oeſel*, *Dago*, *Mona*, and ſeveral others: the whole forming an extent of three thouſand leagues of country, of unequal breadth, and which all together made a large kingdom." In lieu of thoſe vaſt ceſſions, the czar agreed to pay two millions of crowns to his *Swediſh* majeſty, to ſuffer the *Swedes* to buy corn in his conqueſts, and to protect the inhabitants of *Livonia*, *Eſthonia* and *Oeſel* in their privileges.

1721. *Voltaire.*

Sweden receives a ſubſidy from *England.*

A ſubſidy of ſeventy-two thouſand pounds, which was voted by the parliament of *Great Britain*, to be paid to the crown of *Sweden*, was thought to contribute powerfully towards this treaty. The public in *Sweden* complained that the intereſts of their nation had been ſacrificed by ſuch extravagant ceſſions, and the people of *England* complained againſt the ſubſidy, as having been given entirely for the ſecurity of *Hanover*. Without entering into particulars, it is evident that the poverty and weakneſs of *Sweden* compelled her to accept of the peace.

Civil tranſactions of *Sweden.*

The tranquillity of *Sweden* being thus reſtored, we are now to attend her civil tranſactions. The capitulation which the king ſigned upon his being elected, rendered, in fact, the regal power not worth his acceptance. The management of all affairs of importance, was transferred from his privy-council to the ſenate and the colleges. They were to have the nomination to all civil offices, and to all military ones, from a colonel upwards. No officer was to be removed at the king's pleaſure, and before he underwent a formal trial; neither was his majeſty to interfere in the leaſt with the buſineſs of the colleges. They were to have the power of levying taxes, and diſpoſing of public money, and no foreigner was to be employed in *Sweden*. The king promiſed not to reſign, or give up to any one whomſoever, the lands and territories which might, by right of inheritance, fall to him in *Germany*; but that the kingdom ſhould alſo enjoy the benefit and advantage thereof. To thoſe, were added a number of other

reſtrictions

reſtrictions to the exerciſe of the regal authority, which can be juſtified only by the ſufferings of the *Swedes* under their late deſpotic government. *Frederic* found himſelf, by thoſe reſtrictions, diſabled from making any figure in public affairs as king of *Sweden*; and having no children, he committed the adminiſtration of his *German* concerns to his brother, prince *William*. Before his election to the throne, he had been remarkably active, but after receiving the crown, he ſeems to have confined himſelf entirely to domeſtic affairs, and the regulations of his court. In 1723, happened a quarrel between 1723.
count *Freytag*, the imperial miniſter, and baron *Schwerin*, a major general, who were to decide it by the ſword. Both of them being put under arreſt in their own houſes, *Freytag* complained of a breach of privilege, and *Frederic* referred his complaint to the colleges, who ordered *Schwerin* to acknowledge himſelf in the wrong. *Freytag* alleged firſt to the king, and then to his own court, that ſuch ſatisfaction was not ſufficient. *Frederic* endeavoured to mollify him, but this ſerving only to render him more inſolent, he was forbid the court, and he retired to that of *Denmark*; where he received an order from his court to return to *Stockholm*, and aſk pardon of the king for the inſult he had offered to his royal authority, with which that haughty miniſter was obliged to comply. About the ſame time, the ſenate thought proper to puniſh a ſoldier for inſulting a domeſtic of the *Dutch* embaſſador; ſo very different were the maxims of that reign from thoſe of the preceding.

The pacific conduct of *Frederic*, while it ſeemed to diminiſh the glory, added to the happineſs, of his ſubjects. The court, the ſenate, the ſtates and the people, abandoned all other conſiderations but to reſtore commerce, induſtry, agriculture, manufactures and mines, while the forts, armies and ſhips were put upon a reſpectable footing. For fear of interrupting the public tranquillity, they even refuſed to interpoſe in favour of the duke of *Holſtein*, in his application to be reinſtated in his duchy of *Sleſwick*. When the famous treaties of *Vienna* and *Hanover* came to light, the *Engliſh* reſident applied to *Frederic* to accede to them, but he declined his requeſt for fear of giving umbrage to the court of *Peterſburgh*. The intimacy between *Sweden* and *Ruſſia* at this time, gave vaſt umbrage to his *Daniſh* majeſty. He made warlike preparations, with a profeſt deſign of being upon his guard againſt the two courts. *Frederic* armed likewiſe, and a *Britiſh* fleet arrived in the *Baltic*, to keep the peace of the north. This, together with an annual ſubſidy, for three years, of fifty thouſand pounds, determined the ſenate to permit *Frederic* to accede to the treaty of *Hanover*, though the *Ruſſian* and *Holſtein* miniſters oppoſed it. In conſideration of that ſubſidy, *Sweden* was to have in readineſs a body of ten thouſand men, who were to be paid by the allies, if they marched out of their own country; ſo

The happineſs of *Sweden* reſtored.

See p. 70, 299.

that this engagement, in reality, coſt *Sweden* nothing. In the mean while, a ſecret article in the treaty of *Nyſtadt* perſpired, by means of the imperial court ſtipulating that proper meaſures ſhould be employed for reinſtating the duke of *Holſtein* in the duchy of *Sleſwick*. The court of *Vienna* acceded to that ſtipulation; but even that could not influence his *Swediſh* majeſty to intermeddle, as ſuch, in the affairs of the empire. When the barbarous maſſacre of *Thorn* in *Poland*, however, happened, *Frederic* interpoſed, with great zeal, in favour of the perſecuted. He no ſooner heard of it, than he wrote three letters to the kings of *Great Britain*, *France*, and the emperor, to join with him in maintaining the treaty of *Oliva*, which regards the proteſtants in *Poland*. At the ſame time, he ordered his miniſter at *Warſaw* to make ſtrong applications in their favour, but he did not write to *Auguſtus* himſelf, becauſe he had not formally acknowledged him as king of *Poland*.

Intrigues of the duke of *Holſtein*.

Notwithſtanding the acceſſion of *Sweden* to the treaty of *Hanover*, the duke of *Holſtein* continued to have a ſtrong party in *Sweden*, on account of the injuſtice that had been done him, and the aggrandizement of *Denmark*, by the acceſſion of *Sleſwick*. No ſooner was it known that the ſtates had conſented *Sweden* ſhould become a party in the treaty of *Hanover*, than the *Holſtein* party threw all into confuſion. The imperial and *Ruſſian* embaſſadors withdrew from court, and it was pretended that *George* the Iſt had an eye upon the ſucceſſion to the crown of *Sweden*, for his grandſon, the duke of *Cumberland*. The nation was, at this time, divided into three parties, who may be termed the *Swediſh*, the *Heſſian*, and the *Holſteiners*. The majority of the ſtates and ſenate were of the firſt, and declared violently againſt all foreign connections. The ſecond ſecretly adviſed the king to break the capitulations by which his authority was fettered; and the third was for involving the kingdom in a war with *Denmark*, and ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown on the duke of *Holſtein*. Count *Welling*, one of the chief *Swediſh* nobility, was put under arreſt, tried, and condemned to death, for correſponding with the duke of *Holſtein*; but his ſentence was commuted into perpetual impriſonment, on account of his great age, and the earneſt interceſſion of his daughter, the counteſs of *Bannier*. This ſeverity damped the intrigues of the *Holſteiners* for ſome time, ſo that the hiſtory of *Sweden* affords little that is material for ſeveral years. In 1728, an embaſſador arrived from the *Porte*, to liquidate the demands which his maſter had on *Sweden*, on account of the late king's entertainment in *Turkey*. This met with no difficulty, and the good correſpondence between *Sweden* and the *Porte* was renewed. About this time, the affair of *Thorn* was compromiſed; his *Swediſh* majeſty recognized the king of *Poland*'s right to that crown; and in 1729, his majeſty, by the advice of his ſenate, gave the title

Severe proſecutions in *Sweden*.

1728.

1729.

of emperor to the czar of *Muſcovy*. In 1730, his *Swediſh* majeſty ſucceeded, by his father's death, to the landgraviate of *Heſſe*; and next year, a *Dutchman*, one *Van Aſper*, laid before the king and the ſenate a propoſal of erecting a *Swediſh East India* company, which was approved of. This gave vaſt umbrage to the *Dutch*, who had received, annually, large ſums from *Sweden*, on account of their *East India* trade. They ply'd the king and the ſenate with remonſtrances againſt the new company, but all was to no purpoſe, for they were given to underſtand, that no national arrangements made by any people, could exclude the *Swedes* from the benefit of a free trade. This year, commiſſioners were appointed for reviſing the laws of *Sweden*, a work which became the more neceſſary, as the language in which the old laws were written, was now obſolete, and almoſt unintelligible; and the forms of proceedings in the courts were tedious, uncertain, and expenſive. They were now methodized in ſuch a manner, that their whole code of juſtice, both civil and criminal, was comprehended in one perſpicuous moderate volume, and all its ſuperfluities retrenched, which was authorized by the ſtates in 1734. 1730. *East India* company eſtabliſhed.

The kingdom of *Sweden* had the precaution to continue neutral, notwithſtanding her vicinity to *Poland*, in all the diſputes between the elector of *Saxony* and king *Staniſlaus*; and in the year 1734, a defenſive and commercial treaty was concluded between the *Swedes* and the *Danes*. This was produced by the dread which the latter entertained, leſt the ſtates of *Sweden* ſhould adopt the cauſe of the duke of *Holſtein*, whoſe claims were extremely plauſible, for he had been robbed of his eſtate by the crown of *Denmark*; and his mother was elder ſiſter to the reigning queen of *Sweden*. In 1738, his majeſty, perceiving his health declining, reſigned his government into the hands of his queen, but reſumed it upon his recovery. His reſignation, however, was thought to be a political attempt to break the force of the parties which were now forming in that country, and had come to ſuch a height as rendered, that year, a meeting of the diet neceſſary. Count *Teſſin*, the moſt reſpectable nobleman, for virtue and experience, in all *Sweden*, was choſen marſhal of the diet; but, notwithſtanding all his wiſdom, it ſoon appeared that party heats continued, though under different denomination. Many of the *Swedes* could not forget the great figure their country had made during the late reign. They exclaimed againſt the peace with *Ruſſia*, and pleaded for a war, in order to recover the ceded provinces. Theſe were called the party of the Hats. In oppoſition to them, ſtarted up another party, who went under the ridiculous name of the Night-caps; and the Hunting-caps, as they were called, ſtruck into a middle way, between both extremes. The Hats proved to be the moſt powerful. An enquiry was ſet on foot concerning the peace 1734. A diet in *Sweden*. 1738.

of *Nyſtadt*, and the ſenators, *Bond*, *Bark*, *Beilk*, *Hardt* and *Crentz*, were removed from their employments, for having exceeded their powers in concluding it. The old ſubſidiary engagements with *France* were renewed, and an augmentation of forces, both by ſea and land, was voted. The affair of the ſucceſſion was next brought upon the carpet. The nobility were in the *Holſtein* intereſt, while the other three orders inclined to a republican form; and the debates became ſo diſagreeable, that the king put an end to the aſſembly, after it had ſate almoſt a year.

Unfortunate war with *Ruſſia*.

A war with *Ruſſia* now appeared unavoidable, but the *Swedes* had not then a *Guſtavus Adolphus*, or a *Charles* the XIIth at their head. They complained of the murder and robbery of one major *Sinclair*, a *Scotch* gentleman, who had been truſted with ſome papers, and the empreſs of *Ruſſia* was loaded with the blame of both; but ſhe denied the charge, though not to the ſatisfaction of the *Swedes*, becauſe ſhe did not puniſh her officer who had committed the murder. She died ſoon after, as did the duke of *Holſtein*, whoſe ſon was then, by hereditary right, after the new elected empreſs, the preſumptive heir both of *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*. In 1741, war was declared between the two nations; but the match was very unequal. The *Swedes* were every where defeated, eſpecially in *Finland*, by *Laſcy*, the *Muſcovite* general, who took *Wilmanſtrand*; and the *Swedes* were as unfortunate in this war, as they had been glorious during the firſt campaign of *Charles* the XIIth, for they entirely loſt *Finland*, and almoſt their whole army fell into the hands of the *Ruſſians*, who treated their priſoners with a humanity to which they were ſtrangers twenty years before. In the mean time, her *Swediſh* majeſty, a woman of incomparable virtues and prudence, died. The king broken in his conſtitution, applied for peace; but during the deliberation of the ſtates on that head, the conſideration of the ſucceſſion was reſumed. Several candidates now ſtarted up, on pretence that the crown was elective, but they were reduced to three, the duke of *Holſtein*, the prince of *Heſſe*, nephew to his *Swediſh* majeſty, and the prince of *Denmark*; but the ſucceſſion was ſettled in favour of the duke of *Holſtein*, by no greater a majority than that of two votes.

1741.

Competitors for the ſucceſſion.

The reſtitution of *Finland*, by the court of *Ruſſia*, was the bait that had drawn the *Swedes* into this election, but before it was intimated to the duke, he had diſqualified himſelf from ſitting upon the throne of *Sweden*, by embracing the *Greek* religion, as ſucceſſor to the empire of *Ruſſia*. The party of the prince of *Denmark*, upon this diſappointment, became the moſt numerous; notwithſtanding all the intrigues of the royaliſts in favour of the prince of *Heſſe*. The whole body of the *Swedes*, however, were now within the toils of *Ruſſia*. The empreſs *Elizabeth*, without taking any concern in the domeſtic broils of *Sweden*, ſuffered the madneſs of the factions

to

to discharge itself, by enquiring into the mismanagements of the late war; and count *Baddenbrock*, with general *Lewenhaupt*, lost their heads, upon most infamous, unsupported, charges. The crown of *Great Britain* interposed, and negotiations were set on foot at *Abo*, where the empress gave one of the most signal proofs we meet with in history of wisdom, magnanimity, and moderation, by offering to restore all *Finland*, excepting a small district, to the *Swedes*, on condition of their accepting of the duke of *Holstein Eutin*, bishop of *Lubec*, and administrator of *Holstein Gottorp*, for their king; while the duke of *Holstein*, grand duke of *Russia*, was to renounce all his pretensions upon the crown of *Sweden*. This salutary proposition was readily embraced by the *Swedes*, and the administrator was accordingly declared hereditary prince of *Sweden*, *June* the 22d, 1743. The *Dalecarlians* had not been consulted in this measure, and taking up arms, they advanced tumultuously to the capital, that they might set it aside. The king did all he could to prevent their coming to extremities, and even suffered them to enter *Stockholm*; but their fury seeming to grow with his indulgence, his majesty was obliged to employ force. They had the insolence to elect the prince of *Denmark* into the succession; and we are told, that one of the *Swedish* senators, during the debate, pronounced a speech in verse, which united the chamber of the nobles. At last, a battle was fought with the insurgents, upon the streets of *Stockholm*, in which they were defeated, with some slaughter; and the survivors purchased the royal pardon, by acquiescing in the decrees of the diet, it being thought unsafe, at such a juncture, to punish them according to their demerits. The hereditary prince then entered *Stockholm* in triumph, where he was received with the greatest cordiality by all ranks. The king of *Denmark* resented his election, and made warlike preparations for setting it aside, but perceiving that the czarina was determined to support it, he dropt them.

It is settled, and a peace ensues.

1743. Rebellion of the *Dalecarlians*.

We meet with nothing interesting in the history of *Sweden*, after this, till the death of *Frederic*, which happened *April* 6th, 1751, in the 75th year of his age. He was succeeded by the hereditary prince, *Adolphus Frederic*, who married the princess *Louisa Ulrica* of *Prussia*, sister to the present king. Before his accession, he was presented with a new capitulation, which, in fact, rendered him more dependent than any of his predecessors ever had been upon the senate, the secret committee of which has a power of checking him in almost every exercise of regal government. As he is reckoned a prince equally wise and moderate, he has published several letters and rescripts upon the insults that had been offered to his royal authority, but (we have reason to believe) without any effect. His own inclinations, as well as connections, would have led him, during the late war between *France*,

1751. Miserable conduct of the *Swedes* in the field.

Ruſſia and *Auſtria*, on the one part, and the crown of *Great Britain* and the king of *Pruſſia* on the other, either to have continued neutral, or to have aſſiſted his brother-in-law; but his deluded ſubjects were of a different opinion. Corrupted by *France*, overawed by *Ruſſia*, and above all, jealous of the royal prerogative, and amuſed with the thoughts of recovering *Pomerania*, they, after ſome heſitation, declared themſelves on the *Auſtrian* ſide. They raiſed an army of twenty-
1757. five thouſand men, which they ſent into *Pomerania* in 1757, under the command of general *Hamilton*. His orders were to beſiege *Stetin*, with which view he ſeized *Anclan* and *Demmin*, two towns which lay in his way. He then publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that the *Swedes* had invaded *Pomerania* as guarantees of the treaty of *Weſtphalia*, and commanding all the inhabitants to pay the revenues of the duchy to him. After this, he beſieged the little fortreſs of *Penemunde*, and the garriſon, which conſiſted only of militia, was forced to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

Manifeſtos publiſhed.

Mauteuffel, the *Pruſſian* general in *Pomerania*, anſwered *Hamilton*'s manifeſto, by exhorting the *Pomeranians* to continue firm to the king. He was then encamped before *Stetin*, and while the *Swedes* were preparing to beſiege that city, the *Pruſſian* general, *Lehwald*, having obtained ſome reſpite, by the *Ruſſians* evacuating *Pruſſia*, marched towards *Pomerania* with ſixteen thouſand men. The *Swedes* then gave a ſhameful proof to all *Europe*, how greatly their military character was degenerated. Upon *Lehwald*'s approach, they not only abandoned all their preparations for the ſiege of *Stetin*, but all the places they had taken in *Pomerania*, and all their magazines, almoſt, without reſiſtance. The *Pruſſians* even entered the *Swediſh Pomerania*, which they entirely reduced, all except *Stralſund*, where the *Swediſh* army took refuge. This ſhameful retreat was palliated by the *French* party in *Sweden*, under pretence of their troops taking winter quarters; but nothing could conceal the loſſes they ſuſtained, for, without fighting a battle, their numbers were reduced to one half; and the *Pruſſian* huſſars, beſides their private plunder, raiſed a hundred and ſixty thouſand crowns in *Swediſh Pomerania*.

The *Swedes* recover their ſpirits.

Notwithſtanding the diſgraces of laſt campaign, the *French* party in *Sweden* continued ſtill to have a majority in the ſenate, and in the ſpring their army again took the field, but diſcontented and diſpirited. *Lehwald* had, on account of his age, reſigned his command to count *Dohna*, who had blockaded *Stralſund*, but was obliged to abandon it to march againſt the *Ruſſians*. Upon this, *Hamilton* having received the ſupplies which had been promiſed him (but long delayed) from *Stockholm*, and ſeeing no army in the field to oppoſe him, began his operations, retook *Anclam*, *Demmin* and other places, and carried his arms into the *Pruſſian* territories, being favoured by the appearance of the combined fleet of *Ruſſia*

and

and *Sweden* in the *Baltic*. He even alarmed *Berlin* itſelf, till he was oppoſed by the *Pruſſians* under general *Wedel*, who retook *Fehrbellin*, and once more drove the *Swedes* out of the *Pruſſian* territories towards *Stralſund*. Thoſe diſgraces of the *Swedes* were owing, in a great meaſure, to the ignorance and jealouſy of their ſenate, which took from *Hamilton* the liberty of following his own opinion, upon which he reſigned his command.

In the year 1759, general *Manteuffel*, in the middle of winter, carried on his operations againſt the *Swedes* in *Pomerania*. He took *Damgarten*, *Wolgaſt*, *Demmin* and *Anclam*, where he found very conſiderable magazines, and raiſed large contributions in all the neighbourhood; and in *April*, he reduced the fort of *Penemunde*. It happened that the *Pruſſians*, by their ſucceſſes, beat the *Swedes* into courage and diſcipline; and *Manteuffel* found his progreſs checked at *Griegwald*, upon which he returned to *Anclam*, in *January* 1760. While he was encamped near that town, on the 28th, his troops were defeated by the *Swedes*, who entered *Anclam*, wounded, and took himſelf priſoner, with about two hundred men, and three pieces of cannon. The *Swedes* purſued this advantage, by paſſing the river *Pene*, and obliging the *Pruſſians* under *Stullerheim* to retreat; after which they advanced as far as *Stranſberg*, and though they received a ſmall check, with the loſs of five hundred men, yet the *Pruſſians* in thoſe parts were too weak to diſlodge them. Thoſe ſlight advantages elated the *French* party in *Sweden*, and when the diet met in 1760, they elected count *Axel Ferſon* grand marſhal, in oppoſition to count *Horn*, and voted to reinforce their army in *Germany* to the amount of thirty thouſand men. Before their army could be raiſed to that complement, the month of *Auguſt*, 1761, was almoſt paſt, and prince *Henry* of *Pruſſia* had time to detach general *Stullerheim* againſt them with ſome troops, who made them give ground. Their fleet appeared at the ſame time in the *Baltic*, to cooperate with that of *Ruſſia*, in the ſiege of *Colberg*. This is the laſt military action in which the *Swedes* have been engaged during this century.

1759. War in *Pomerania*.

1760.

1761.

Though the *Swedes* made but a poor figure in this war, yet the *French* king thought them of ſo much importance as allies, that though he was a bankrupt in his finances, and had formally ſignified to the diet that he could no longer pay his ſubſidies to *Sweden*, yet no ſooner did he retrieve his affairs, than he ordered his miniſter to ſignify to the ſame diet, that he would not only continue his ſubſidy, but diſcharge all its arrears. We ſcarcely have in hiſtory an inſtance of royal moderation equal to that of his preſent *Swediſh* majeſty. All acts of adminiſtration, however diſpleaſing to him, or contrary to his ſentiments, paſs in his name; nor has he even a voice in many eſſentials of government. The treatment he received from the ſecret committee at one time, wrung from him

Concluſion of the hiſtory of *Sweden*.

a declaration that he was reſolved to reſign the government, and he was perſonally ſo well beloved, that the news had almoſt created an inſurrection of the commons againſt the ſenate. The care which he and his queen beſtowed upon the education of their eldeſt ſon, who is now married to a princeſs of *Denmark*, merits the greateſt encomiums. The connections and intermarriages of the princes of the north, give now a pleaſing proſpect that, under the auſpices of his *Britannic* majeſty, the proteſtant intereſt may be ſo well conſolidated, as to bid defiance to all the arts and power of the *Bourbon* compact.

THE

THE HISTORY OF RUSSIA.

THE earlieſt æra of the hiſtory of *Ruſſia* that can be depended upon to conduct us as a guide, coincides with the reign of *Wolodemir*, in the year 997, the firſt *Chriſtian* king of that country. He is ſaid to have had twelve ſons by his wives and concubines, to whom he left his immenſe dominions; but after his death they cut one anothers throats, till at laſt one of them, *Jaroſlaw*, became ſovereign of the whole; but was no better than tributary to the *Poles*. Upon his death-bed, he fell into the ſame miſtake his father had committed, for he divided his kingdom among his five ſons, who quarrelled among themſelves, and for above a century, were ſo miſerably torn by factions, that they continued tributaries to the *Poles*, who betrayed, and took priſoner *Jaropolk*, the prince of *Ruſſia*. His ſon, *Waſilkon*, revenged his father's quarrel, and beat *Boleſlaus*, the king of *Poland*. The year 1182, produced a freſh war between *Ruſſia* and *Poland*, and the name (for we know very little of his perſon) of one *Wladimir*, who was a *Pole*, and having ſome pretenſions to the principality of *Ruſſia*, or (as it was then called) *Halitz*, applied for aſſiſtance to the *Hungarians*, who, inſtead of helping him, are ſaid to have ſeized all his territories, which were ſome time governed by *Andrew*, ſon of *Bela*, king of *Hungary*, who was driven out by the *Poles*. The chaos that dwells upon the hiſtory of *Ruſſia*, till the year 1237, ſerves only to let us know that *Ruſſia* was, at this time, indetermined in its ſituation, void of all civil government, and a prey to the moſt hardy barbarian who could wield a ſword.

Wolodemir prince of *Ruſſia*.

1182.

1237.

One

John Baſilowitz the Iſt enlarges his dominions.

One *Batto*, the khan of *Tartary*, about the time already mentioned, ſubdued *Ruſſia*; and the *Tartars*, though greater barbarians, if poſſible, than the *Ruſſians* themſelves, held the *Ruſſians* in thraldom for two hundred and ſixty years. The hiſtory of *Ruſſia* is little better than a blank during that period, but with ſome difficulty, we can trace ſome dark hints of hereditary ſucceſſion under the *Tartars*, who at laſt were driven out of *Ruſſia* by the *Livonians* and the *Poles*, about the year 1340. The *Poles* proved greater tyrants to the *Ruſſians* than the *Tartars*; but at laſt one *Demetricus Iwanowitz* took the title of great duke of *Muſcovy*, and made a ſtruggle for the independency of his country. He was defeated, and ſucceeded by his ſon *Baſilius*, whoſe ſon, of the ſame name, had his eyes put out by his kindred competitors for the crown; but he died ſovereign of *Ruſſia*. His ſon, *John Baſilowitz* the Iſt, may be ſaid to be the founder of the *Ruſſian* empire. His ſecond wife was *Sophia*, daughter of *Thomas Paleologus*, an exiled emperor of *Conſtantinople*, who ſpirited him up to ſhake off the diſgraceful yoke of the *Tartars*, which he ſo effectually did, that he conquered their capital, *Caſan*, and took *Great Novogrod*, the richeſt city then in the north, if we can believe ſome writers, who affirm that the *Ruſſians* made a booty in it of three hundred cart loads of gold and ſilver. Notwithſtanding this loſs, *Baſilowitz* ſtript the inhabitants anew, and annexed the city to his duchy, after ſubduing the *Poles* and the *Servians* under king *Caſimir*. The weakneſs of the neighbouring princes, about the year 1500, gave *Baſilowitz* an opportunity of enlarging and ſtrengthening his dominions. He then took the imperial name of czar, and ſubdued great part of *Lithuania*, though he had given his daughter in marriage to that duke.

1500.

His wars,

Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes of *Baſilowitz*, he and his ſubjects continued ſtill undiſciplined, as well as unprincipled, barbarians. His army, conſiſting of a hundred and thirty thouſand men, was defeated by ten thouſand under *Plettenberg*, grand maſter of the *Teutonic* order, with whom he was forced to conclude a fifty years truce. After this, he quarrelled with the *Poles*; but with little ſucceſs; and he was perſuaded, by his *Greek* wife *Sophia*, to ſet aſide the iſſue of his firſt marriage, in favour of her ſon *Gabriel*; but upon his death-bed, he retracted that nomination, and he died in 1305. The memory of *Baſilowitz* has been leſs fortunate than that of *Genghis Khan* or *Tamerlane*. We know few particulars of his reign, only that he died poſſeſſed of an immenſe empire, acquired by his own valour and policy. But though this gives us a high opinion of his abilities, he is recorded as an inhuman tyrant in all other reſpects. We are, however, not to give too great credit to his hiſtorians, for it is more than probable that he was compelled to ſeverity, in the ſame manner as his ſucceſſor, *Peter* the Great, and for the ſame reaſons. Mr. *Voltaire* thinks,

1505. and death.

thinks, that the title of czar which he assumed, was the antient denomination of the *Tartar* princes of *Casan*.

John Basilowitz, justly surnamed the Great, was succeeded by his son *Gabriel*, the true heir, *Demetrius* dying in prison, where he had been confined by the arts of his mother-in-law, *Sophia*. He assumed the name of *Basilius*, and waged an unsuccessful war with the *Poles*, till he made *Glinski*, who had been governor of *Lithuania*, and had quarrelled with the king of *Poland*, his general. *Glinski* soon lost all his conquests, and was banished from *Moscow*, then the capital of *Russia*; but *Basilius* found means to reduce *Pleskow* and *Smolensko*, by *Glinski*'s means, who received imprisonment for his reward. After that, in 1514, the *Russians* were totally defeated by the *Poles*, who laid siege to *Smolensko*, but in vain. In 1515, *Basilius* found himself environed with dangers; but though the emperor *Maximilian* sent him an embassador, desiring him to make peace with the *Poles*, and to set *Glinski* at liberty, he could be persuaded to neither. *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, stirred up the *Crim Tartars* to invade *Muscovy*, and they defeated the army of *Basilius*, who might have purchased his peace, if he would have parted with *Smolensko*. About the year 1520, the *Casan Tartars* not only revolted, but made an irruption into *Russia*, where they took *Moscow*, and defeated the *Russian* army near the river *Occa*. The name of the *Casan* prince was *Machmetgerei*, who ordered his statue to be erected in *Moscow*, and obliged *Basilius* in person to lay at its feet an annual tribute. He no sooner, however, returned to his own country, than the *Russians* demolished it, and shook off their dependence upon the *Tartars*. *Basilius*, to be revenged, invaded *Casan*, and took possession of *Servia*, after clapping its duke into prison. A treaty ensued, but neither the *Tartars* nor the *Russians* were, at that time, so civilized as to know how to make peace.

Succeeded by *Gabriel*.

1514.

1515.

Invasion of the *Crim Tartars*.

1520.

In 1526, *Basilius* divorced his wife, because she was barren, and his minister disciplined her with a horse-whip, for resenting her repudiation, and her being shut up in a monastery. The ceremony of a czarish marriage was then a curiosity. The finest women of the provinces, sometimes to the number of fifteen hundred, were sent for to court, where they were entertained in separate apartments by a governante, till the czar, who visited them incognito, had fixed his choice, which remained a secret, though the day for the wedding was named. When that arrived, the happy candidate was gorgeously attired, and the other ladies were dismissed home, but with handsome presents.

1526.

Solomea, though divorced for barrenness, solemnly swore, after she entered the monastery, that she was with child by *Basilius*; and she is said to have been delivered of a prince, about the time that *Basilius* married *Helena*, an infamous woman, and daughter to *Glinski*, whom he promoted to great honours. The rest of the reign of *Basilius* was spent in a medley

Death of *Basilius*.

medley of negotiations, and wars with the *Poles* and *Tartars*; and he died in the year 1533. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *John Baſilowitz* the IId, who was no more than five years of age. His minority was diſturbed by perpetual wars with the *Poles* and *Tartars*. When he grew up, he cultivated a friendſhip with the emperor, *Charles* the Vth of *Germany*, to whom he ſent a formal embaſſy, deſiring his aſſiſtance in civilizing his people. Thoſe noble diſpoſitions of *John*, were croſſed by the *Lubeckers*, who repreſented to *Charles* the dangerous conſequences of civilizing the *Ruſſians*, ſtopt three hundred artiſts who were going to *Moſcow*, and arreſted the *Ruſſian* embaſſador. *John* was engaged in an arduous war with the *Caſan Tartars*, but a mutiny happening in his army, he was obliged to return to *Moſcow*, where he found means to put to death the chief mutineers. He then took the field, and reduced *Caſan*, where he made priſoners the *Tartar* king and queen, and ſent them to *Moſcow*, where he treated them with abundance of civility. This happened in 1552, and in 1555, he reduced *Aſtracan*. Upon his return, he forced the *Livonians* to pay him tribute, and he invaded *Finland*; but about the year 1556, he was forced to conclude a peace with the *Swedes*. Next year *John* made peace with the *Livonians*, and offered the emperor, *Ferdinand*, a large ſum of money, to be employed in war againſt the infidels, provided he would aſſiſt him in civilizing his ſubjects, but the negotiation had no effect, through the jealouſy of the imperial court. After this, he quarrelled with the *Livonians*, and deſolated their country, becauſe they refuſed to pay him tribute, and had courted the protection of the emperor. Upon their offering him a preſent of thirty thouſand ducats, he granted them a truce for four months, but it was broken by the *Livonian* governor of *Marva*; which town, together with that of *Dorpt*, was taken by the *Ruſſians*. All *Livonia*, and great part of the north, muſt then have fallen under *John*, whoſe army is ſaid to have amounted to three hundred thouſand men; had not the king of *Denmark* and the *Hanſe* towns interpoſed. The *Ruſſians* and *Swedes*, in 1559, joined together, to ſupport the trade of the *Lubeckers* through *Narva*, againſt the *Livonians*, who, under their grand maſter, *Ketler*, obtained the protection of the *Poles*. A ſevere war enſued between the *Livonians* and the *Muſcovites*, in which the latter were victorious; but *Ketler* received the duchy of *Courland* from *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*, to whom he reſigned all his intereſt, and thoſe of the knights of the croſs, in *Livonia*. *Baſilowitz* foſtered thoſe diviſions of his neighbours, but would have married *Catharine*, daughter to *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*, with whom he was in love, had not the *Poles*, who knew his affection for the princeſs, inſiſted upon his preferring the children he might have by her, to thoſe he had by his former marriage, in his ſucceſſion. *Baſilowitz* had the ſpirit to reject this unjuſt ſtipulation; and the *Poles* had the inſolence and weakneſs to ſend him a white capa-

1533. Succeeded by *Baſilowitz* the IId,

1552. 1555.

1556. who endeavours to civilize his ſubjects.

1559.

His wars with his neighbours.

caparisoned mare, instead of a bride, upon which *Basilowitz* swore eternal enmity to their nation. Invading *Livonia*, he took *Poloczkow*, but left the *Swedes* to fight their own battles. The *Poles*, however, defeated two of their armies, in the year 1564, which *Basilowitz* attributed to the cabals of his foreign mercenaries, whom he removed to the interior parts of his dominions, where they continued their intrigues, so as often to endanger his safety. p. 406. 1564.

Character of his government.

It is difficult, at this time, to ascertain the true character of *Basilowitz*, but if we are to judge from appearances, he was a wise, firm, and magnanimous prince. He had a particular regard for the *English*, whose embassador he consulted in all his weighty affairs. Having read some books of divinity, he suffered theological disputations to be held before him, by which, he became contemptible in the eyes of his barbarous subjects, and he struck off the head of *Demetrius*, one of his chief bojars, or lords. This produced a rebellion, so very universal, that he was obliged to give way to it, by abdicating his crown and retiring to a private life. This expedient was attended with the consequences he had foreseen, for his subjects felt the effects of anarchy so severely, that they entreated him, in the most earnest manner, to resume the reins of government, which, at last, he was prevailed upon to do, but upon his own terms. He cut off the heads of the chief insurgents against him, and he formed a body guard of two hundred soldiers of fortune, of his own chusing, from the most distant parts of his dominions, who were taught to know no will but his. About the same time he cultivated a more near connection than ever with *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*, to the vast advantage of both nations, as *Chancellor*, an *English* navigator, traded with his dominions by the way of the *White Sea*, without being exposed to any interruption from the *Poles*.

His negotiations with *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*.

Basilowitz was so pleased with this, that he exempted the *English Russia* company from all customs, assigned them the use of roperies and forges in his dominions; and gave them leave to trade by the *Caspian Sea*, into *Persia* and *Media*. *Basilowitz* expected a greater return for those privileges than *Elizabeth* thought proper to grant him. He gave *Randolph*, her minister, the copy of a treaty offensive and defensive, and sent along with him one *Gregorewitz*, as his embassador to the *English* court; and, at the same time, desired, that she would grant him an asylum in her dominions, if he ever should be forced to quit his own. *Elizabeth* ratified the treaty, but with a saving to all her other engagements, and promised the asylum desired, but refused to give it under her hand and seal. *Basilowitz* took this caution amiss, and said she acted like a mechanic rather than a monarch. He went so far as to threaten to deprive the *English* of their privileges within his dominions; but *Elizabeth* sent him a soothing letter by one *Jenkinson*, a man of parts and address. In this letter, she apologized for her conduct in so satisfactory a manner, that the *English* became

came greater favourites with *Baſilowitz* than ever. He even offered to accept of an *Engliſh* lady for his wife, and *Elizabeth* recommended to him the lady *Anne*, ſiſter to the earl of *Huntingdon*; but underſtanding, by her embaſſador, *Bowes*, that the laws of the *Greek* church did not prohibit the czar from poligamy, ſhe found means to break off the match.

His vaſt magnificence.

The deſcription which *Chancellor* and other *Engliſh* travellers give of the *Ruſſian* court, at this time, repreſent it as being more rich and magnificent than any in the known world. But though *Baſilowitz* was thus ſurrounded with more than eaſtern glory and ſplendor, his ſubjects were no better than ſlaves to the ſlaves of their monarch. We have already mentioned the unaccountable demand which *Baſilowitz* made upon *John* duke of *Livonia*, that his wife, the princeſs *Catharine* of *Poland*, ſhould be put into his hands, and the conſequences with which it was attended. It is certain that *Elizabeth* diſpoſed *Baſilowitz* very favourably towards her old lover, *Eric*, king of *Sweden*, brother to duke *John*, which was one of the reaſons of the rupture which ſoon after happened between the *Ruſſians* and the *Poles*. The latter invaded *Muſcovy*, and ſeized upon ſome places, but were driven back by *Baſilowitz* in perſon. During his abſence, one *Petrowitz*, whom he had left regent, conſpired againſt him, and *Baſilowitz*, upon his return, put him to death with his own hand. The vaſt treaſures which flowed into *Ruſſia* under *Baſilowitz*, give ſome reaſon to believe that he had ſources of wealth which have been hitherto unknown to his ſucceſſors. Probably they lay in *Perſia*, and the countries adjacent to *Aſtracan*, which have ſince undergone many melancholy revolutions. Be that as it will, we find, that about the year 1566, *Selim*, the *Turkiſh* emperor, had projected the conqueſt of *Aſtracan*, and invaded the dominions of *Baſilowitz* with a vaſt army; ſome ſay three hundred thouſand men, which were joined by forty thouſand *Crim Tartars*, but they were completely defeated and deſtroyed by *Zerebrinow*, the *Ruſſian* general. This threatening invaſion had encouraged *George*, brother of *Baſilowitz*, to revive, in his own perſon, the dignity of archduke of *Novogrod*; and, in conjunction with the archbiſhop, had prevailed with that city, *Pleſkow*, and other places, to put themſelves under the protection of the *Poles*. The plot was diſcovered by *Baſilowitz*, who put to death his brother and his family, and ordered his ſoldiers to butcher three thouſand (though ſome make the number fifteen thouſand) of the *Novogroders*.

1566. He defeats the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

His wars in *Livonia*, p. 431.

Livonia was the great object for which the princes of the north contended, and *Baſilowitz*, who fomented their differences, offered it in quality of its protector, to duke *Magnus* of *Holſtein*, with the title of king; which dignity *Magnus* accepted of with great joy. *Baſilowitz* put him at the head of an army, and he publiſhed a manifeſto, tending to convince the *Livonians* that he intended only to deliver them from the yoke of the *Swedes* and *Danes*, and to unite them under a prince

prince of their own. The *Swedes* refuſing to evacuate *Livonia*, *Magnus* beſieged *Revel* with a *Ruſſian* army, but it was ſo bravely defended, that he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, with the loſs of almoſt all his troops. A raging plague, and a freſh invaſion of the *Tartars*, added to the miſeries of *Ruſſia* at this time. The army of *Baſilowitz* was defeated; he was obliged to ſhut himſelf up in a fortreſs, while the barbarians took, plundered, and burnt down *Moſcow*; by which it is ſaid that no fewer than a hundred and twenty thouſand of the inhabitants loſt their lives. If this account is to be depended upon, there is reaſon to believe that *Ruſſia*, under *Baſilowitz*, was better peopled than it is at preſent. *Baſilowitz* was delivered by the king of *Livonia*, who drove the *Tartars*, laden with plunder, out of *Ruſſia*; upon which *Baſilowitz* ordered a ſtrict enquiry to be made into the conduct of his general officers, and ſuch of them as were found culpable were executed, and their eſtates confiſcated. Soon after he concluded a three years truce with the *Poles*, and again made an attempt to ſettle *Magnus* on the throne of *Livonia*, where *Baſilowitz* took *Wittenſtein*, but his army was defeated by the *Swedes* on its return. This defeat humbled *Baſilowitz* ſo much, that he ſued for peace, but was refuſed it by the king of *Sweden*, and a barbarous deſtructive war was renewed. In the mean while, he gave one of his kinſwomen, *Maria*, in marriage to the king of *Livonia*, who took *Pernau*, and ſeveral other places in *Livonia*.

About the year 1576, the emperor *Maximilian* the IId, of- 1576.
fered his mediation between *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, but without *Denmark*
effect, and *Baſilowitz* ſeized *Haſel*, *Lohe* and *Lehal*, belong- and *Po-*
ing to the *Danes*, who had lately bought them from the *Swedes*. *land.*
After the election of *Stephen Battori*, to be king of *Poland*, *Baſilowitz* offered to join the empire in its attempts to dethrone him, that he might divert the attention of the *Poles* from the affairs of *Livonia*. There he beſieged *Revel*. The *Ruſſians*, in thoſe days, were awkward in beſieging places; and after loſing their general, *Kortzoff*, they abandoned their enterprize. This did not prevent *Baſilowitz* from making a new partition of *Livonia* with *Magnus*, who ſecretly countermined him, and took poſſeſſion of many places, contrary to his agreement with *Baſilowitz*. This was reſented by the latter ſo highly, that he beſieged *Magnus* in *Wenden*, and preſſed his *Livonian* majeſty ſo much, that he was obliged to throw himſelf at the czar's feet, and implore his pardon. *Baſilowitz* generouſly granted it, and promiſed to take *Wenden* under his protection, but the garriſon fired upon his camp, narrowly miſſed killing him, and then blew themſelves up in their citadel. *Baſilowitz*, after this, put *Magnus* under arreſt, but ſoon permitted him to retire to *Kackenhauſen*, and *Baſilowitz* would probably have conquered all *Livonia*, had not his dominions been threatened with a freſh irruption of the *Tartars*. Upon the czar's return to *Moſcow*, the *Swedes* recovered all he had

taken

taken in *Livonia*, and beat his troops, in conjunction with the *Poles*, the *Courlanders*, the *Livonians*, and the *Pruſſians*. *Baſilowitz* raiſed an army of a hundred thouſand men, to take a ſevere revenge, but he was again deſerted by *Magnus*, the king of his own making, who put himſelf under the protection of the *Poles*. After ſeveral negotiations, war was declared between *Poland* and *Ruſſia*, by a *Poliſh* embaſſador at *Moſcow*, whom *Baſilowitz*, notwithſtanding, protected from inſult, becauſe of the noble intrepidity he diſcovered in behalf of his maſter and his country.

His troops defeated by the *Poles*.

The campaign was opened with the ſiege of *Poloczkow*, by the *Poles*, who took it, after a brave defence; and being better diſciplined than the *Ruſſians*, obtained many other advantages; upon which *Baſilowitz* deigned to offer to ſend embaſſadors to *Poland*, to treat of peace. As no evacuation of *Livonia* was offered, the *Poles* rejected his advances, and receiving recruits from *Germany* and *Hungary*, they took the important fortreſs of *Wielkiluki*, which gave them a ready admittance into *Ruſſia*. This conqueſt was ſucceeded by many others, and *Pleſkow* itſelf was ſaved only becauſe the *Poles* and their confederates could not ſtand a winter campaign. The *Poles* ſollicited the *Swedes* and *Danes* to join them in this war, but in vain, though they were allured by the promiſe of being put in poſſeſſion of *Baſilowitz*'s immenſe treaſures. The czar profiting by experience, continued the war on the defenſive, and, during the winter, he was himſelf married for the ſeventh time, and celebrated the marriage of his ſon, *John Jwanowitz*, at *Moſcow*, with vaſt magnificence. Mean while, the *Swedes* were drawn in to ſide with the *Poles*, and they took *Kexholm*, and reduced the greateſt part of the *Ruſſian Livonia*. The *Swediſh* general, *la Gardie*, then beſieged, and took *Narva*, and made ſo rapid a progreſs, that he threatened the conqueſt of *Ruſſia* itſelf. The *Poles* were equally ſucceſsful on their part, for, beſides many other places, they took *Riga*, and formed the ſiege of *Pleſkow*, one of the ſtrongeſt places in the north.

His diſtreſſes.

Baſilowitz ſeeing ſo powerful a confederacy againſt him, his chief cities loſt, and his armies cut in pieces, had the ſagacity to apply to pope *Gregory* the XIIIth, and offered to oblige his people to embrace the *Roman* catholic religion, provided he would procure him peace. *Gregory* ſent *Poſſevin*, the *Jeſuit*, who began the negotiation, but *Battori* inſiſted upon the *Ruſſians* reſtoring all *Livonia* as a preliminary. *Baſilowitz* ſeemed to be tractable on this head, but his real deſign was, to ſpin out the time till the ſeaſon ſhould oblige his enemies to quit the field. During the conferences the perſon of *Baſilowitz* had almoſt been ſurprized by *Radzevil*, a *Poliſh* marauder; and, eſcaping this danger, he employed his ſpies, by whom he was well ſerved, ſo effectually, that he ſowed the ſeeds of diſcontent between the *Poles* and the *Swedes*; ſo that *Poſſevin* found means to make the peace of *Zapolicia*, between *Baſilowitz* and

A peace.

and *Battori*, who complained that his allies were the only gainers by the war. By this peace, which was concluded on the 15th of *January* 1582, the *Poles* agreed to give up the conquests they had made in *Ruſſia*, and *Baſilowitz* yielded up to them the *Lithuanian Livonia*. This ſeparate peace, by which the ſiege of *Pleſkow* was raiſed, gives us a high idea of the policy of *Baſilowitz*, who could quell ſo ſucceſsful and ſo powerful a confederacy. The *Ruſſian* nobility, not ſeeing through the reaſons of his inactivity, demanded to be led to the field by his ſon. *Baſilowitz* appeared highly incenſed at this application, ordered the young prince to appear before him, and in the heat of his paſſion, or as ſome ſay, by accident, he gave him a blow with an iron mace, which he carried about with him, as the inſtrument of his vengeance, and which proved fatal to the prince, who died, after languiſhing four days. 1582. He kills his own ſon.

The bitter grief which the czar expreſſed for the death of his innocent ſon, gives ſome room to think that the blow was accidental, or at leaſt that it was given in a thoughtleſs fit of paſſion. But he ſoon returned to the affairs of government. The *Poles* being detached from the *Swedes*, the latter, whoſe demands, at firſt, were very high, apprehending a war with *Poland*, concluded a truce, firſt for two months, and then for two years. *Baſilowitz* is ſaid, however, never to have recovered from the melancholy he had conceived by the death of his ſon. He endeavoured to divert it, by making an expedition, in perſon, againſt the *Tartars*, which proved unſucceſsful; and upon his return to *Moſcow*, foreſeeing his own death, he employed himſelf in acts of clemency, and in making many excellent diſpoſitions for the government of his ſon *Theodore*. He died on the 26th of *March* 1584. Some time before his death, *Poſſevin* demanded the completion of his promiſe of uniting his dominions to the church of *Rome*, but received ſuch an anſwer as demonſtrated that *Baſilowitz* either had never been ſincere when he made it, or thought that it was more equitable to break than to obſerve it. His death, 1584.

Baſilowitz may be ſaid to have been rather a rough than a barbarous prince, and, in every reſpect, was the prototype of his ſucceſſor, *Peter* the Great. His actions ſhew him to have poſſeſſed great ſtrength of mind. He was poſſeſſed of unfeigned piety, and in ſolemn ſeaſons, he often publicly performed the duties of chief pontif in his own dominions. He was inflexible in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſometimes put to death with his own hand the miniſters who oppreſſed his people, and abuſed his confidence. He was (as we have already hinted) by far the richeſt and moſt magnificent prince of his time, notwithſtanding the immenſe ſums he ſpent upon his wars, in rewarding his ſpies, and penſioning men of merit. The cruelties of which he was accuſed, can ſcarcely be called ſo, when exerciſed on a people, who were inſenſible (as the *Ruſſians* then were) to all other feelings, but thoſe of pain, and whoſe obſtinacy could be conquered only by puniſhment and character.

and torture. His appearance was majeſtic, eſpecially as he commonly wore robes, jewels, a crown, a globe, and a ſceptre of ineſtimable value. His memory was quick and comprehenſive, and upon the whole, he was the greateſt prince that filled the *Ruſſian* throne before *Peter* the Great.

Succeeded by his ſon *Theodore*, a beneficent prince.

Baſilowitz, before his death, had committed the tuition of his ſon, *Theodore* (of whoſe intellects he had but a ſlender opinion) to a nobleman, one *Bielſki*, whoſe ambition was ſo immoderate, that his pupil was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he caballed with the nobility to ſet him aſide, for want of a capacity to govern. *Theodore*, however, upon his acceſſion, performed ſo many acts of beneficence and reformation, that the nobles, diſcovering *Bielſki*'s ambition, drove him out of *Ruſſia* into *Tartary*. His baniſhment did not relieve *Theodore*, for his brother-in-law, *Boris*, ſucceeded to all the ambition and treaſonable deſigns of *Bielſki*; but covered his intentions under the maſk of great moderation and zeal for the public good. The *Swedes* continued their applications for a peace, but they terminated in prolonging the truce for four years. When the crown of *Poland* became vacant, by the death of *Battori*, *Boris* propoſed *Theodore*, as a candidate, to ſucceed him; but the election fell upon *Sigiſmund*, prince of *Sweden*. The uniting the crowns of *Sweden* and *Poland* in one family, alarmed *Boris*, who offered the *Swedes* their own terms, but to no purpoſe, till after various warlike operations,

1590. a truce was concluded for one year, in 1590. *Boris* thought that that interval, joined to the diſaffection entertained by the *Swedes* and *Poles* to their reſpective princes, afforded a fair opportunity for carrying his ambitious ſchemes into execution.

His younger brother murdered by *Boris*.

He began by performing ſeveral popular acts, but he employed an aſſaſſin to murder the czar's brother, young *Demetrius*, who was no more than nine years of age, and under the tutelage of his mother. Whether the murderer performed his commiſſion, remains a doubt to this day, and the moſt probable opinion is, that the aſſaſſin killed another boy, who had been ſubſtituted by the czarina in her ſon's place. The fact, in ſhort, is variouſly related, nor was it poſſible to clear it up, becauſe the aſſaſſin himſelf was way-layed and murdered, by order of *Boris*.

The death of *Demetrius* was given out, and *Boris* was ſuſpected, but he ſcreened himſelf by a variety of popular acts.

1597. In 1597, *Theodore* falling ill, delivered his ſtaff of command to his couſin, *Theodore Nikititz Romanow*, as a ſign that he intended him for his ſucceſſor. This nobleman, as did all his brothers, refuſed to accept of the nomination; upon which *Theodore*, in a paſſion, threw the ſtaff upon the ground, de-

Death of *Theodore*, claring, that whoever took it up ſhould be his ſucceſſor. It was ſeized by *Boris*, whoſe ſiſter *Theodore* had married, and ſhe upbraided him with her huſband's death, which happened ſoon after, in the twelfth year of his reign, and in him the firſt line of the czars ended.

During

During the vacancy of the throne, the *Swedes* became masters of almoſt all *Ingria*, and *Boris* artfully ſpread reports as if both they and the *Tartars* were about to invade *Ruſſia*; upon which he was ſeemingly forced to accept of the czarſhip. He began his reign with great magnificence and generoſity; for it is ſaid that he entertained ten thouſand people at dinner every day, and that all of them were ſerved in plate. Upon his return to *Moſcow*, he was crowned, and though he affected great gentleneſs and ſmoothneſs of manners, he forced the *Romanow* family into convents, and *Theodore* was obliged to change his name into that of *Philaret*. In 1600, *Boris*, whoſe manners were now degenerated into thoſe of a tyrant, concluded a peace with the *Poles*, and entered into negotiations with the *Swedes* and the *Danes*; but in the mean while, ſo dreadful a famine raged in *Ruſſia*, that the living eat one another, and it is thought that no fewer than five hundred thouſand perſons periſhed of hunger within the walls of *Moſcow*. In 1604, a ſuppoſed *Demetrius*, pretending to be the ſon of *John Baſilowitz* the IId, appeared, and it was given out that he had eſcaped the aſſaſſination intended for him by *Boris*. Had not the tyrant employed unfair practices to deſtroy this *Demetrius* likewiſe, his claims perhaps would have been diſregarded. He eſcaped to *Kiow*, from thence he went to *Lithuania*, and was received by the palatine of *Sandomir* as the true heir of the *Ruſſian* monarchy. The palatine engaged all *Poland* in his intereſt, and *Demetrius* undertook, if he was reſtored, to eſtabliſh the *Roman* catholic religion in *Ruſſia*, and to marry *Mariana*, the palatine's daughter. At laſt *Demetrius* was preſented before the diet and the king of *Poland*. The former, upon examining the evidences he offered, pronounced him to be the ſon of *Baſilowitz* the IId. The latter wanted to make an advantage of the diſcovery, and dreading the threatenings of *Boris*, was more reſerved in his promiſes, but gave his nobles leave to aſſiſt *Demetrius*, if they pleaſed. In a few weeks *Demetrius* was at the head of an army of *Poles*, and defeated the *Ruſſians* under *Boris*, who was alarmed and diſtracted; and at laſt betrayed by his general, *Zuſki*. It is ſaid that *Demetrius*, while he was near *Moſcow*, ſent ruffians, who gave him poiſon, of which he died in 1605.

who is ſucceeded by *Boris*.

1600.

1604.

A ſuppoſed *Demetrius* claims the czarſhip.

Death of *Boris*, 1605.

Though the claim of *Demetrius* was plauſible, yet his memory has been treated as that of an impoſtor; and the beſt modern authors ſeem to believe that he was a young monk of the ſame age as the true *Demetrius*, and that he had been tutored by an old monk into all his fictions. If that, however, was the caſe, the widow of *Baſilowitz*, and the friends of his family, muſt have been accomplices with the impoſtor, for they not only recognized his perſon, but furniſhed him with ſome jewels which the true *Demetrius* wore about his perſon. Upon the death of *Boris*, his ſon, *Theodore*, or (as that name is pronounced in *Ruſſia*) *Feoder*, was proclaimed czar, and at firſt, though he was but fifteen years of age, he was acknowledged

who is ſucceeded by *Demetrius*.

ledged by the chief *Ruſſians* at *Moſcow*; but being betrayed by the army, he and his mother were committed to priſon, where they are ſaid to have been murdered, by order of *Demetrius*, who was immediately raiſed to the throne of *Ruſſia*. The firſt exerciſe of his government was his ſending for his mother, who lived exiled in the north of *Muſcovy*, and who ſolemnly acknowledged him for her ſon. The truth is, that though *Boris* was hated, yet *Demetrius* was neither beloved nor believed to be what he pretended. Though ſmooth and inſinuating, he ſoon forfeited all credit with the *Ruſſians*, by his deviations from their manners. They abominated the *Roman* catholic religion, and two *Jeſuits* were his firſt miniſters, orders having been given to build a *Jeſuits* church in the capital; but the averſion of the *Ruſſians* to *Demetrius* was completed, when they ſaw him and his *Poliſh* czarina ſurrounded by guards of her countrymen, in their native dreſſes, and the nobility of that kingdom the only favourites at court. His friend and general *Boſmanoff* put him upon his guard, and when it was too late, he endeavoured to accommodate himſelf more than he had done to the *Ruſſian* cuſtoms.

He grows unpopular.

Zuſki, whom *Demetrius* had already pardoned for his treaſons, became the head of a party againſt him. He recapitulated to his accomplices all the tranſgreſſions *Demetrius* had been guilty of, even to his eating veal, which they conſidered as unclean meat; and when they were ſufficiently heated, twenty thouſand of them took poſſeſſion of the palace, forced his mother, the czarina dowager, to declare that *Demetrius* was not her ſon, butchered him and all the *Poles* who were about court, excepting the palatin of *Sandomir*, and his daughter, the czarina, who redeemed their lives with money. Notwithſtanding the fate of *Demetrius*, when we conſider the circumſtances attending it, there is reaſon for queſtioning the veracity of his ſuppoſed mother's diſowning him, and the various reports and difficulties that have been ſtarted concerning his perſon, render the whole more proper for the page of romance than of hiſtory. It ſeems, however, to be pretty evident, from what has ſince happened in that country, that had *Demetrius* been the undoubted ſon of *Baſilowitz* the IId, his diſregard of the *Ruſſian* cuſtoms and religion, and his partiality for foreigners, muſt have led him to the ſame, or a like tragical, end.

Is dethroned and murdered by *Zuſki*,

who ſucceeds him.

After the murder of *Demetrius*, *Zuſki* was placed on the throne of the czars, by the ſuffrages of the people, to the great diſcontent of ſome of the chief nobility. He cultivated a friendſhip with the *Poles*, and *Sigiſmund* diſowned the late *Demetrius*, as did the king of *Sweden* likewiſe, each hoping to make *Zuſki* his friend in a war that was ready to break out between them. While he was intent on foreign affairs, *Schacopſki*, who had been chancellor to *Demetrius*, in concert with ſome diſcontented nobles, pretended that his maſter had eſcaped the late maſſacre, and was gone to implore ſuccours in perſon

perſon, of his allies. An army immediately aſſembled under one *Iſthoma Baſcow*, and *Polutnich*, a *Coſack* general, which defeated that of *Zuſki*, and they muſt have made themſelves maſters of *Moſcow*, had they not quarrelled, upon which *Baſcow* went over to *Zuſki*, and the conſpiracy came to nothing, its heads being puniſhed by death or tortures. Though this ſecond *Demetrius* had never appeared publicly, yet a third ſtarted up in *Poland*. He was a ſchoolmaſter at *Socola*, in *Poliſh Ruſſia*, and his cauſe was adopted by *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*. So credulous were the *Ruſſians* and *Tartars* of thoſe times, that even this impoſture, glaring as it was, aſſembled an army of ſixty thouſand men, gave two ſignal defeats to that of *Zuſki*, and at laſt beſieged him in *Moſcow*. Here he was ſo hard preſſed, and his troops were ſo often defeated, that he employed the palatine of *Sandomir*, and his daughter, the late czarina, to make his peace with *Sigiſmund*. Inſtead of that, being carried to the impoſtor's camp, the one acknowledged him for his ſon-in-law, and the other for her huſband. This management, which was plainly intended as the means of being revenged on *Zuſki*, ſtrengthened the impoſtor's party ſo much, that the czar held no places of importance in his empire, but *Moſcow*, *Smolenſko*, and *Novogrod*.

A new impoſtor.

The bojars, and all the natives of any ſenſe or knowledge, equally hated *Demetrius* as *Zuſki*, and when the *Swedes* declared for the latter, the *Ruſſians* diſowned both, and proceeded to a new election, which fell upon *Uladiſlaus*, ſon to *Sigiſmund*, king of *Poland*, who was beſieging, and afterwards took, *Smolenſko*. In conſequence of this election, *Zuſki* was depoſed and put to death, *Demetrius* was aſſaſſinated by the *Tartars*, for having ordered their prince, *Kaſimowſki*, to be drowned; and, what is almoſt incredible, a fourth *Demetrius* ſtarted up, was acknowledged as the true heir of *Ruſſia* by the citizens of *Pleſkow*, and in a few days was ſtrong enough to diſpute the throne of the czars with *Uladiſlaus*. The farce, however, carried on by this *Demetrius*, was but ſhort lived, for after the *Ruſſians* had obtained their ends, by putting him at their head againſt the *Poles*, they ſent him priſoner to *Moſcow*, where he was hanged. After this, ten thouſand *Poles* took poſſeſſion of *Moſcow*, in the name of *Uladiſlaus*; and finding themſelves diſtruſted by the *Ruſſians*, they ſet fire to the city, butchered a hundred thouſand of its inhabitants, and plundered the churches, palace, and public treaſury, of moſt incredible riches. Leaving a garriſon in the caſtle of *Moſcow*, the main body rejoined their king, who ſoon after returned to *Poland*, in deſpair of ſeeing his ſon ſeated on the throne of the czars, eſpecially after his garriſon gave up the caſtle of *Moſcow*.

Zuſki depoſed.

Other impoſtors ariſe, and are puniſhed.

The *Ruſſians* may now be ſaid to have arrived at the criſis of their public diſtractions. In 1613, a great aſſembly of the bojars was held, in which the election of *Uladiſlaus* was ſet aſide, becauſe he had refuſed to be inveſted with his new dignity; and proceeding to a new election, it fell upon a young

1613. *Michael Romanow* choſen czar.

man of seventeen (others say fifteen) years of age, *Michael Theodorowitz Romanow*. He was the son of *Theodore Nikitiz Romanow*, whom we have already mentioned to have had his name changed to *Philaret*, when he was shut up in a convent by the tyrant *Boris*. *Theodore*'s wisdom and moderation had recommended him to the public esteem, and the first *Demetrius*, after making him archbishop of *Rotow*, sent him as his embassador to *Poland*, where he was made a prisoner, and remained so at the time of his son's election. His wife, whose name was *Czermetoff*, was a woman of the highest quality; and, by his mother's side, he was descended from the antient blood of the czars. This, together with his sufferings, undoubtedly influenced the election in favour of his son; and the unwillingness of the mother, with the young man's own unambitious behaviour, confirmed them in their choice. In short, the patriarch of *Moscow* pretended a revelation in favour of the young man, and he was accordingly inaugurated into his new dignity.

His remarkable marriage.

The *Russians* were not deceived in *Michael*, whose parts were more solid than shining, and whose endeavours wholly tended to re-establish the peace of his dominions. He made his father, who was now released from his captivity, the patriarch of *Moscow*, and gave him the first place in his councils, so that the prelate reigned in his son's name. *Michael* chose a wife in the old *Russian* manner, which we have already described; and the happy woman was one *Eudocia*, the daughter of a farmer, who was tilling his grounds when he heard that he was father of the czarina. The demands which *Charles* the IXth of *Sweden* had upon *Russia*, on account of his engagements to assist *Zuski*, was the first interruption of the tranquillity of this reign, and we have already seen the intrigues which the prince of *Sweden* had formed for becoming czar. *La Gardie* took *Ladoga* and *Kexholm*, and, at last, *Novogrod*, about the time that *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded to the crown of *Sweden*. The reader, in the history of *Sweden*, has seen the progress and event of this quarrel. The young czar, finding that *Gustavus* and his brother disputed his election, notified the same to all the foreign powers in *Europe*, but could not prevent the *Swedes* from gaining many considerable advantages over them. In 1617, under the mediation of *Merrick*, the *English* embassador, a peace was concluded between the *Russians* and *Swedes*, at *Glebova*, by which *Kexholm* and *Ingria* remained with *Gustavus*. Before *Michael* could taste the sweets of this peace, his dominions were invaded by a fresh army of *Poles*, under *Uladislaus*, who proceeded with vast ferocity and cruelty to the very gates of *Moscow*, pretending that he was the lawful czar; but all he could do, was to plunder and put the disarmed peasantry to the sword, for, at last, he was forced to make a truce for fourteen years, on condition that *Smolenska* should remain with the *Poles*.

p. 505, 506.

1617. Negotiations,

Though

Though the czar's wife, *Eudocia*, proved one of the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous princeſſes that ever graced a throne, yet *Michael* had thoughts of divorcing her, becauſe ſhe had no male iſſue, when, in 16 o, ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon, *Alexis*. Soon after this joyful event, *Michael* received, from the *Dutch*, the moſt ſplendid embaſſy that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, on a count of ſome commercial differences between them and the *Engliſh*. He partly granted their requeſts as to a corn trade to be carried on in the *White Sea*, but all he could obtain in return, was their granting him liberty to purchaſe military ſtores in *Holland*, for they refuſed to aſſiſt him againſt the *Poles*, who had broken the truce, and taken ſeveral places in *Ruſſia*. This produced a war between the *Poles* and the *Ruſſians*, who were defeated in 1633, which coſt the *Ruſſian* general, *Szehin*, and ſome of his officers, their heads. Notwithſtanding this, a peace was concluded in 1634. *Uladiſlaus* renounced the title of czar, and concluded a definitive pea e with *Michael*, upon the latter yielding up to him *Smolenſko* and *Czernichew*, in perpetuity. We have already mentioned the romantic project of the duke of *Holſtein*, to open a ſilk trade through *Ruſſia* with *Perſia*; but *Michael* now received an irreparable loſs, by the death of his father, whoſe name he is ſaid to have aſſociated with his own in all public acts. The reſt of *Michael*'s reign was tranquil. He employed himſelf in the education of his ſon *Alexis*, which was committed to one *Moroſou*, and his court was crouded with ſplendid embaſſies, from the chief princes of *Europe* and *Aſia*. Such was the deſirable ſituation of *Michael*, beloved by his ſubjects, and reſpected by his neighbours, when he died, in 1645, in the 33d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age.

1630. wars, 1633. 1634. and death.

Moroſou was then conſidered as the firſt ſubject in the empire, and upon the coronation of his pupil, *Alexis*, became his favourite and firſt miniſter. Among the other ladies who appeared, as uſual, candidates for the czar's hand in marriage, two, the daughters of an obſcure bojar, called *Miloſlauſki*, were exquiſitely handſome. The czar fell in love with, and married the elder, as *Moroſou* did the younger. The favourite's next care was to plunge his maſter into pleaſures and amuſements, while he himſelf, in conjunction with his father-in-law and *Pleſcou*, the chief juſtice of *Moſcow*, governed the empire with an abſolute ſway. About this time, all *Europe* was amuſed with the adventures of a counterfeit *Zuſki*, who pretended to be ſon to the czar of that name, and who, after a vaſt variety of transformations, was diſcovered to be an impoſtor, and was executed with the moſt dreadful tortures at *Moſcow*. Their deliverance from this impoſtor, ſerved only to encourage *Moroſou* and his aſſociates in their infamous oppreſſions, which, in the year 1648, broke out in an inſurrection, in which the people demanded the diſmiſſion of the chief juſtice, whoſe malverſations were the moſt intolerable. So far

Succeeded by his ſon *Alexis*.

1648.

from receiving ſatisfaction, they were inſulted by the friends of the triumvirate, among whom was the chancellor of *Ruſſia*. Exaſperated at this, they plundered *Moroſou*'s houſe, beat the chancellor to death, and forced the czar to deliver up to them the chief juſtice, whom they beat to death likewiſe, and cut off his head. A nobleman, one *Trachaniſtou*, was the next object of their fury, and the czar ordered him to be beheaded before his face, which mollified the inſurgents ſo much, that they ſuffered *Moroſou* to eſcape. The heads of this inſurrection were *Strelitzes*, who anſwered to the *Roman* prætorian bands; and even when the tumult was over, the czar was ſo far from puniſhing them, that he treated them with ſtrong liquors, as a reward for their moderation, till at laſt, he prevailed with them to agree to his pardoning *Moroſou*. The latter accordingly returned to court, where he appeared as humble as he had been before haughty. A negotiation with *Chriſtina*, queen of *Sweden*, ſucceeded, and it was agreed that neither ſhould protect the fugitives of the other. This did not prevent ſeveral inſurrections at *Pleſkow*, *Novogrod* and other places, againſt the *Ruſſian* monopolizers of corn, and it was with ſome difficulty that *Alexis* reduced the inſurgents.

The inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

p. 524, &c. *ſeq.*

War with *Poland* and *Sweden*.

We have already mentioned the wars in which *Alexis* was engaged with *Poland* and *Sweden*. *Alexis* ſeems to have engaged in them, partly that he might employ his tumultuous ſubjects, and had it not been for the interpoſition of *France*, in favour of *Caſimir*, he was then ſo powerful that he muſt have obtained the crown of *Poland*. Being diſappointed in this aim, he reſolved to be revenged on the *Poles* for all the blood they had ſhed, and the devaſtation they had made in *Ruſſia*. He recovered *Smolenſko*, after a year's ſiege. He carried an army of three hundred thouſand men into *Lithuania*, where he reduced *Wilna*, as his *Pruſſian Coſacs* did *Kiow*, and the province of *Czernichew*. In ſhort, the *Poles* being preſt on the other hand by the *Swedes*, were obliged to put up with thoſe loſſes, and to conclude a long truce with *Alexis*. The latter was not ſo fortunate againſt the *Swedes*, who beat his armies in *Lithuania*, *Carelia*, *Ingria*, and *Livonia*, and obliged them to abandon the blockade of *Riga*, though it was formed with a hundred and twenty thouſand men. Thoſe loſſes compelled *Alexis* to accept of a peace with the *Swedes* in 1661. About that time, a fifth *Demetrius* appeared, and claimed the throne of the czars, as being the ſon of the firſt *Demetrius*, the ſuppoſed monk. His claim was far more probable than thoſe of the preceding pretenders; and it is generally thought, that, at the time of his father's cataſtrophe, his mother ſaved him among the *Coſacs*. His right had been acknowledged by *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*; and upon his death, he retired firſt to *Sweden*, and then into the territories of the duke of *Holſtein*, who, for pecuniary conſiderations, gave him up to the czar, and he was put to death at *Moſcow*.

1661.

Alexis had now ſome leiſure to apply himſelf to the internal government of his kingdom, and he is celebrated for ſeveral regulations he introduced in the laws, manufactures and agriculture. In ſhort, if we believe contemporary authors, he formed the outlines of that plan, which was ſo gloriouſly extended by his ſon, *Peter* the Great. His civil cares were interrupted in 1669, by the dangerous rebellion of *Stenko Razin*, a *Coſac* chief, but a *Ruſſian* ſubject. This rebellion, perhaps, had its riſe from the tyranny of *Dolgorucki*, who commanded the *Coſacs* under the czar. *Stenko* carried on war not only againſt *Alexis*, but the ſhah of *Perſia*, and plundered all the rich countries that lie on the banks of the *Wolga*, and the *Caſpian Sea*. His aim ſeems to have been the crown of *Aſtracan*, but his head was diſordered by his ſucceſſes, eſpecially after he had in a manner forced *Alexis* to grant him a pardon. Renewing his rebellious practices, he aſſembled a large body of *Ruſſians*, *Coſacs*, and other nations, with which he ſeized the *Aſtracan* fleet, with a vaſt booty, which enabled him to reward his men in the moſt liberal manner. Being now maſter of a good fleet, and twenty-ſeven thouſand land forces, he had the inſolence to ſend embaſſadors to threaten the ſhah of *Perſia* with an invaſion, if he did not enter into an alliance with him. The ſhah anſwered the demand of the embaſſadors by ſtriking off their heads; but this did not hinder *Stenko* from becoming maſter of many important places upon the *Wolga*, his army being encreaſed, by vaſt deſertions from that of *Ruſſia*. Even *Aſtracan*, at laſt, was ſurrendered to the rebel, who put to death the *Ruſſian* governor, butchered great numbers of the citizens, and was guilty of the moſt ſhocking barbarities. The firſt check he received, was from the governor of *Simbierſke*, who forced him to return to *Aſtracan*; but ſtill his forces encreaſed every day, till at laſt they amounted to two hundred thouſand men. This vaſt body was too numerous to ſubſiſt in one place, and gave *Dolgorucki*, the *Ruſſian* general, who was ſent to command againſt the rebels, ſuch advantages, that twelve thouſand of them were put to death on racks and wheels. In other parts, proportionable numbers ſuffered, ſo that above a hundred thouſand rebels were put to the ſword, or died under the hands of the executioner. As to *Stenko* himſelf, he met with the fate which his frantic cruelty deſerved, and, diſpirited at ſeeing himſelf deſerted by all his followers, he ſet out for *Moſcow*, in hopes of being both pardoned and preferred by the czar; but he was there publicly executed. After his death, the czar recovered *Aſtracan*, and all the places he had taken, and the rebellion was extinguiſhed, after a vaſt effuſion of blood.

A dangerous rebellion,

extinguiſhed.

In 1676, *Alexis* renewed his treaty with *Poland*, and ſignified the ſame to the *Turks*, who were ready to fall upon that republic. This admonition not being ſufficient to deter the infidels from attacking the *Poles*, *Alexis* aſſiſted the latter with twenty thouſand men, and compelled the ſultan to a peace.

1676. *Alexis* aſſiſts the *Poles*.

The

The czar, not being comprehended in it, refuſed to make the ceſſions demanded by the ſultan, whom he called a dog, and told him that he ſhould be glad to meaſure his *Ruſſian* ſabre with the *Turkiſh* ſcymiter. The war between the *Turks* and the *Poles* was renewed, and *Alexis*, in defiance of the ſultan's threatening, ſent two armies of twenty thouſand men each, to the aſſiſtance of the *Poles*, beſides ordering his *Calmucs* and *Coſacs* to make an irruption into the *Crim*. Thoſe ſuccours made ſuch a diverſion, as enabled the famous *John Sobieſki*, crown general of *Poland*, to gain the famous battle of *Choczim*, over the infidels, which afterwards advanced him to that crown, though his election was diſputed by *Alexis*, who offered the *Poles* very alluring terms, if they would chuſe his ſon *Theodore*.

His noble projects for a general league againſt the *Turks*.

That *Alexis* was a prince of the moſt ſublime and comprehenſive ideas, appears from the ſcheme which he formed at this time, of a general league againſt the *Turks*. With that view, he ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, and the chief potentates in *Chriſtendom*. Though he offered to agree that his holineſs ſhould be chief of the league, yet he ordered his embaſſador not to kiſs his ſlipper. He was, however, well received at the papal court, notwithſtanding the ridiculous punctilios the cardinal inſiſted on, and the ſcheme was highly approved and admired, both there, and by other *Roman* catholic powers; but their wars among each other did not admit its being carried into execution. Had he lived longer, he would have left leſs for his ſucceſſor, the great *Peter*, to have done for the benefit of his dominions. He was indefatigable in promoting the ſilk and other manufactures, and inſtead of ſuffering the priſoners he made in war to be the ſlaves of their captors, he formed them into ſettlements on the banks of the *Wolga*, and his other unpeopled territories, or employed them in his armies. Before his death, he loſt almoſt all the *Ukraine* to the *Turks*; and he complained that the *Poles*, out of jealouſy, beheld the progreſs of the infidels with too little concern, till it was too late. It is ſaid that the infidels, when they took *Human*, in the *Ukraine*, by aſſault, butchered a hundred thouſand of his ſubjects; and when his general, *Romadonowſki*, was obliged to ſave himſelf and his army behind the *Nieper*, *Moſcow* itſelf was thrown into a conſternation; but it was quickly removed, by the activity and valour of the czar, who obliged the enemy to return towards the *Danube*. After this, the *Poles* made a vaſt progreſs in the *Ukraine*, which *Alexis* was too generous to reſent. Neither would he enter into the confederacy againſt *Charles* the XIth of *Sweden*, whoſe embaſſadors he received into *Moſcow* with moſt aſtoniſhing magnificence. *Alexis* died ſuddenly, in the year 1677, when he was no more than forty-ſix years of age. By his firſt wife, *Miloſlawſki*, he left two ſons, *Theodore* and *John*, and four daughters, *Catharine*, *Theodoſia*, *Mary* and *Sophia*; the latter of whom was diſtinguiſhed for her great talents. By his ſecond wife,

His death and character.

1677.

wife, daughter of the bojar *Nariſkin*, a captain of huſſars, he had *Peter*, afterwards juſtly ſurnamed the Great, and a daughter, *Nathalia*, ſo called after her mother. It is ſufficient to ſay of *Alexis*, that he left many other monuments of his glory beſides that of being father to *Peter* the Grea . He ſincerely hated the *Turks*, and was perhaps the only *European* prince of his time, who did not ſuffer his private quarrels with other powers to interfere in the great deſigns he meditated againſt them. The chief diſadvantage he ſeems to have lain under, was the too great power of his patriarchs and clergy, whoſe intereſt it was to encourage the barbarity and religious prepoſſeſſions of his people.

Theodore ſucceeded his father, when he was no more than ſeventeen years of age. By the beſt computation, *Alexis* left an army of two hundred and fifty thouſand men, at the time of his death, the greateſt part of which was deſtined for the recovery of the *Ukraine*. *Theodore* employed them for the ſame purpoſe, and ſucceeded. He retook *Czeherin*, and reduced the rebel, *Doroſenſko*, the *Zaporog-Coſac*, who had, by turns, invited the *Poles*, the *Turks*, and the *Tartars*, into the *Ukraine*, and had betrayed them all. *Theodore* met with an ungrateful return for the aſſiſtance his father had given to the *Poles*, for they not only refuſed to give him any aſſiſtance againſt the infidels, but inſiſted upon terms for themſelves; and, beſides ſome ceſſions, actually received two hundred thouſand rubles (about forty-ſix thouſand pounds) as a ſatisfaction for *Kiow* and *Smolenſko*. *Theodore* was in hopes that thoſe advantageous terms would have induced the *Poles* to have ſent him ſuccours; but before any reſolution of that kind could be taken in the diet, the *Turks*, in 1678, re-entered the *Ukraine*, out of which they drove *Romadonowſki*, though he was at the head of four hundred thouſand men, and retook *Czeherin*. From the ſucceſs of this campaign, we may judge of the valour and diſcipline of the *Ruſſian* troops, or rather, perhaps, the incapacity of their general. The *Poles* wanted to profit by the diſtreſs of *Theodore*, but he nobly rejected all their demands; and the *Turks*, perceiving that their conqueſts did not repay the tenth part of the expences they coſt them, nor even afforded ſubſiſtance for their troops, returned home, and propoſed an accommodation with *Theodore*, who, finding that he was trifled with by the *Poles*, made a treaty with the infidels in 1680, by which the *Coſacs* returned to their allegiance under the czar, and the *Tartars* were bound up from making any farther incurſions into the *Ruſſian* dominions.

Though *Theodore* had not his father's ſtrength of mind, yet having, by a very politic conduct, reſtored peace to his dominions, he purſued his plans for the civilization of his country. He encouraged the building ſtone, inſtead of wooden, houſes, at *Moſcow*, and was careful to introduce into his dominions a good breed of horſes. His policy was, perhaps, not ſo defenſible in endeavouring to imitate the *Turkiſh* government, by throwing

Succeeded by *Theodore*, 1673.

who endeavours to civilize his country. 1680.

throwing into the fire all the evidences of noble birth, and privileges which he ordered his bojars to lay before him, that every man might depend, for all he poſſeſſed, on his own merits and ſervices; for this attempt, inſtead of reforming them, rendered them his enemies. He was, notwithſtanding his bodily infirmities, twice married, within the ſpace of ten months. The name of his firſt wife, whom he married in 1681, is uncertain; but ſhe was of a *Poliſh* family. She dying, he married *Marva Matweowna*, daughter of *Matthias Appraxin*, when he was almoſt upon his death-bed; for he ſurvived the ceremony but a few months, and died in 1682, without children, after having named his half-brother, *Peter*, (thinking his full brother, *John*, incapable of affairs) to be his ſucceſſor.

His death. 1682.

Peter, at the time of his brother's death, was but ten years of age, and *John*'s intellects and perſon were weak, being almoſt deprived of ſight. Their ambitious ſiſter, *Sophia*, did not, as had been common with the daughters of czars, retire to a monaſtery, but formed a deſign to make herſelf miſtreſs of the empire. By her intrigues, the *Strelitzes* firſt mutinied, and then rebelled: She prevailed with them to maſſacre all whom ſhe ſuſpected to befriend *Peter*, the *Nariſkin* family particularly. The carnage was horrible, and ſuſpicion was enough to deſtroy any man, be he ever ſo innocent. Together with the *Nariſkins*, the princes *Dolgorucki* and *Mattheof*, were murdered, and for ſome days, the ſtreets of the capital might be ſaid to run with blood. The princeſs *Sophia* was the authoreſs and directreſs of this terrible proſcription, which ended by the *Strelitzes* declaring *John* and *Peter* joint czars, and herſelf regent. Her firſt exerciſe of power was, her approving of all the murders that had been committed, and rewarding their authors, by which ſhe acted, in every reſpect, as ſole ſovereign of *Ruſſia*. She married her brother *John* to a *Siberian* lady, of the *Soltikoff* family, 1664; and had ſuch an aſcendency over the *Strelitzes*, that when one part of them rebelled, upon a religious account, they were reduced by thoſe who ſtuck firm to her government, and the ringleaders were puniſhed with death. This inſurrection was not ſo formidable as a conſpiracy formed by the *Knez Chowanſki*, general of the *Strelitzes*, one of her beſt friends, who had ſo great an intereſt, that he forced the princeſs and the royal family to fly to the monaſtery of the *Holy Trinity*, whither inviting the *Knez*, who publicly aimed at the throne, to a conference, ſhe found means to cut off his and his ſons heads, with thoſe of thirty-ſeven of his chief officers. It happened fortunately for the royal family, that the inſolence of the *Strelitzes* was become deteſtable to all the reſt of *Ruſſia*; ſo that when they were preparing to level the monaſtery to the ground, and to murder all the royal family, to revenge their general's death, they were informed by the patriarch, for whom they had a regard, that vaſt armies were marching againſt them from all quarters. Finding this intelligence to be true, they laid down their arms,

He is ſucceeded by his two brothers.

A dreadful inſurrection at *Moſcow*, through the ambition of their ſiſter *Sophia*, who had been declared co-regent.

arms, and three thouſand ſeven hundred of them preſented themſelves on their knees before the gates of the monaſtery, each carrying in his hand a block and a hatchet, but they were all pardoned and diſmiſſed, by the politic *Sophia*.

That princeſs, ambitious as ſhe was, was obliged to call in to her aſſiſtance prince *Baſil Galitzin*, by far the ableſt and moſt accompliſhed nobleman in *Ruſſia*, whom ſhe ſet at the head of the army. He performed wonders, and by the judicious diſpoſitions he made of the troops, he forced the *Poles* to cede to the *Ruſſians* the noble provinces of *Smolenſko*, and the *Ukraine*. *Galitzin* was even ſo poliſhed as to admire the glories of the court of *France*, under *Lewis* the XIVth, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, and the *French* coined a medal on the occaſion. The *Crim Tartars*, a barbarous, but warlike, race, the inhabitants of the antient *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, which communicates with the reſt of the world only by a narrow ſlip of land, renewed, about this time, their incurſions upon *Ruſſia*; and *Galitzin* was perſuaded, by his enemies at court, to march againſt them in perſon. We have already ſeen that his expedition was unfortunate. The *Tartars* were protected by the *Turks*, and *Galitzin* was betrayed by the *Ruſſians*. In his retreat, after loſing a vaſt number of men for want of ſubſiſtence, he built a town upon the *Samara*, baniſhed *Samuelowitz*, the hetman of the *Coſacs*, for confederating with the enemy, and conſtituted the famous *Mazeppa* in his room. Upon *Galitzin*'s return to *Moſcow*, he was well received by *Sophia*, but a ſecret party being formed againſt him, he was perſuaded to profit by experience, and to put himſelf at the head of a large army againſt the *Tartars*. At firſt he encountered vaſt difficulties; but while he was within ſight of *Prekop*, the capital of the *Crim*, he was amuſed by a treaty of peace, in which he was deceived by the khan, and returned home without doing any thing of conſequence, having given the khan time to aſſemble his army. The princeſs *Sophia*, however, received *Galitzin* as if he had been a conqueror, and rewarded his principal officers with moſt extravagant gifts of houſes and lands.

She makes *Galitzin* general, and chief miniſter.

Vol. VIII. p. 270.

His unfortunate expedition againſt the *Crim*.

By this time the young czar, *Peter*, was eighteen years of age, and had married a princeſs of the *Lapuchin* family. The princeſs *Sophia* was the ſole directreſs of her brother *John*, and all the *Ruſſians* who diſliked her and *Galitzin*, turned their eyes towards *Peter* (but with inviolable ſecrecy) for their deliverance. *Sophia* and her favourite more than ſuſpected their intrigues, and they introduced into *Moſcow*, *Mazeppa*, with five hundred of his chief officers, to ſupport the aſſaſſination of *Peter*, which was to have been performed by *Thekelavitau*, one of the *Strelitz* general officers. Two of the conſpirators informed *Peter* of their deſign, and he, with his mother and family, narrowly eſcaped to the convent of the *Trinity*. *Sophia* denied having any knowledge of the conſpiracy, but

Conſpiracy againſt *Peter*, who forces his ſiſter to retire to a monaſtery,

Peter

Peter publiſhed the whole, which raiſed ſo general a deteſtation againſt the princeſs and *Galitzin*, that they were abandoned, even by the *Strelitzes*. The princeſs flew for aſſiſtance to the patriarch, who, finding he was included in the intended aſſaſſination, became her enemy. She had recourſe then to prayers, tears, and the ſtrongeſt aſſeverations of her innocence; but ſhe had to do with a genius impenetrable by thoſe arts. *Thekelavitau* was tortured, and confeſſed that he was to have maſſacred *Peter* and all his relations; after which he was beheaded; and the chief conſpirators were tortured into ample confeſſions, a circumſtance which makes the barbarous part of the conſpiracy not a little queſtionable. The life of *Galitzin*, at the interceſſion of his brother *Boris*, who was a favourite with *Peter*, was ſpared, and he was only ſent into baniſhment, while the princeſs *Sophia* was ordered to retire to a convent ſhe herſelf had founded.

and aſſumes the ſole ſovereignty of *Ruſſia*.

Upon any other, than a favourite, occaſion, *Voltaire* would have found circumſtances, in this conſpiracy, ſufficient to induce him to ridicule or deny the whole. It is, however, certain, that a conſpiracy of this kind was neceſſary, to render *Peter* the ſole ſovereign of *Ruſſia*. Upon his return to *Moſcow*, *Peter* embraced his brother *John*, who retired to a private life, in which he died in 1696, ſo that we are now to conſider *Peter* as ſole czar, and *John* as non-exiſting. *Peter*'s education had been purpoſely neglected by his ſiſter, and he had partaken too freely in the pleaſures and vices introduced into *Ruſſia* by *Galitzin*'s *French* and *German* friends. His perſon was handſome, his air noble, his ſtature tall, and his conſtitution robuſt. He was no ſooner at the height of his ambition, than he ſeemed to aſſume a new nature. Without a maſter, he ſtudied and acquired the *German* and *High Dutch* languages; and though he was forced to combat at once with the turbulence of the *Strelitzes*, and the incurſions of the *Tartars*, he reſolved to complete his father's plan of civilization. He began by employing foreigners to build under his eye, himſelf always aſſiſting with his own hands, chaloupes in the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* manner; and he ſoon learned to navigate them himſelf. One *Le Fort*, a native of *Geneva*, was his favourite, and to him he imparted all his deſigns, eſpecially that of raiſing a body of troops, who ſhould one day or other cruſh his *Strelitzes*. No more than fifty young gentlemen were the nurſery, from which this great deſign was to be completed. They were officered by degrees, *Peter* himſelf going through every rank, from that of a ſerjeant to that of a colonel, till by gradually adding to their numbers, they became two regiments of guards, that of *Preobrazinſki* and that of *Semenioufki*. Five thouſand men were then formed, and exerciſed under one general *Gordon*, a *Scotchman*, and twelve thouſand under *Le Fort*; and *Peter* retained ſtill ſo much of the *Ruſſian*, that by way of diſciplining them, he obliged

His ſtudies.

He diſciplines his army.

them

them to perform more than mock fights, for ſome hundreds of lives were ſometimes loſt, in taking and retaking their ſham fortreſſes.

In the year 1689, *Peter* having built two ſhips of about thirty guns each, he launched them, with a great number of chaloupes, into the *Don*, to overawe the *Crim Tartars*; an inconſiderable force, but ſufficient to act againſt a people who knew nothing of navigation. He next deliberated upon employing his army, and had ſome thoughts of leading it into *China*, but all differences between him and that nation were ſettled by two *Jeſuits*, (the two people having no knowledge of each other's tongue) and the treaty was engraved upon two pillars erected upon the boundaries of both empires. The events which had happened in the wars of the *Germans* and *Venetians* with the *Turks*, determined *Peter* to make a proof of the valour and diſcipline of his new troops, by beſieging *Aſoph*, a conſiderable city lying in the extremity of the *Palus Maotis*, which later geographers term the *Sea of Aſoph*, with a view of becoming maſter of the *Black Sea*. *Peter* found his troops unequal to the ſiege of a place which was bravely and regularly defended by one of his own officers, who had turned *Mahometan*, for having been condemned to the knoute, and he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, with vaſt loſs. Even this repulſe was of ſervice to *Peter*, by adding to his experience; for he took *Aſoph* in the year 1696, on *July* the 28th. *Peter*'s fleet, by this time, was ſo much improved, that it had beaten that of the *Turks*, and he left thirty-two armed ſaicks to protect the additional fortifications he deſigned for *Aſoph*. He laid taxes upon his nobility, merchants, and even his clergy, to enable him to build nine ſhips of ſixty guns, and forty-one from thirty to fifty each, deſigned for the entire conqueſt of the *Cimbric Cherſoneſus*; and in the triumphal entry his generals made into *Moſcow*, upon his return, he appeared in no other rank than that of a ſimple volunteer.

1689. His miſcarriages in war.

1696.

To inſtruct his ſubjects in the art of building and navigating ſhips, he ſent the moſt promiſing of them through different parts of *Europe*, and the *German* armies abounded with *Ruſſian* volunteers. The docility of his ſubjects could not keep pace with *Peter*'s ardour, and he reſolved to become, in his own perſon, the chief artizan of his dominions, by travelling incognito, and working as a labourer in the dock-yards of *Holland*, a ſervitude that ennobled him beyond all the monarchs of his age. He was then but twenty-five years of age, and having committed the regency, in his abſence, to *Strechnef* and *Romadonowſki*, who were to conſult a council, he mingled in the train of a magnificent embaſſy, which he fitted out for *Holland*, attended only by one valet de chambre, a dwarf, and a livery ſervant to wait on his own perſon. During this journey, *Peter* conceived a paſſion for poſſeſſing the noble provinces of *Eſthonia*, *Livonia*, and others, through which he paſſed; and though he ſtill retained his private character,

He travels for his improvement to *Holland* and *England*.

racter, his three embaſſadors, one of whom was his favourite *Le Fort*, made a moſt ſplendid appearance at all the *German* courts. During his journey through countries not famous in thoſe times for ſobriety, *Peter* indulged his paſſion for drinking in ſuch a manner, that he checked himſelf in an attempt to kill *Le Fort*, an inſtance which ſhews that inebriation had not diveſted him of gratitude, and the purſuit of the mighty ſchemes he had in view. To diſencumber himſelf the more, he left the train of his embaſſadors, and arrived in *Holland* fifteen days before them. He entered himſelf as a common labourer in a ſhip-yard at *Sardam*, a neat village, then famous for ſhip-building, and went through the moſt painful operations and ſtages of that buſineſs, in all its branches, with the ſame docility and labour as if he had been apprenticed to a ſevere maſter. He conformed his manners to his ſtation ſo completely, that he taught his fellow labourers to forget all ceremonious behaviour to his perſon, though they knew his quality; and having entered himſelf in the yard by the name of *Peter Michaeloff*, they diſtinguiſhed him by the name of *Peter Bas*. The attention of *Peter* was not confined to ſhip-building, but extended to paper-making, wire-drawing, and, in ſhort, to every art and conveniency of life, that was not common in his own country. As a proof that his genius was not merely mechanical, he even attended the lectures of anatomy and natural philoſophy, given at *Amſterdam* by *Ruiſch* and *Witſem*; and performed ſeveral chirurgical operations.

While in *Holland*, he had a private interview with *William* the IIId of *England*, to whom he communicated the orders he had iſſued from his workſhop, for aſſiſting *Auguſtus*, the elector of *Saxony*, with thirty thouſand men, againſt the prince of *Conti*, in their competition for the crown of *Poland*; and *Peter* conformed himſelf to all the ideas of that great monarch, with regard to the danger of *Europe*, from the power of *France*. Before he left *Holland*, he compleatly built and rigged, by his own labour, a ſixty gun ſhip, which he ſent to *Archangel*; and he ſtudyed geography ſo well, that with regard to his own dominions, he underſtood it better than any geographer of his age. But the capacious genius of *Peter*, ſuggeſted to him that he muſt look for the rational principles of the arts he cultivated in *England*. He paid a viſit to that country, where he was highly careſſed by king *William*, made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſcience of aſtronomy, and the myſtery of watch-making; contracted a friendſhip with the marquis of *Carmarthen*, who was an excellent ſailor; and engaged *Ferguſon*, a mathematician, and *Perry*, an engineer, to attend him to *Ruſſia*; and while he lived in *England*, he was at great pains to become acquainted with the religion, manners and uſages of the country. Leaving *England*, he returned to *Holland*, from whence he carried over to *Ruſſia* a colony of artificers and officers of all kinds. In his return to *Ruſſia*, he had a private interview with the emperor *Leopold*, concerning the affairs of

Poland

Poland and *Turkey*, and here he heard of a rebellion which had broken out in *Ruſſia*, on the following occaſion.

All the cares of *Peter* could not alter nature, either in himſelf or his ſubjects. He was obſtinate in all his purſuits, and they were tenacious of their ſuperſtitions. While in *England*, he had received fifteen thouſand pounds from the marquis of *Carmarthen* and the *London* merchants, for the ſole privilege of importing into *Ruſſia*, tobacco, the uſe of which was prohibited by his clergy. This, together with his travels and his viſible partiality for foreigners, raiſed a clamour, which being encouraged by the princeſs *Sophia*, ended in an inſurrection, and ten thouſand *Strelitzes* marched towards *Moſcow*, to place her on the throne. All means for quieting them being found ineffectual, as they had wrought themſelves up into a pitch of enthuſiaſm, *Gordon* encountered them with a part of his troops within forty miles of *Moſcow*, cut three thouſand of them to pieces, and gibbeted every tenth man of the reſt, who all threw down their arms. The news of this inſurrection, and the general diſſatisfaction of the *Ruſſians*, abridged *Peter*'s intended travels; and after concerting with *Auguſtus* the ungenerous plan againſt the young king of *Sweden*, he appeared in *Moſcow*, while his ſubjects thought him in *Germany*. He found the rebels ſtill numerous, notwithſtanding their late defeat; but they were ſo overawed by his preſence, that he had little to do, beſides condemning the moſt culpable, who amounted to above two thouſand, to the moſt dreadful deaths, and leaving their bodies expoſed on the highways. Thoſe ſhocking executions were neceſſary to the plan of *Peter*'s politics. He aboliſhed for ever the order of the *Strelitzes*, without any one daring to oppoſe him. While he was thus giving ſuch terrible proofs of ſeverity, he exhibited one of gratitude, in the funeral honours he paid in perſon to the remains of his favourite, *Le Fort*, who died about this time. *Peter*'s attention to his plan of civilization, ſeemed rather to be encreaſed than weakened by that general's death. He introduced into his army, his finances, and all his civil departments of buſineſs, the dreſs and diſcipline, the forms, methods and arrangements of the politer nations of *Europe*; but above all, he enured his young noblemen to ſerve as cadets and midſhipmen in his armies and fleets, before they were preferred to commands.

Returns to *Ruſſia*, where he ſuppreſſes a dangerous inſurrection, by terrible puniſhments.

The moſt arduous part of *Peter*'s taſk yet remained, which was the abolition of the patriarchate, the vaſt revenues of which he annexed to his crown; and cruſhing the powers of the clergy, who, in a country ſo ſuperſtitious as *Ruſſia*, wielded equally the temporal as ſpiritual ſword. This would have appeared an undertaking not only tremendous, but impracticable, to a mind leſs determined than that of *Peter*; but his intrepid reſolution carried him through, and he ſoon rendered himſelf as much head of the church as he was of the ſtate and the army. He aboliſhed the celibacy of monks, who were very numerous in his dominions. All the oppoſition he met with,

He reforms his empire.

conſiſted in murmurs and paſquinades, which he diſregarded. Having accompliſhed the great point of becoming maſter of his clergy; he found the leſs difficulty in reforming the calendar, in introducing among his ſubjects the manner of writing practiſed in other parts of *Europe*, with their cuſtoms and habits of life. He even formed his *Ruſſians* into parties of diverſion and pleaſure, but he could not prevent both ſexes from abuſing them, by their intemperance in drinking. On the
1698. 10th of *September* 1698, he inſtituted the order of St. *Andrew*, the higheſt honorary reward that he could give to merit, as its enſigns commanded the reſpect of the public; and to crown
1699. his glories, he made, in 1699, a moſt advantageous peace with the *Ottoman Porte*.

He is beat by the *Swedes* at *Narva*.

Thinking himſelf now ſecure on the ſide of the *Caſpian Sea*, he turned his view towards the *Baltic*, in conſequence of his concert with the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*. His object was the recovery of *Ingria* and *Carelia*; and we have already, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, ſeen, by the complete defeat which his numerous forces received by a handful of *Swedes* at *Narva*, how little the diſcipline he had began to introduce among his troops availed, when they came to action. The general opinion of his ſubjects, that the *Swedes* had got the victory by magic, is equally a proof how ſmall progreſs learning and philoſophy had as yet made in his dominions. *Peter*, on his receiving the news of his defeat at *Narva*, behaved as if he had expected it. "The *Swedes*, ſaid he, will, by their victories, teach my *Ruſſians* to beat them." He melted the bells in his churches, to be employed in his founderies of artillery; and deferring an interview he intended to have with king *Auguſtus*, he was ſoon at the head of a new train, and another army. He then confirmed *Auguſtus* in his purpoſe of continuing the war with *Sweden*, and of making the republic of *Poland* a party; and the unfortunate general *Patkul*, whom we have often mentioned before, completed what *Le Fort* had
1701. begun, in diſciplining his armies. In 170 , he built a fleet of ſmall ſhips upon the *Lake Peipus*, to oppoſe the deſcents of the
1702. *Swedes* on the province of *Novogrod*. In 1702, he began the His vaſt deſigns. canal to unite the *Don* and the *Wolga*; and projected the amazing plan of joining the *Baltic*, *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas. In all thoſe proceedings, he perſevered as coolly as if his determined enemies, the *Swedes*, had not been victorious in every quarter; and he continued to introduce arts and manufactures into his dominions, as if they had been the only objects he had in view.

By this time, *Peter* had the ſatisfaction to find the diſcipline of his troops ſo much improved, that his general, *Scheremetow*, beat the *Swedes* under *Schlippenbach*, one of their beſt officers; and even his fleets maintained ſome degree of equality with thoſe of *Sweden*, on the lakes of *Peipus* and *Ladoga*. He prevented a deſcent of the *Swedes* upon *Archangel*, and *Scheremetow* obtained a freſh victiory over *Schippenbach*; after which

He conquers the *Swedes* in his turn.

which he took *Marienburg*. Among other priſoners carried from thence, was a *Livonian* young woman, who was the widow of a ſerjeant killed in defence of the place, and who afterwards was married to *Peter*, and became ſole empreſs of *Ruſſia*, under the name of *Catharine* the Iſt. *Scheremetow* next took the important town of *Notteburg*, in the lake *Ladoga*, which was glorioufly defended by eighty-three *Swedes*, under colonel *Schlippenbach*. Its name was then changed into that of *Schluſſelburg*. *Peter* wiſely celebrated thoſe victories, by the triumphal entry of himſelf, *Scheremetow*, and his general officers, into *Moſcow*, attended by his *Swediſh* priſoners, to prove to the *Ruſſians* that the dreaded magic of his enemies was now at an end. In the year 1702, he eſtabliſhed, at *Moſcow*, a printing-houſe, furniſhed with types brought from *Holland*. He founded a mathematical ſchool, and a work-houſe, to keep his people from idleneſs; and then he made preparations for opening the campaign againſt the *Turks* and the *Swedes*. After giving the neceſſary directions for improving and encreaſing his navy, he took the fortreſs of *Nianz*, near *Ladoga*, where his captain of bombardiers was rewarded with the order of St. *Andrew*. It was then he projected the building of *Peterſburgh*, in the gulph of *Finland*, at the mouth of the *Neva*, and now the capital of *Ruſſia*. The execution of this idea was the more ſtupendous, as the ſucceſſes of the *Swedes* in *Saxony* called for all *Peter*'s attention. The building and fortifying *Peterſburgh* and *Cronſtat*, was, every thing conſidered, equal, if not ſuperior to any undertaking of antiquity, eſpecially as a *Dutch* veſſel traded with the city within five months after it was founded. *Peter*, at this time, was not poſſeſſed of an annual revenue of above twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, with which he carried on his amazing works and fortifications, paid his numerous fleets and armies, maintained his civil eſtabliſhment, and even rewarded merit of every kind with pecuniary gratuities.

1703. He inſtitutes the order of St. *Andrew*.

His power alarmed the *Turks*, but he diſdained to give them any ſatisfaction; and in 1704, he took *Dærpt* from the *Swedes*, by diſguiſing two of his regiments in the *Swediſh* uniform. After this, he took *Narva* by aſſault, while *Charles* was dethroning his ally, the king of *Poland*, and eſtabliſhing *Staniſlaus* on that throne.

1704.

To the immortal glory of *Peter*, neither the ſucceſſes of the *Swedes*, nor the puſillanimous, and, to him, affrontive, conceſſions of *Auguſtus*, diſcouraged him from aſſiſting that prince; but in this, perhaps, he had a political end, which has not been obſerved by hiſtorians; which was, that by amuſing *Charles* on the ſide of *Poland*, he had an opportunity of diſmantling the outworks of *Sweden*; for, by this time, he was maſter of all *Ingria*, the government of which he beſtowed upon his new favourite, prince *Menzikoff*, who was originally an hawker of pies and paſtry about the ſtreets of *Moſcow*, in which ſituation he was taken notice of by *Peter*; and he merited,

His friendſhip for king *Auguſtus*.

rited, by his ſervices, the honours and immenſe wealth he obtained, being reckoned, at the time of his death, the richeſt ſubject in *Europe*. Our plan of writing does not admit of our attending *Peter* through all the prodigious fatigues he underwent for aggrandizing and civilizing his country, nor of recapitulating his wars with the *Swedes*, which we have already related. In 1705, the *Swedes* were defeated in an attempt upon the infant city of *Peterſburgh*, while *Peter* was marching at the head of his army towards *Courland*, that he might beſiege *Riga*, and conquer *Livonia*. *Scheremetow*, in endeavouring to approach *Mittau*, was completely defeated by *Lewenhaupt*, but *Peter* took the city. He had, by this time, abeliſhed the practice of plundering, and introduced among his troops a moderation after victory, unknown to the *Ruſſians* before. The report of *Scheremetow*'s defeat, ſpread a general ſpirit of diſſatisfaction through all *Peter*'s dominions. His ſubjects now ventured to rail at the innovations he had introduced, and it coſt *Peter* ſome trouble to quell and puniſh an inſurrection which broke out at *Aſtracan*. *Lewenhaupt* being too weak to ſtop his progreſs, he proceeded to *Grodno*, the capital of *Lithuania*; he viſited and ſupplied *Auguſtus* with money, and paſſed his winter at *Moſcow*. He was led to this by the paſſion he had for reforming his ſubjects, but it had almoſt proved fatal to his affairs.

1706. Almoſt taken at *Grodno*.

In 1706, *Charles* drove *Auguſtus* and the *Ruſſian* troops *Peter* had left behind, from *Grodno*; his general, *Reinſchild*, utterly defeated the *Saxon* and *Ruſſian* army under general *Schulemburg*, at *Frauenſtadt*, on the frontiers of the *Upper Poland*. In this battle, all the *Ruſſians* were put to the ſword, excepting three battalions who eſcaped; the *Swedes*, whoſe parole was "In the name of God," giving no quarter to their enemies, whoſe parole was, "Kill all." The *Swedes* certainly diſgraced their victory by their cruelty; for one of their generals, *Steinbock*, piſtoled a *Ruſſian* who had taken refuge at the feet of *Staniſlaus*. It required all *Peter*'s conſtancy of mind to ſupport him under ſuch various misfortunes, for his troops had been now defeated in four pitched battles againſt the *Swedes*. His own activity, and that of his general, *Menzikoff*, ſaved the remainder in *Lithuania*, and preſerved his conqueſts in *Ingria*. He beſieged *Wyburg*, but failed in the attempt, nor did *Charles* gain ought but an empty name by his victories. *Auguſtus* now dreaded *Peter* almoſt as much as he did *Charles*, on account of the mean ſurrender which he made of his crown, by the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt*, his acknowledging *Staniſlaus*, and delivering up *Patkul*. *Peter* hearing of his conduct, complained, but did not reſent it, though the perſon of *Auguſtus* was then in the power of *Menzikoff*, who, during the dependence of the treaty, defeated the *Swedes* under *Meyerfeld*, in a pitched battle near *Kaliſh* in *Poland*. Even this could not keep *Auguſtus* ſteady to his own intereſt and honour, and he was ſo mean as to aſk pardon of *Charles* on account of the battle,

battle, which he ſaid had been fought and gained againſt his will. Such a proceeding made, at laſt, an impreſſion upon *Peter*, and he had ſome thoughts of raiſing prince *Ragotſki*, as a rival to *Staniſlaus*. In the mean while, the *French* miniſters propoſed an accommodation. *Charles* haughtily anſwered, that he would treat with the czar at *Moſcow*; which *Peter* hearing, "My brother of *Sweden* (ſaid he) affects to be an "*Alexander*, but he ſhall not find me a *Darius*."

On the 2d of *Auguſt* 1707, *Charles* evacuated *Saxony*, and he gave a looſe to his ſoldiers committing the moſt horrid cruelties in their march through *Poland*; ſo that he may be juſtly conſidered as one of thoſe illuſtrious monſters who ſtain humanity. In 1708, *Charles*, hearing that *Peter* was at *Grodno*, attempted to take him priſoner there, at the head of a detached party of no more than eight hundred men. *Peter*, who thought that the whole *Swediſh* army had been in the town, fled, and next day, underſtanding the truth, attempted to retake it, but was beaten. After the conqueſt of *Grodno*, *Moſcow* itſelf ſeemed to be in danger, and *Peter* fortified all the paſſes to his dominions, while his fleet made him maſter of *Burgau*, in *Finland*. We muſt refer our reader to the hiſtory of *Sweden* for the inſane march of *Charles* through the *Ukraine*, till he was defeated at the battle of *Pultowa*, which crowned the glories of *Peter*, rewarded all the pains he had beſtowed in diſciplining his troops, and fulfilled his remarkable prediction. His victory was preceded by the defeat of *Lewenhaupt*, near *Leſnau*, where the *Swedes* loſt above eight thouſand men, and ſeven pieces of cannon, beſides the grand convoy of proviſions, on which *Charles* depended for ſubſiſtance to his troops.

1707. 1708. Defeats the *Swedes* at *Pultowa*.

In the battle of *Pultowa*, *Peter* acted only as major general of his army, and expoſed himſelf to the heat of the action, in which his cloaths and hat were ſhot through. Upon the flight of *Charles* to *Turkey*, *Peter* wrote a letter to diſſuade him from taking refuge among the infidels, but *Charles* had, by that time, reached *Bender*, and the letter was returned to *Peter*. If that prince failed in any point of magnanimity, after this glorious victory, it was his baniſhing the brave *Swedes* whom he had taken captives, to his deſarts of *Siberia*. But even this ſeverity admits of ſome apology. He had propoſed a cartel, which *Charles* brutally rejected; and *Peter* very properly thought that the *Swedes* would ſerve to humanize the *Siberians*; not to mention that the hardſhips of their exile could not equal what they had ſuffered under their iron headed king (for ſo *Charles* was properly termed by the *Turkiſh* janiſaries.) *Peter*, forgetting all cauſe of offence, re-eſtabliſhed *Auguſtus* on the throne of *Poland*, diſpatched *Scheremetow* to *Livonia*, and joined in a league with *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Pruſſia*, for reducing *Sweden* to what ſhe had been before the reign of *Guſtavus Adolphus*. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, has ſeen in what manner he executed this plan, which

His conduct after the battle.

he negotiated in his own perſon. But we are now to mention ſome facts which we had not before an opportunity of introducing.

His difference with *England*.

He made a triumphant entry into *Moſcow*; he launched an eighty gun ſhip, and the conqueror of *Charles* the XIIth, with his own hands, laid the keel of one of fifty-four guns. His ſubjects, by the magnificence of his entry, which was performed in the *Roman* taſte, began to enlarge their ideas, and an incident which happened at this time, ſhewed how well *Peter* could ſuit his own to circumſtances. *Matueof*, his embaſſador in *England*, had been arreſted for a civil debt, on the ſtreets of *London*. No law in *England*, at that time, guarded againſt ſuch a proceeding; and therefore, when *Peter* demanded ſatisfaction, queen *Anne* could give him none. All ſhe could do, was to prevail with the parliament to paſs an act againſt ſuch violations of the law of nations for the future; to write a letter, with the reaſons why ſhe could not grant *Peter* the ſatisfaction he demanded, and to ſend Mr. *Whitworth* to make a public apology on her part to *Peter*. Though, before this, he had demanded that the queen ſhould inflict the ſame rigorous puniſhments which he would have inflicted upon his *Ruſſians*, had they been guilty of the like offence, yet he no ſooner was informed how the laws of *England* ſtood, than he nobly diveſted himſelf of his deſpotic ideas, and was ſatisfied. We are not, however, to forget, that Mr. *Whitworth*, in the harangue he made, gave him the title of moſt high and moſt mighty emperor.

Progreſs of the war with *Sweden*.

1710.

The taking of *Elbring*, *Wyburg*, *Riga*, and the citadel of *Penemund*, were the fruits of *Peter*'s victories upon his return to *Ruſſia*. Thoſe conqueſts were followed by that of *Kexholm*, the iſland of *Oeſel*, with the towns of *Pirnau* and *Revel*; ſo that before the end of the year 1710, *Peter* was in poſſeſſion of *Livonia*, *Eſthonia* and *Carelia*. Thoſe rapid conqueſts, and the ſollicitations of *Charles* of *Sweden*, prevailed with the *Turks* to declare war againſt *Peter*; and we have already ſeen in what manner he was delivered from his deſperate ſituation on the *Pruth*, where the *Turks* had ſurrounded his army, by the addreſs of his beloved *Catharine*. *Peter* then left his generals to bring home his army, and went to recruit his conſtitution, by drinking the waters of *Carlſbad*. Soon after, he was preſent at the ſolemnization of his ſon, the czarewitz's nuptials with a princeſs of *Wolfenbuttel*. He had, by this time, been married to *Catharine*, who had attended him through his moſt dangerous campaigns, and he had made *Peterſburgh* the ſeat of his government. The intrigues of the *French* at the *Porte*, gave him vaſt diſguſt. Under that colour, he propoſed to aſſiſt the emperor with twenty-five thouſand men, and to hold *Livonia* as a fief of the empire; but his real view was, to obtain a ſeat in the diet for his embaſſador. The emperor, and the princes of *Germany*, ſaw through his deſign; the one thought him too powerful for a ſubject, and the others for an

p. 543.

equal,

equal, and evaded his propoſal. By this time, the complexion of the *Porte* was ſo greatly altered in favour of the *Swedes*, that *Peter* did not chuſe to fulfil the treaty of *Pruth*, by demoliſhing *Aſoph*; but his money, and the intrigues of his embaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, ſoon changed the diſpoſitions of the *Turks*, in his favour, in the manner we have before related. In 1712, his army under *Menzikoff* entered *Pomerania*, with an intention to beſiege *Stetin* and *Stralſund*; but an army of *Swedes* landing at the iſle of *Rugen*, *Peter*'s intentions were defeated, and he again went to drink the waters of *Carlſbad*, when he heard of the great defeat his troops, and thoſe of *Denmark*, had received from the *Swedes* under *Steinbock*, at *Gadebuſch*. 1712.

Peter haſtened to prevent the conſequences of this defeat, but *Steinbock* taking up his winter quarters in *Holſtein*, he and the king of *Denmark* reſolved to open the next campaign with a deſcent on the iſle of *Rugen*, and the ſiege of *Stralſund*. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, has been fully apprized of the poſterior operations of this war, of the return of *Charles*, of the motives that effected a coalition between him and *Peter*, who till then ſeemed to be two oppoſites in nature, and likewiſe *Peter*'s differences with the court of *London*. We ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to the internal affairs of *Ruſſia* till *Peter*'s death.

While that great monarch was engaged in his wars with the *Swedes* and the *Turks*, he received, at *Peterſburgh*, where he now held his court, a moſt reſpectful embaſſy from the khan of the *Uſbec Tartars*, who put himſelf under *Peter*'s protection, and granted the *Ruſſians* liberty to paſs through his dominions to *China*. *Peter* here appeared in all his glory, without the taſteleſs extravagance of plate, robes, and jewels, exhibited by his predeceſſors on the like occaſions. He invited the embaſſador to attend him in a party of pleaſure on the water, where a ſtorm ariſing, he had almoſt been wrecked. By the end of the year, the fortifications and embelliſhments of *Peterſburgh* were completed, and *Peter* inſtituted the female order of St. *Catharine*, of which his conſort had the ſole diſpoſal, in commemoration of her ſervices at *Pruth*. All the care and capacity of *Peter* could not prevent his ſubjects from feeling the dreadful effects of war, in the decay of their trade, and the corruption that had crept into all the public offices. Embaſſy from the *Uſbec Tartars*.

In 1715, *Peter* eſtabliſhed a board under prince *Dolgorucki*, for enquiring into thoſe abuſes; and, to ſtrike the greater terror into his ſubjects, he ſummoned prince *Menzikoff*, *Appraxin* and other great officers, both civil and military, to anſwer for the abuſes committed in their ſeveral departments. *Menzikoff* and the generals, pleaded that they had been attending his majeſty in the field; but they were obliged to ſubmit to a mulct, for offences committed in their offices, even in their abſence, and without their knowledge. After *Peter* had taken *Stralſund*, his ſon's wife was brought to bed of a prince, but 1715.

the mother died in her labour; and ſome time after, the moſt extravagant rejoicings were made for the czarina *Catharine*'s ſafe delivery of a prince. In *April* 1716, *Peter*, while he was at *Dantzic*, concluded a marriage between his niece, *Catharine*, daughter to his brother, *Theodore*, and *Charles Leopold*, duke of *Mecklenburg Schwerin*; and threatened the *Dantzickers* with hoſtilities, till, by the mediation of king *Auguſtus*, they agreed to pay him a hundred thouſand rix-dollars, and to equip four privateers for his uſe. We have already mentioned the vaſt diſappointment he met with in not taking poſſeſſion of *Wiſmar*, and the difference which it occaſioned with king *George*. He was thereby diſappointed of having a port in the *Baltic*, the want of which has been ſenſibly felt by his ſucceſſors. Though, after this, he made a ſhew of keeping up his good correſpondence with the king of *Denmark*, and even brought his czarina and his fleet to the road of *Copenhagen*, where they lived for ſome months; yet when the confederates talked in earneſt about a deſcent upon *Schonen*, he cooled, and retired with his wife to *Lubec*. This unaccountable alteration of his conduct, was owing, as we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, to the intrigues of baron *Goertz*, who, by flattering the foibles of both monarchs, had privately effected a reconciliation between *Peter* and his *Swediſh* majeſty. This year *Peter* ſent an army of mediation into *Poland*, at the requeſt of king *Auguſtus*, to quell ſome diſturbances in that country. The arrival of the *Ruſſians* there, had almoſt occaſioned a war between the *Poles* and *Auguſtus*; but the *Poles*, ſenſible that they were no match for the *Ruſſians*, conſented to an accommodation, under the mediation of the papal nuntio, and the imperial embaſſador.

1716. *Peter*'s niece married to the duke of *Mecklenburg*.

1717. He enters into meaſures againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion of *Great Britain*.

In 1717, the czar went to the *Hague*, but continued not only to conceal, but deny the connections he had entered into with the king of *Sweden*, relative to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in *Great Britain*. From the *Hague* he proceeded to *Paris*, but in the mean while he drew his troops out of *Mecklenburg*, where their reſidence had given great umbrage to the princes of the empire. His real buſineſs at *Paris* was, to diſcover how the regent ſtood affected with regard to the operations he had concerted with the king of *Sweden*, to which that prince was ſo averſe, that he faithfully informed king *George* the Iſt of all that came to his knowledge. Returning to *Amſterdam*, he evaded the propoſitions made to him on the part of the *Britiſh* court, and he arrived at *Peterſburgh* on the 29th of *October*. The intrigues of *Goertz* at the *Ruſſian* court, procured *Anna Petrowna*, the czar's eldeſt daughter, for his maſter, the duke of *Holſtein*, and the iſſue of that marriage was the late unfortunate emperor, whoſe widow now ſits on his throne. In 1718, the alliance between the czar and the *Turkiſh* emperor was ſo ſtrong, that the latter gave *Peter* an aſſurance, under his own hand, that inſtead of protecting, he would endeavour to exterminate the *Cuban Tartars*, who had invaded

1718.

the

the frontiers of *Ruſſia*. About this time, the *Tartars* and *Calmucs* put to the ſword prince *Alexander Bekowitz*, and three thouſand *Ruſſians*, whom *Peter* had ſent to ſearch for a golden ſanded river that runs into the *Caſpian* ſea, and ſome mines that were in the neighbourhood.

Trial, condemnation, and death of the czarewitz.

While *Peter* was preparing to chaſtiſe thoſe barbarians, the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon claimed all his attention. By the beſt accounts, the czarewitz was poſſeſſed of a mean capacity, and had abandoned himſelf to very bad company, eſpecially after the death of his excellent wife, the princeſs of *Wolfenbuttel*. His father was no ſtranger to his weakneſſes, and had often complained of his perverſe conduct; but probably his admonitions were not attended with that gentleneſs and affection that was proper to inſpire obedience, for even in his own manifeſtos, he ſpeaks not only of admoniſhing, but chaſtiſing the prince. Be that as it will, while the czar was in *Denmark*, the czarewitz fled to the court of the emperor, who had married another princeſs of *Wolfenbuttel*, ſiſter to the wife of the czarewitz. The emperor received, but did not encourage him, and though he ſuffered him to remain at *Tirol*, he adviſed him to return to his father, who demanded him. The czarewitz pretended to be afraid of his life, if he ſhould return to *Ruſſia*, and had leave to retire to *Naples*, to which place his father wrote him a letter. The prince paid no regard to it, but the emperor threatening to give him up, he at laſt yielded, and he was brought to *Moſcow*, where he was examined by his father, and agreed to renounce the ſucceſſion in favour of his brother, *Peter*. This did not ſatisfy the jealous father, for he made his ſon undergo ſeveral interrogatories, to which, his anſwers not being ſatisfactory, the prince was tried on the 13th of *June* 1718, by a high court of juſtice, who found him guilty of crimes which deſerved death, though his father had previouſly aſſured him of his life. The ſentence was ſigned by a hundred and eighty judges; but in the mean while, the criminal fevered and died, through apprehenſion and vexation of ſpirit. The circumſtances attending his death, induced *Peter* to write circular letters, in his own vindication, to the different courts of *Europe*. The remains of the czarewitz had a noble funeral, while all whom he had named as being privy to his intentions, were either tortured, put to death, baniſhed or impriſoned. Among other delinquents, was the mother of the czarewitz, whom *Peter* had repudiated, and *Peter*'s own ſiſter, the princeſs *Mary*, who were both confined. Upon the whole, we cannot be ſo partial to the memory of *Peter*, as to entirely free him from deſpotiſm, and an unnaturality in his proceedings againſt his ſon; but the higheſt character which *Peter*'s encomiaſts had beſtowed on him is, that he was void of the affections that are common to humanity.

Alteration of affairs had in the north.

The death of the king of *Sweden*, in *November* 1718, and the arreſt of baron *Goertz*, put an end to all the meaſures that

had been concerted between *Peter* and *Charles*. Though the conferences in the isle of *Oeland* still went on between the *Russian* and *Swedish* ministers, yet *Peter* continued his preparations to force the queen of *Sweden* into his terms, if she should continue refractory. By this time the quadruple alliance was formed, and the other powers of *Europe* were sensible of the dangerous measures *Peter* had entered into; so that in the year
1719. 1719, he was without an ally. *Great Britain* patronized the queen of *Sweden*, who wanted only an equitable peace, and was too weak to act offensively. A *British* fleet arrived in the *Baltic*, and even *Augustus* king of *Poland*, who may be said to have been the creature of *Peter*, publicly reproached him for his jealousy and over-bearing ambition. The war with *Sweden* still went on, and the mediation of *Great Britain* was rejected on the part of the *Russians*, so that *Peter*'s embassador was ordered to leave *England*. In short, it looked as if all
1720. *Europe* had been, in 1720, confederated against *Russia*. This did not daunt *Peter*, who pursued the war against *Sweden* with spirit and success, notwithstanding the interposition of the *British* fleet, and rendered himself so respectable, that the peace of *Nystadt* was concluded, by which he obtained *Livonia*, *Esthonia*, and the greatest part of *Carelia*. A peace with the *Turks* next succeeded, and *Peter* released, or took into his service, all his *Swedish* prisoners. The voice of joy and gladness resounded through all his dominions; and he accepted, from his subjects, the title of emperor, which was agreed to by all the powers of *Europe*, excepting *Denmark*.

Glorious situation of the czar.

Peter may now be said to have attained the summit of his glory, and the reward of all his labours. He distinguished that happy æra by making a triumphant entry into *Moscow*. He gave orders for completing the *Ladoga* canal. He transferred the seat of commerce from *Archangel* to his beloved *Petersburgh*; and to crown his immortal honour, he banished out of his dominions that superstition and ignorance in matters of religion, for which his subjects were so infamous, by ordering the Holy Scriptures to be translated into the *Russian* language,
1722. and sold at a low price. In 1722, *Peter*, who, during his glorious reign, had never relaxed in one point of despotism, having now lost his second son, *Peter*, obliged his subjects to swear to acknowledge the person who he should appoint his successor, to be their emperor and sovereign. After this, the troubles which happened in *Persia*, and the insolence of the usurper, *Myrr Maghmud*, to his embassadors, determined *Peter* to carry his arms into that country, chiefly with the view of extending the commerce of his subjects, at the request of *Schah Hussein*, the true sophy of *Persia*. The *Turks*, as well as the *Persians*, were alarmed at the vast preparations made by *Peter* at *Astracan*, and upon the *Caspian* sea; but the *Calmucs*, *Cossacs* and *Tartars* joining the *Russians*, he defeated the rebel army, and took *Derbent*, *Terki*, and *Baku*, and reduced the provinces of *Dageſtan* and *Schirvan*. *Maghmud* had recourse

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to

to the *Othman Porte*, and there was a great appearance of war between the *Turks* and the *Ruſſians*, when an accommodation was effected, by the interpoſition of *Bonac*, the *French* embaſſador at the *Porte*; and the *Turks* were ſo far from making war upon *Peter*, that they declared war againſt the uſurper. *Peter* was about a year abſent on this expedition, and upon his return, the vice-chancellor, *Schafiroff*, one of his greateſt favourites and miniſters, was condemned to death, for various offences of peculation; but while he was upon the ſcaffold to ſuffer his ſentence, *Peter* commuted it into that of baniſhment to *Siberia*. We have already ſeen the concern the duke of *Holſtein* took in the affairs of *Sweden*; and in the year 1724, *Peter* having concluded a glorious peace with *Perſia*, and having reſtored his dominions to tranquillity, his empreſs, *Catharine*, was crowned with vaſt magnificence. 1724.

Peter appeared to enjoy peace, only that his civil toils might be encreaſed. His laſt moments were employed in rendering *Peterſburgh* one of the moſt glorious and populous cities in *Europe*, in adorning it with noble palaces, and ſtrengthening it with impregnable fortifications. Though he found his health daily declining, and though he was at once attacked with the gout and the ſtrangury, yet he drew up the rules and inſtitutions of an academy to be eſtabliſhed in his new metropolis; and when all hopes of life were over, he aſſembled his nobility, made ſeveral regulations for the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and obliged them to recognize his empreſs, *Catharine*, for his ſucceſſor. With his laſt breath, he recommended to her the duke of *Holſtein*, and he died on the 28th of *January* 1725, in the 53d year of his age. The unhappy czarewitz, *Alexis*, was the only child of his firſt marriage who came to maturity. By his ſecond marriage he had two ſons, *Peter*, and *Paul* who died in his own lifetime; a daughter, *Anna Petrowna*, who was married to the duke of *Holſtein*; another daughter, *Elizabeth*, afterwards the glorious empreſs of *Ruſſia*; and a third daughter, *Natalia*, who was buried in the ſame grave with her father. The character of *Peter* the Great is ſo well known, that it would be miſpending our reader's time to enlarge upon it here. His death. 1725.

Catharine proved herſelf worthy of the high rank to which ſhe was deſtined. After performing the obſequies of her huſband, with almoſt unparalleled magnificence, ſhe gave the princeſs *Anna Petrowna* in marriage to the duke of *Holſtein*. She quieted the *Coſſacs*, and ſhe found the army as tractable under her as under their late emperor. The difficulty of the province ſhe had to manage, is a ſufficient encomium upon her wiſdom. She had no other title to the empire, but the nomination of the late emperor, whoſe grand-ſon, by the czarewitz, was alive. Her neighbours of *Poland*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*, expected to profit by *Ruſſia* being under a female adminiſtration, but *Catharine* wiſely continued the ſame generals, admirals, and miniſters who had been employed by her huſ- He is ſucceeded by his empreſs, *Catharine*,

husband, in their respective departments. Though she was at peace with the *Porte*, yet she employed her arms to vast advantage in the countries bordering upon the *Caspian* sea; and her general, *Matuffskin*, beat the *Tartars* of *Dagestan*. Though *Peter* had abolished the immense power of the patriarchate, yet *Catharine* proceeded farther than he had ventured to do, in curbing the inferior clergy, and obliged them to give her a free gift. She augmented her marine, and steered clear of all the broils of *Europe* during her reign; nor did she accede to the treaty of *Vienna* in 1726, till she was sure that it could involve her into no difficulties. She concluded an alliance with the emperor of *Germany*, and another with the king of *Prussia*; and the king of *Denmark* was so much alarmed at her preparations for restoring the duchy of *Slesvick* to the duke of *Holstein*, that his *Danish* majesty prevailed with the court of *Great Britain* to send a fleet into the *Baltic*, for preserving the peace of the north. She could not prevent the *Swedes* from acceding to the treaty of *Hanover*, which was formed against the emperor, but their accession had no visible effect to her disadvantage. She was complimented with the order of the *White Lion*, by king *Augustus*, as an unusual mark of esteem, and she declared the late czarewitz's son, *Peter*, heir to her empire.

who declares the czarewitz's son her heir.

Heaven has seldom indulged a people with two successive reigns like those of *Peter* and *Catharine*. They seemed to be of another mould from the rest of their subjects, who, notwithstanding the prodigious things they had done for their civilization, were still secretly sighing for an opportunity to return to their former barbarism. *Catharine*, during her short reign, opened the academy of sciences, which had been projected by her husband at *Petersburgh*; but a poisoned glass of spirituous liquor administered to her at a public entertainment, is said to have shortened her days, for she died in *May* 1727. The only reproach to *Catharine*'s reign is, that she suffered prince *Menzikoff* to abuse his vast power and credit, by inventing imaginary conspiracies, through which he gratified the hatred or jealousy he had conceived against particular persons.

1727. Death of *Catharine*.

When *Catharine* was on her death-bed, she appointed *Menzikoff* generalissimo of the *Russian* empire, by sea and land, which raised him to a pitch of power too high for his brain to bear. The young czar hated him, because of the part he had acted in the persecution of his father; and the *Russian* nobility, because of his low birth and insolent behaviour. The late empress had recommended a match between his daughter and the young emperor; but the politics of the court took a sudden turn. *Peter* the IId, though no more than twelve years of age, had the spirit to resent *Menzikoff*'s insolent behaviour, to confiscate his estate, and to send him into banishment. He was succeeded in his great posts by the prince of *Dolgorucki*, one of whose daughters he espoused; when he died on the 19th of *January* 1730.

1730.

The *Ruſſian* nobility were greatly divided about *Peter*'s ſucceſſor. The ducheſs of *Holſtein* was dead, and her ſon a minor; for which reaſon many were for converting their empire into a republic, and all of them agreed in paying no regard to the nomination of the empreſs *Catharine*, or to the lineal right of ſucceſſion in the line of *Peter* the Great. It was, however, neceſſary to reconcile the vulgar to their ſchemes, by pretending that the late czar had altered the order of ſucceſſion preſcribed by the empreſs *Catharine*, and that he had pitched upon *Anna Iwanowna*, the ducheſs of *Courland*, to ſucceed him. Nothing could be better planned than this ſcheme was, for the introduction of an ariſtocracy; and to complete the ſcheme, a capitulation was drawn up, by which all the actual power of the government was to be left with the ſenate. Her eldeſt ſiſter, the ducheſs of *Mecklenburgh*, was ſtill alive, and had iſſue, but no regard was paid to her priority of birth; and *Anna* no ſooner mounted the throne, than ſhe cancelled the capitulation, diſgraced the *Dolgorucki* family, and entered into a war with the *Turks*, which we have already deſcribed, which was as glorious for *Ruſſia* as it was unfortunate for the houſe of *Auſtria*. Her amazing ſucceſſes, and her wife conduct, ſilenced all oppoſition to her government, though her conduct in filling her court with *Germans* and other foreigners was extremely unpopular in *Ruſſia*. Having no iſſue of her own, ſhe caſt her eyes upon her elder ſiſter, the ducheſs of *Mecklenburgh*, who lived upon very ill terms with her huſband. Though the ducheſs had proteſted againſt her younger ſiſter's mounting the throne of *Ruſſia*, yet ſhe readily came into the views of the empreſs, and privately eſcaping out of *Mecklenburgh* to *Peterſburgh*, with her daughter, the latter was declared preſumptive heir to the empire, and in 1739, married to *Anthony Ulric*, prince of *Brunſwic Wolfenbuttel*. Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſion being thus ſettled, the empreſs had ſuch a partiality for *Biren*, a man of mean extraction, whom ſhe made duke of *Courland*, that ſhe left him, in fact, regent of the empire, during the minority of the unfortunate prince *Iwan*, ſon to the princeſs of *Mecklenburgh*.

She is ſucceeded by the ducheſs of *Courland*.

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1739.

While *Anne* ſate upon the throne of *Ruſſia*, her friendſhip was courted by the famous *Kouli Khan*, the ſophy of *Perſia*. She ſet aſide the election of count *Saxe*, afterwards the famous *French* marſhal, to the duchy of *Courland*, in favour of *Biren*; and in *November* 1739, ſhe ſtruck off the heads of three of the chief of the *Dolgorucki* family, for oppoſing her meaſures in ſettling the ſucceſſion and introducing *Germans* into the empire. *Walinſki*, her chief favourite next to *Biren*, underwent the ſame fate, for oppoſing his advancement; and nothing that the wit of man could deviſe, was omitted for the execution of her will; when ſhe died in *October* 1740.

Her glorious reign and death.

1740.

The princeſs of *Mecklenburgh*'s ſon, *Iwan*, or *John*, was then about two months old, and was inſtantly recognized as emperor of *Ruſſia*; but *Biren* aſſumed all the power, and acted

acted more despotically than the great *Peter* had ever done. He made a merit of being contented with the revenue of three hundred thousand rubles a year, which was offered him by the senate. He began his administration with many acts of grace and generosity. He encreased the allowance of the emperor's mother, and of *Elizabeth*, daughter to *Peter* the Great; and he offered the prince of *Brunswic* the command of the *Russian* armies, which he thought proper to refuse, as being below his dignity; but *Biren*, at the same time, most arbitrarily condemned some of the nobility who opposed him, to be exiled into *Siberia*, without the form of a trial.

A revolution in favour of the princess of *Mecklenburg*.

His power became at last to be at once hated and despised. The princess *Anne*, mother to the emperor, engaged in her interest count *Munich*, who was at the head of the army, and he arrested *Biren* in his bed. Soon after, he was tried, and condemned to die; but the princess *Anne*, who declared herself regent, during the minority of her son, banished him to *Siberia*. Her *German* councils, however, were excessively disagreable to the *Russians*, especially after the regent removed count *Munich*, who had served her so faithfully, from the command of the army. Upon the condemnation of *Biren*, she had, in a manner, ordered the states of *Courland* to elect her husband their duke; but she could not be prevailed on to assist the queen of *Hungary* in her war with the king of *Prussia*. The *Swedes* had so great a contempt of her government, that they declared war against *Russia* in 1741, but they were entirely defeated near *Wilmanstra*, by *Lascy*, the *Russian* general; after which the princess regent promised to send thirty thousand troops to the queen of *Hungary*'s assistance.

1741.

Without entering into any detail of matters, that from their own nature must for ever be secret, it is sufficient to say, that the *Russians* were highly disgusted with the administration of the princess regent, short as it was. She trusted too much to her descent from the elder brother of *Peter* the Great, and seemed to forget his regulations, and that of the empress *Catharine*, with regard to the succession, till some dark intimations concerning the princess *Elizabeth*, *Peter*'s surviving daughter, induced her to lay her under a kind of confinement. All *Russia* was convinced, that if *Peter* or his wife were to hold up their heads, they would with indignation behold a *German* upon the throne of *Russia*, while their own daughter was under confinement, without doing any thing to deserve it. On the 5th and 6th of *December*, a conspiracy, which had been entered into with her own consent, to place the princess *Elizabeth* on the throne of *Russia*, being ripe for execution, the whole *Russian* army declared in her favour; and next morning, when the princess regent awaked, she found herself and the emperor prisoners in their own palace, and the princess *Elizabeth* in possession of the empire of *Russia*.

The princess *Elizabeth* empress of *Russia*.

This great resolution was effected by the prudence and spirit of the new empress, and without bloodshed. She resembled her

her father in the majesty of his appearance, the traits of his face, and the firmness of his conduct. In her own person, she disarmed the *German* guards, who might have alarmed the regent; and at first she promised to send her and her son, the emperor, to *Germany*, but they were arrested on the road, and brought back prisoners. Soon after her accession, she published a manifesto, setting forth that she ought to have succeeded to her nephew, the emperor *Peter* the IId, and that she had been defrauded of her right by the practices of the counts, *Osterman*, *Munich*, and others. All of them were tried, and condemned to death, but respited upon the scaffold for exile. Among the first cares of *Elizabeth*'s government, was her calling to her court the duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, her eldest sister's son; whom she declared her presumptive heir, and great duke of *Russia*. In the mean while, the war with *Sweden* was renewed, and the *Russians* were again victorious under general *Lascy*, who disarmed the whole *Swedish* army, and conquered *Finland* in the campaign of 1742; but, as we have observed in the history of *Sweden*, *Elizabeth* made a very moderate use of her advantages, and gave peace to the *Swedes* upon their receiving the biihop of *Lubec* for their king, and acknowledging the duke of *Holstein* her successor to the empire of *Russia*. 1742.

We have had an occasion, in various other parts of this work, to commemorate the noble figure the czarina's arms made during the war between the houses of *Austria* and *Brandenburgh*. She was proof against the most tempting sollicitations to desert the cause of the empress queen; and it is quite unnecessary to repeat the glories her troops acquired in all their campaigns against his *Prussian* majesty, till after their taking of *Colberg*, which threatened the entire ruin of his *Prussian* majesty, when her death happened, on the 2d of *January* 1762, which not only altered the affairs of *Russia*, but the state of *Europe*. She favours the empress queen of *Hungary*. Vol. IX. p. 248, & *seq.* 1762.

Elizabeth was succeeded by the great duke of *Russia*, and duke of *Holstein*, *Peter* the IIId, whose conduct was the reverse of hers. He admired the accomplishments and capacity of his *Prussian* majesty, and upon mounting his throne he gave him peace. He had been married to a princess of the house of *Anhalt Zerbst*, and he recalled all the exiles who had, during the late reigns, been sent to *Siberia*, particularly *Biren*, in whose person and family the succession to the duchy of *Courland* is now settled. Unhappily for him, there was no good understanding between him and his empress, a princess of the most consummate abilities; and his own irregularities, personal as well as political, particularly in endeavouring to abolish the established religion of *Russia*, soon produced a conspiracy among the great *Russian* lords against him, which was headed by his empress. A resolution was formed and executed to divest him of the imperial dignity, and to raise her to the empire, of which she accepted. *Peter* the IIId was then too indolently, and, perhaps, too criminally, indulging his pleasures at *Peter* III. *Catharine* II.

at a country ſeat, with a favourite miſtreſs. He heard of his wife's having been advanced to the imperial throne, and being abandoned by all but a few faithful *Holſteiners*, he was ſtopt in his flight to his hereditary dukedom, forced to ſign an unconditional reſignation of his empire, and in a few hours after he was murdered, though his wife gave out that he died of a hemorrhoidal cholic. Upon his death, the empreſs took the reins of government into her hands, which ſhe holds till her ſon, the great duke, ſhall be declared of age.

Murder of *Iwan*.

Iwan, who had been acknowledged emperor while in the cradle, was ſtill alive, and without ever knowing what liberty was, continued ſhut up in the fortreſs of *Schluſſelburg*. He was there viſited by the empreſs *Catharine* the IId, who gave out that he was next to an ideot, and placed a guard over his perſon. But the public are far from being ſatisfied with regard to the meanneſs of *Iwan*'s capacity. The empreſs ſetting out upon a progreſs, one *Mirowitz*, a ſubaltern officer in the army, attempted to ſet *Iwan* at liberty; and for that purpoſe he engaged ſome ſoldiers of the garriſon to join him. On the 15th of *July*, *Mirowitz* made the attempt; and rather than it ſhould ſucceed, his barbarous guards murdered him in his bed, and threw his body out of the window to the conſpirators, who, loſing all their ſpirits and courage, ſurrendered themſelves to the governor of the fortreſs; and *Mirowitz* was afterwards publicly executed, while the murderers were nobly rewarded.

Though *Peter* the IIId had been dethroned and murdered for his miſgovernment, yet his empreſs, and ſucceſſor, purſued all the meaſures he had chalked out. She granted peace to the king of *Pruſſia*, though her huſband's friendſhip for that prince was a capital article againſt him. She favoured the acceſſion of count *Poniatowſki* to the throne of *Poland*, and ever ſince her acceſſion, ſhe has never ceaſed to invite foreigners of all nations to reſide in her empire.

THE

THE HISTORY OF POLAND.

THE hiſtory of this kingdom is ſo intermixed with the forms of its conſtitution, that ſome knowledge of the latter is abſolutely neceſſary, before we can proceed to the former.

History of the *Poliſh* conſtitution.

Poland, though a republic, has a king, who, upon the death of his predeceſſor, is choſen by the collective body of the nobility aſſembled on horſeback, and who, before they proceed to the election, draw up a capitulation, or, as it is called, the *pacta conventa*, to which the future monarch is to ſwear that he will conform himſelf, and make it the rule of his government. The heads of this inſtrument ſecure the liberties of the people from all invaſions by the king; guards againſt his rendering the crown hereditary in his own family; provides for the ratification of all treaties, for the public tranquillity and ſecurity; binds his majeſty to coin no money but in the republic's name; that in all matters regarding war or peace, he ſhall take the advice of the ſenate and the diet, and that he ſhall not conſent, by any means, to the introduction of foreign troops, nor give any places, civil, military or eccleſiaſtical, to foreigners. It provides that he ſhall even conſult the ſenate in his marriage, and that he ſhall not privately ſign or ſeal papers of a public nature; that he ſhall profeſs the *Roman* catholic religion; that he ſhall not ſquander the public money, nor fit out ſhips of war, without the conſent of the republic. In ſhort, when we conſider the whole of this conſtitution, we wonder with what propriety it can be ſaid to have a king, ſo much are his hands tied up from the execution of government.

The crown of *Poland* is, notwithſtanding, a deſirable object. The king's revenues are about four hundred thouſand pounds a year, without deductions, beſides many other caſualties. He diſpoſes of all vacant benefices, offices and dignities, but can keep none in his own hands, nor diſpoſe of any to his children, or foreigners, without conſent of the ſenate. It is one of his prerogatives to aſſemble the diet, which conſiſts of himſelf, the ſenate, the biſhops, ſome abbots, governors of provinces, called palatines, caſtellans, who are governors of caſtles, the great officers of ſtate, and nuncios, or repreſentatives choſen and ſent by the nobility and certain orders of the gentry in each palatinate. Three acres of land poſſeſſed by a gentleman, conſtitute what we may call his freehold, and give him a voice in electing a nuncio. Each palatinate has three repreſentatives, but two of them are little more than nominal, and ſerve only for form, all the buſineſs being veſted in one. In ſhort, the great outlines of the *Poliſh* diet, reſemble thoſe of the *Britiſh* parliament. The repreſentatives of the palatinates, prepare the buſineſs of the ſeſſion for the conſideration of the great officers of ſtate, the nobility and the biſhops. The king ſpeaks to them by the mouth of his chancellor. A committee of ſixteen ſenators is choſen to attend his majeſty in the nature of a cabinet council; but the choice of the marſhal or preſident of the diet ſometimes conſumes the ſix weeks allotted for the ſitting of the aſſembly, without any choice being made. The marſhal is the mouth of the nuncios to the king. Every bill muſt paſs unanimouſly; but if twenty bills were to paſs in that manner, and the twenty-firſt is thrown out, the whole goes for nothing, an abſurdity that is peculiar to the *Poliſh* conſtitution. From this complex form of government, it is plain that it is liable to great obſtructions and corruptions. It is in the power of every petulant nuncio to give a negative to the moſt public ſpirited meaſure, an inconveniency ſo glaring, that the other members have ſometimes been forced to cut ſuch a tribune in pieces.

When the throne becomes vacant, a vaſt large booth, called by the *Poles*, *Szopa*, is erected for the electors; a marſhal is choſen, but the archbiſhop of *Gneſna* for the time being, has the chief power. The deliberation of the diet turns upon the ſecurity of the ſtate, and the additions that may be neceſſary to make the royal capitulation, with many other acts of government. Formerly, the moſt groſs corruption determined the choice of a candidate for the crown, which generally was given to him who had the longeſt purſe. At preſent, embaſſadors of the chief powers of *Europe* are admitted to audiences of the aſſembly. The election is uſhered in by the performance of religious duties, and by each member purging himſelf of all corrupt affections; and, though by the original conſtitution the electors ought to be unanimous, yet that being found

found impracticable, the majority of late has decided the choice.

The ſenate of *Poland* conſiſts of a hundred and forty-four members, who are officers of ſtate, biſhops, palatines, or caſtellans, and though nominated by the king, the members take an oath to be true to the republic. It poſſeſſes much the ſame dignity as a *Britiſh* houſe of peers, as it has a juridical capacity in the laſt reſort. The honours they enjoy are for life, and they look upon themſelves as the firſt ſubjects in the kingdom, and as aſſeſſors to the king himſelf The archbiſhop of *Gneſna* is the preſident of this aſſembly, and is attended by a marſhal and other officers, ſo that the reſpect paid him falls little ſhort of that due to the king himſelf. His negative can annul the election of a king, even though it ſhould be unanimous. All the biſhops are by their ſees members of the ſenate, and they are no more than thirteen in number. The power given to them and the primate, is perhaps the wiſeſt part of the *Poliſh* conſtitution, as they are themſelves diſabled from being candidates for the crown; and their independence upon the king, as well as the people, renders them a counterbalance in all abuſes, either of prerogative or privilege.

The reader who ſhall accurately compare the old *Engliſh* and the preſent *Poliſh* conſtitution, will find many more inſtances of ſimilarity between them than thoſe we have mentioned. A palatinate is, in ſome ſenſe, a county, of which the palatine is the lord lieutenant, or ſheriff. He has his courts, in which the civil affairs of his palatinate are tranſacted; and he is particularly authorized to defend the *Jews*; a ſet of men who are particularly induſtrious in *Poland*, by ſupplying the taſtleſs extravagance, and the tawdry finery of the natives. Of the chief caſtellans, whom we have already mentioned, there are thirty-two, and of the ſmaller, forty-nine. They are qualified to act as deputy palatines, and to hold particular ranks in the army, according to their qualifications. The office of ſtaroſta in *Poland*, is partly military and partly civil, ſomewhat reſembling the high ſheriffs in *England*. They return the king's revenue into the exchequer; they have a power to ſummon what we may call the *poſſe comitatus*; they have particular courts and officers, and all ſubjects muſt obey them in the exerciſe of their duty. If they are men of property or governments under the republic, their rank is very reſpectable, and their authority extenſive, for they not only have judicial powers, but they preſide at all criminal executions, and can enforce their own decrees. The ſtaroſtas, who have no property or command, act as our juſtices of the peace. Next to the ranks we have deſcribed, are the burghers, many of whom are foreigners, and all of them treated as mere mechanics by the nobility and gentry, whatever influence or property they may have in their reſpective corporations. As to the *Poliſh* peaſantry, they have neither power nor property, and are conſidered as mere ſlaves. Upon the whole, though every

Poliſh gentleman is not a nobleman, yet the great weight and privileges of the conſtitution reſt upon them. When aſſembled in a body, they form what is called the poſpolite; and during their being in the field, all courts of juſtice are ſhut up; but they cannot be compelled to march above three leagues out of *Poland*, nor to continue embodied for above ſix weeks. Their perſons are free from all arreſts; and ſuch are the dilatory forms of the *Poliſh* laws, that they ſeldom operate againſt a nobleman or a gentleman, for theſe terms are in many reſpects ſynonimous.

Notwithſtanding all the ſpecious ſhew of *Poliſh* freedom, and of the nation being linked together in the common cauſe of liberty, yet their degeneracy, their indolence, and poverty is incredible. They abuſe their powers by exceſſive drinking, to which they even proſtitute their voices, and their brutal behaviour to the wives and daughters of their tenants, is at once without controul and excuſe, farther than that a *Poliſh* peaſant approaches ſo near to the brute creation, that he has not the ſmalleſt idea of his wretched ſtate, provided he can ſatisfy the calls of hunger. Theſe peaſants, however, are the wealth of the gentry who live upon their landed eſtates, for the ſtaroſties are offices conferred by the crown, by way of rewards to antient military officers, or other old ſervants of the republic. In the inland parts of *Poland*, the land-holders take their rents in kind, and convert their proviſions, after ſerving their own families, into money, which is by no means plentiful in their country; though it is one of the fineſt in *Europe*. When a *Poliſh* army is brought to the field, it is under no diſcipline, and their officers hold their commiſſions for life, their commands being proportioned to the properties they enjoy. We may therefore pronounce, that the inhabitants of no country abuſe the ineſtimable bleſſings of nature and liberty more than the *Poles*, who are ſaid to be ſo numerous, that *Poland* and *Lithuania* together, without hurting agriculture, can ſend two hundred thouſand men into the field.

We ſhall not trace the hiſtory of *Poland* to fabulous times, but begin at the year 830, when the *Poles* choſe one *Pieſtus*, a wheel-right, but a man of exemplary virtue, for their duke. He proved ſo excellent a prince, that he is to this day the pride of the *Poles*, who, from him, call the native kings of their country *Piaſts*. He was ſucceeded in his virtues and dignity by his ſon, *Ziemovitus*, who, by his valour and juſtice, extended the dukedom; and though the government was not hereditary, yet he was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Lechus*, whoſe merits were equal to thoſe of his anceſtors. His ſon, *Zemomiſlaus*, was in the like manner raiſed to the dukedom, and he made the like good uſe of his power, which was inherited by his ſon, *Mieczſlaus*. This prince was born blind, but recovered his ſight when he was ſeven years of age. The *Poles* had not yet embraced *Chriſtianity*, and *Mieczſlaus* having married ſeveral wives, without having children; ſome

Chriſtian

830. Dukes and kings of *Poland* in the early ages.

Chriſtian monks perſuaded him to renounce *Paganiſm* and marry a *Chriſtian* princeſs. He tried the experiment, and it ſucceeded; but according to the beſt accounts, he was a poor, bigotted, prieſt-ridden prince. He was ſucceeded, in 999, by his ſon, *Boleſlaus* the Iſt, who united in his own perſon the heathen and military *Chriſtian* virtues. He defeated the *Ruſſians* and *Bohemians*, and was recognized as king by the emperor *Otho* the IIId, and the pope. Having conquered *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, he carried his victorious arms againſt the *Ruſſians*, where they continued to be ſtill ſucceſsful. From *Ruſſia* he marched into *Saxony*, which he conquered, together with *Pomerania* and *Pruſſia*. Having ſubdued all his enemies, but with no great honour to his clemency, he died in 1025, and was honoured with the ſur-name of Great. He is ſaid to have inſtituted a council of twelve noblemen to aſſiſt in the government. His treatment of the ducal *Bohemia* family, whom he ſubdued, ſhews him to have been a lawleſs barbarian, for he put out the eyes of the old duke, and his ſon died in a dungeon. 999. 1025.

Boleſlaus was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Mieczſlaus* the IId; but the *Ruſſians*, *Pruſſians*, *Moravians* and *Saxons*, fell all at once upon *Poland*; nor had *Mieczſlaus* any capacity for war; and he died of a frenzy in 1034. He had been ſo much deſpiſed by his ſubjects, that they ſet his ſon, *Caſimir*, aſide from the ſucceſſion, and gave the regency to his mother, *Rixa*, who was ſoon baniſhed for her tyranny. A downright anarchy then ſucceeded in *Poland*, which was attended with acts of the moſt ſhocking barbarity and villainy. Young *Caſimir* had been driven out of *Poland*, and the country was overun with foreign enemies. The *Poles* applied to the popes, whoſe credit was then very high, but all they did was to take their money, as well as that of their enemies; and at laſt they recalled young *Caſimir*, who was a monk in the abbey of *Clugni*. He had leave from the pope to mount his father's throne, and to reſtore *Poland* to order and government. Though he was a bigot to the church of *Rome*, to which he made too great conceſſions, yet he ſhewed great courage and abilities in government, and he left his kingdom in a moſt proſperous ſtate in 1058. The truth is, the *Poles* were, at this time, the ſubjects of the ſee of *Rome*, and their kings were ſubſtitutes to the popes, to whom they paid an annual tribute. *Caſimir* was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Boleſlaus* the IId, who, by his great actions againſt the *Bohemians*, *Pruſſians*, *Ruſſians* and *Hungarians*, obtained the name of the Bold. He reconquered great part of the territory that had been acquired by *Boleſlaus* the Great, and conquered *Kiovia*. After a life ſpent in obtaining the moſt ſplendid victories, he ſunk into luxury, and ſpent his time in the countries he had conquered, particularly in *Kiow*, then one of the moſt luxurious cities in the world, on the banks of the *Boriſthenes*, ſurrounded by a numerous court and army. The abſence of the *Poles* from their wives, is ſaid to 1034. 1058.

have united the latter in the horrid deſign of raiſing their ſlaves and ſervants to their beds. Upon the return of the *Poles*, a deſperate battle enſued, in which the women fought by the ſides of their lovers, and *Poland* was deluged with blood. The ladies at laſt were ſubdued, but *Boleſlaus* became a complete tyrant. He even murdered biſhops and clergymen, for which the thunder of the *Vatican* drove him out of his kingdom, and he died in the moſt deſpicable poverty, ſome ſay in the ſtation of a cook to a monaſtery in *Carinthia*.

1082. In 1082, the pope gave the *Poles* leave to elect *Uladiſlaus* their ſovereign, but without the title of king. After a reign
1103. of trouble, he died in peace, in 1103. His ſon *Boleſlaus* the IIId, was one of the moſt warlike princes of the age. He defeated the emperor, *Henry* the IVth, and he is ſaid to have been preſent in forty-ſeven pitched battles. Entering into a war with the *Ruſſians*, they defeated him, and the diſgrace is ſaid to have affected him ſo much, that it brought him to his grave. He had, before his death, divided his kingdom among his four ſons, but his will was ſet aſide by his eldeſt, *Uladiſlaus* the IId, who was animated by his wife, *Chriſtina*, a lewd, ambitious, woman. His reign was turbulent, and he was at laſt
1146. depoſed, and driven into *Germany*. In 1146, *Boleſlaus* the IVth, brother to the laſt duke (for the pope had not ſuffered them to reſume the title of kings) governed *Poland*. He proved a worthy prince, and he aſſigned to his exiled brother the province of *Sileſia*, which has ever ſince been diſmembered from *Poland*. During his reign, the rage of cruſading prevailed in *Europe*, and his brother, *Henry*, made a campaign in the *Holy Land*, from whence he returned with the loſs of almoſt all the army which attended him. Soon after this, the exiled *Uladiſlaus*, and his wife, *Chriſtina*, perſuaded the emperor, *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, to invade *Poland*. The imperial army was ruined, but an accommodation ſucceeded, and *Boleſlaus* had leiſure to turn his arms againſt the *Ruſſians*, under the pious pretence of their being ſtill heathens. His army was defeated, and the reſt of the reign of *Boleſlaus* was checquered with good and bad fortune, but he died in the
1174. year 1174. He was ſucceeded by *Mieczſlaus* the IIId, ſurnamed the Old, becauſe of the vaſt ſagacity he diſcovered when young. He ſoon degenerated into a tyrant, and was depoſed. He was ſucceeded by his brother, *Caſimir*, who proved a wiſe and a valiant prince, and obtained the ſurname of the Juſt. His reign was turbulent, through the practices of his brother and other relations, but his virtues endeared his memory ſo
1194. much to the *Poles*, that when he died in 1194, his ſon *Lechus* was raiſed to the ducal honour, notwithſtanding the intrigues of his depoſed uncle, *Mieczſlaus*, who at laſt depoſed him. He did not long poſſeſs his ill acquired dignity, and he was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Uladiſlaus*, who died in a few days; but the hiſtory of *Poland*, at this time, is very uncertain. All we
1206. know is, that in the year 1206, *Lechus* was reſtored, but his reign

reign proved a continued ſeries of foreign invaſions and domeſtic troubles.

We are in the dark as to the hiſtory of *Poland*, which was now a prey to the *Tartars*. *Lechus* had a brother, *Conrade*, who, to keep himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Maſovia* and *Cujavia*, called the knights of the *Teutonic* order to his aſſiſtance againſt the *Pruſſians*, by which that order became poſſeſſed of the *Poliſh Pruſſia*. In 1226, we find *Boleſlaus* the Vth, ſon to *Lechus*, in poſſeſſion of *Poland*. He had wars with the *Tartars*, *Ruſſians* and *Lithuanians*; as had his couſin, *Lechus*, who ſucceeded him. Upon the death of *Lechus*, in 1289, great diſputes happened about the ſucceſſion, which at laſt devolved upon *Premiſlaus*, a powerful *Poliſh* lord, who, to revive the glory and ſpirit of his ſubjects, reſumed the title of king. He was depoſed by the king of *Bohemia*, and aſſaſſinated by conſpirators. In 1300, we find one *Uladiſlaus Loctícus* named as king of *Poland*; but he was ſoon depoſed, and the crown given to *Wenceſlaus*, king of *Bohemia*. The *Bohemian* government was ſo diſagreeable to the *Poles*, that *Wenceſlaus* was quickly driven from the throne, and *Uladiſlaus Loctícus* was reſtored. He carried on a long and ſevere war againſt the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who were headed by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*; but in the end they were defeated, and the reſidue of his reign was glorious. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Caſimir* the IIId; and the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* taking part with the knights of the *Teutonic* order, they drove him to great difficulties, though he was ſupported by the ſee of *Rome*. Having made the beſt accommodation he could, he turned his arms againſt the *Ruſſians*, and conquered *Leopold* and the *Black Ruſſia*. He was, however, more diſtinguiſhed for his civil, than his military arts, for he was the firſt who introduced a regular ſyſtem of laws into *Poland*, where it was approved of by a general diet. After a glorious reign, which was ſtained only by incontinency with women, he died in 1370, without iſſue, and in him ended the race of *Piaſtus* in the male line.

1226. 1289. 1300. 1370.

Lewis king of *Hungary*, nephew to *Caſimir*, by his ſiſter, ſucceeded him in the throne of *Poland*; tho' his partiality to the *Hungarians* was ſuch, that the kingdom became ſoon a ſcene of bloodſhed and robbery. Foreign invaſions and rebellions ſucceeded, but his power prevailed over all, and he obliged the *Poles* to elect *Sigiſmund*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, for his ſucceſſor. The *Poles* ſet his ſucceſſion aſide, as being obtained by conſtraint, and gave their crown to *Sigiſmund*'s daughter, *Hedwiga*. She refuſed to marry the duke of *Maſovia*, but could not obtain the conſent of her ſtates, to make a prince of the houſe of *Auſtria*, whom ſhe loved, her huſband. *Jagello*, duke of *Lithuania*, next courted her. Both he and his ſubjects were yet *Pagans*. He promiſed to profeſs *Chriſtianity*, to oblige them to do the ſame, and offered to annex *Lithuania* to the crown of *Poland*. *Hedwiga* ſtill loved the *Auſtrian* prince, and would have married him, againſt the

advice of all her ſubjects, but *Jagello* diſlodged him at once from her court and her affections, at the head of an army, and ſhe having ſeen him, gave him her hand with more raptures than ſhe could have done it to his rival.

Riſe of the *Jagellos*, kings of *Poland*.

Jagello having mounted the throne of *Poland*, changed his name to *Uladiſlaus*, being the IVth of that name. The vaſt acceſſion of territory which he brought to *Poland*, by the provinces of *Samogitia*, and *Black Ruſſia*, as well as *Lithuania*, excited the jealouſy of the *Teutonic* knights; nor indeed were the *Lithuanians* themſelves pleaſed with their country being annexed to *Poland*. Thoſe diſcontents produced ſeveral wars. The *Lithuanians* were groſs idolaters, their religion being then a compound of that of the Druids and the Magi; for they worſhipped fire, and believed in the ſanctity of particular groves and temples. *Uladiſlaus*, in proceeding to their converſion, acted in a mild, but ſenſible manner; for he penetrated into their country, at the head of an army, and gave them ocular demonſtration of the vanity of their religion, by deſtroying their conſecrated groves, ſtatues and temples, with impunity.

The *Lithuanians* embrace *Chriſtianity*.

This opened the eyes of the *Lithuanians*, vaſt numbers of them embraced *Chriſtianity*. An archbiſhopric was founded in *Vilna*, their capital, and *Uladiſlaus* left his brother, *Skirgello*, and his kinſman, *Vitowda*, his governors in the dukedom. *Skirgello* was a tyrant, and forced *Vitowda* into the arms of the *Teutonic* knights, who, though inſtituted for the defence and propagation of *Chriſtianity*, oppoſed the converſion of the *Lithuanians*. A moſt cruel war followed, and *Vitowda* forced the king to make him ſole governor of *Lithuania*. This was about the time that *Tamerlane* was invading *Greece*. At firſt *Vitowda* obtained vaſt advantages over that great conqueror's generals; but at laſt he was overpowered by numbers, and the *Teutonic* knights proved a ſtill more barbarous army than the *Tartars*, who ravaged *Poland*, but in the end were entirely

Poland ravaged.

defeated by the valour of *Uladiſlaus*. He is ſaid to have killed forty thouſand, and to have made thirty thouſand priſoners; but he is blamed for not having taken *Marienburgh*, the capital of the *Poliſh Pruſſia*. The knights thereby gained time to recover themſelves, under their great maſter, *Plawen*, who found means to debauch *Vitowda* from his allegiance, by offering to give him *Lithuania* and *Samogitia* in ſovereignty. He was, however, defeated in the field, as well as in the cabinet, by the firmneſs of *Uladiſlaus*, who conquered all oppoſition, and died after a glorious reign of forty-eight years.

1434. *Uladiſlaus* the Vth.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon, *Uladiſlaus* the Vth, in 1434, being no more than nine years of age. During his minority, *Poland* and *Lithuania* were harraſſed by the *Tartars*; and when he was very young, he was forced to put himſelf at the head of his army, to oppoſe *Amurath* or *Morad*, the *Turkiſh* emperor, in the manner the reader has already ſeen. Some writers have repreſented *Uladiſlaus* the Vth as king of *Hungary* at this time. It is certain that the *Hungarians*, ſoon after, beſtowed

Vol. VIII. p. 79, & *ſeq.*

Ibid. p. 83.

upon

upon him their crown; and *Uladiſlaus*, after defeating the *Turks*, made a moſt glorious peace, both for himſelf and *Chriſtendom*, but he was over perſuaded, by the pope's legate, a furious weak brained bigot, to violate his faith. He penetrated into *Bulgaria*, and fought the battle of *Varna*, in which he loſt his life, after giving proofs of the moſt amazing courage, which deſerved a better cauſe. *Uladiſlaus* the Vth was ſcarcely of age when he was killed; he having reigned ten years over the *Poles*, and four over the *Hungarians*. Vol. VIII. p. 84, & ſeq.

When *Uladiſlaus* the Vth was killed, his brother, *Caſimir*, held *Lithuania* as a fief of *Poland*. Though about ten thouſand *Poles*, beſides *Hungarians*, had been killed in the battle of *Varna*, yet *Caſimir* ſubdued *Bogdan*, the rebellious vaivode of *Moldavia*, then ſubject to *Poland*. About this time almoſt all *Ruſſia* revolted from her tyrannical maſters, the *Teutonic* knights, and *Dantzic*, *Thorn*, *Elbing*, *Culm* and *Gotlub*, put themſelves under *Caſimir*'s protection. He was defeated by the knights while he was beſieging *Marienburg*; but by the aſſiſtance of the diet, he ſoon repaired his loſs, and, by a treaty concluded at *Thorn*, he forced the knights to cede to him *Pomerania*, *Culm*, *Marienburg*, *Stum*, and *Elbing*, and to hold the reſt of *Ruſſia* as feodatories of *Poland*. By this peace, the grand maſter obtained a ſeat in the *Poliſh* ſenate. After this, the hoſpoder of *Moldavia* put himſelf under the protection of *Poland*, and the *Bohemians* gave their crown to *Uladiſlaus*, *Caſimir*'s eldeſt ſon, by which *Caſimir* almoſt ruined his country; *Uladiſlaus*, at the ſame time, aſpiring to the crown of *Hungary*, and thereby kindling a moſt terrible civil war. He died in the year 1492, and his reign is ſaid to have firſt introduced deputies or nuncios to the diet. 1444. *Caſimir* the IVth. The *Teutonic* knights. 1492.

Caſimir the IIId was ſucceeded by his ſon, *John Albert*, in prejudice of his two elder brothers, *Uladiſlaus*, who was king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and *Sigiſmund*. Their intereſts were ſo nearly balanced among the electors, that when they could agree in nothing elſe, they agreed to raiſe their youngeſt brother, *John Albert*, to the throne. This prince at firſt refuſed to join in a confederacy propoſed by the *Venetians* againſt the *Turks*, but natural ambition got the better of his caution. He was defeated in an attempt he made upon *Walachia*, where he loſt ſix thouſand men, but authors do not agree upon particulars, nor do we even know which party was the aggreſſor. *John Albert* died in 1501, as he was making warlike preparations to ſupport his claim of ſuperiority over the *Teutonic* knights. *John Albert*. 1501.

John Albert, who died in the forty-firſt year of his age, was ſucceeded by his brother, *Alexander*, great duke of *Lithuania*; by which the union between that duchy and *Poland* was confirmed. He was involved in war with his neighbours, the *Muſcovites*, *Moldavians*, and *Tartars*, over whom his generals obtained a complete victory, while he was on his death-bed. He reigned five years; but, though by his general courage, he *Alexander*.

he acquired a great character in hiſtory, we are told, ſuch was his profuſion, eſpecially to muſicians, that upon his death, his donations were revoked, and a law called the *Statutum Alexandrinum* was paſſed, to prevent the like abuſes for the fu-

Sigiſmund. ture. By the predilection of *Alexander*, his elder brother, *Sigiſmund*, who had been twice before a candidate for the crown, ſucceeded him. He found his revenues, at his acceſſion, in a miſerable plight, but by the aſſiſtance of his excellent miniſter, *John Bonner*, he retrieved them, and he proved to be one of the greateſt princes of his age. He ſuppreſſed a conſpiracy formed between his great general, *Glinſki*, governor of *Lithuania*, and the czar of *Muſcovy*, for diſmembering that duchy from his crown; and he totally defeated, in repeated battles, the *Ruſſians*, *Walachians*, and *Moldavians*, from whom he re-

He defeats the *Ruſſians.* covered *Smolenſko*, which they had ſurprized. He then entered into a long war with *Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who had been choſen great maſter of the *Teutonic* order; and forced him to raiſe the ſiege of *Dantzic*. By his perpetual ſucceſſes againſt thoſe knights, he obliged the marquis, who had turned proteſtant, to abandon his great maſterſhip, and for that purpoſe he gave him half the province of *Ruſſia*, with the title of duke, which gave a mortal blow to the power of the *Teutonic* order. His vaſt ſucceſſes, and the power his family had acquired, attracted, at laſt, the jealouſy of the emperor *Charles* the Vth, who excited the *Ruſſians*, and the other barbarous neighbours of *Poland*, to invade her. The fortune of *Sigiſmund* prevailed over all, till his nephew, *Lewis*, the ſon of his

Vol. VIII. p. 136. elder brother, *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, and *Sileſia*, loſt his life in the battle of *Mohatz*, againſt the *Turks*, in

1526. 1526. This was a ſevere blow to the houſe of *Jagello*, for the daughter and heir of *Lewis*, married *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, and in her right he poſſeſſed her dominions. That event is ſaid to have ſhortened the days of *Sigiſmund*, though he was then 84 years of age. Before his death, he had entirely ſubdued all his barbarous enemies; ſecured the ſovereignty of *Poland* over the ducal *Ruſſia*, and reannexed the province of *Maſovia* to his

1548. crown. He died in 1548, with the character of being the moſt

His character. powerful and fortunate prince that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*, and endued with more perſonal ſtrength and accompliſhments than any man of his age.

Sigiſmund the IId. *Sigiſmund* the IId ſucceeded his father, *Sigiſmund* the Iſt, without any previous election, becauſe his right had been acknowledged by the diet during his father's lifetime. He was a wiſe and moderate prince, and improved his dominions by the arts of peace. Soon after his acceſſion, the *Teutonic* knights in *Livonia* were diſpoſſeſſed of almoſt all that country, by the *Ruſſians*; but they were ſuccoured by *Sigiſmund*, at the head of a hundred thouſand men. *Sigiſmund* was not quite diſintereſted in the aſſiſtance he gave them on this occaſion. After he had made up a difference between *Ketler*, the grand maſter, and his knights, he inſiſted that not only they, but all the *Livonians*,

Livonians, ſhould acknowledge his ſovereignty. They were obliged to ſubmit, but *Ketler* was indemnified for giving up *Riga* to *Sigiſmund*, and for reſigning his grand-maſterſhip, by being made duke of *Courland* and *Semigallia*, which his poſterity was to hold under the crown of *Poland*; and he was at the ſame time declared governor of *Livonia*. Thoſe arrangements exaſperated *Baſilides*, the powerful czar of *Muſcovy*, who fell into the *Poliſh* dominions with great cruelty. His troops were every where defeated by *Radzevil*, palatine of *Vilna*, and the other *Poliſh* generals, and he was forced to evacuate *Lithuania*. This bloody war was ended by a three years truce, during which *Sigiſmund* died, with the character of poſſeſſing all the virtues of a king, with ſome of the failings of a man. In him the male line of the *Jagello* family was ended; but the memory of its princes are ſtill dear to the *Poles*. End of the *Jagello* line.

Sigiſmund the IId left two ſiſters, *Catharine*, who was wife firſt to the duke of *Finland*, and afterwards to *John*, king of *Sweden*, and *Anne*, who was afterwards married to *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Tranſylvania*. Had the male line of *Jagello* continued, it is probable the ſucceſſion never would have been diſputed in that family; but no ſooner was it extinct, than intrigues for a ſucceſſor to the crown of *Poland* were formed in almoſt all the courts of *Europe*. The management of the pope's legate promoted the election to a prince of the catholic religion, and the archduke *Erneſt* of *Auſtria* was thought of. He miſſed it, by the unſeaſonable pride and punctilio of his father, the emperor, which was ſuch, as united all the *Poles* in a confederacy againſt his ſon. It would be endleſs to give a detail of all the intereſts and factions of the candidates, but at laſt the election fell upon the duke of *Anjou*, brother to *Charles* the 9th of *France*. That prince was then in ſome reputation with the *Roman* catholics, on account of his ſucceſſes againſt the proteſtants; and his intereſt was ſtrenuouſly promoted by one *Croſoſki*, a *Polander* of intrigue and addreſs. In ſhort, he carried the election through the intereſt of his brother, who diſliked his remaining in *France*. It was oppoſed, at firſt, not only by the houſe of *Auſtria*, but by the *German* proteſtants; but upon *Henry*'s promiſing all that was required of him, particularly to maintain a fleet in the *Baltic*, and to marry the princeſs *Anne*, younger ſiſter to the late king *Sigiſmund*, his election was next to unanimous, and he was crowned in 1574, at *Cracow*. His appearance, his magnificence and politeneſs, far different from what the *Poles* had ever ſeen before, were juſt beginning to endear him to their affections, when he heard of his brother's death, by which he became king of *France*. We have already given an account of *Henry*'s clandeſtine eſcape out of *Poland*, which he effected in a maſterly manner; but all his ſoothing letters could not prevent his exaſperated ſubjects from depoſing him on the 15th of *July* 1575. The primate of *Gneſna*, at the head of the ſenate, elected and proclaimed the emperor *Maximilian* king of *Poland*; but the princeſs *Anne* con-

Henry of *Anjou*, is choſen king of *Poland*. 1574.

Vol. XI. p. 369.

Stephen Batori king.

continuing ſtill unmarried, the *Piaſt* party choſe *Stephen Batori*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, who made her his wife, and he accordingly mounted the throne. *Maximilian* was preparing to diſpute it with him when he died, and *Batori* was recognized king by all *Poland*, the city of *Dantzic* excepted, who pretended to be independent of *Poland*. The *Dantzickers* being ſupported by the *Germans* and *Ruſſians*, obſtinately rejected all the terms offered them by *Stephen*, and were declared rebels, but *Stephen* found great difficulty in reducing them to their duty. He ſucceeded, however, at laſt, for he beſieged their city, and their brave general, *Collea*, was killed in a ſally. They accepted of the terms propoſed by *Stephen*, who confirmed their privileges.

War with *Ruſſia*. 1578. p. 498.

The reduction of *Dantzic* did not prevent the bloody invaſions of the *Ruſſians*, who laid waſte all *Livonia*, and other parts of the *Poliſh* territories, till they were defeated in 1578, by *Stephen*. We have, in the hiſtory of *Muſcovy*, mentioned the progreſs of this war, the events of which were too inhuman and ſhocking to be repeated here. The *Ruſſians* were not the only enemies the *Poles* had to oppoſe, for the *Swedes*, as we have already ſeen, aſſerted, by arms, their claims upon *Livonia*. The *Poles* and *Swedes* at laſt diſcovered that *Baſilowitz* was their common enemy, and they conſequently propoſed to unite againſt him, but the weight of the war fell upon *Stephen*, who beſieged *Pleſkow*, one of the ſtrongeſt cities in the north, and well garriſoned. The perſeverance of *Batori* continued the ſiege under infinite difficulties; and we have already ſeen how, by the mediation of the pope's legate, the peace of the north was reſtored. After this *Batori*, who had loſt about fifty thouſand men in his laſt campaign, applied himſelf to the civil and military eſtabliſhments of his kingdom, and had the addreſs to attach the *Coſſacs*, who had before lived in a ſtate of ſavage nature, to his crown, and to render them, by diſcipline, uſeful troops. He even introduced among them many of the arts of life, but a freſh war breaking out with *Sweden*, he was obliged again to take the field, in order to ſave *Riga*, which had revolted. Before he could effect this, he died, but without being able to prevail with the diet of *Poland* to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the crown upon his family. It is ſufficient, in teſtimony of *Stephen*'s great abilities, to ſay, that from a middling ſtation, he raiſed himſelf to power and royalty, in which he maintained himſelf by wiſdom and intrepidity, and that the *Poles* have almoſt deified his memory.

1586. Death and character of *Stephen*.

Sigiſmund of *Sweden*.

Though the crown of *Poland*, at this time, may be literally called elective, yet both the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* ſtill retained a great affection for the remains of the *Jagello* family. Prince *Sigiſmund* of *Sweden*, was ſon to the eldeſt ſiſter of *Caſimir* the IId, and her younger ſiſter, *Batori*'s widow, was ſtill alive, and was forming a powerful party for her nephew. The other candidates were three princes of the houſe of *Auſtria*, *Erneſt*, *Matthias*, and *Maximilian*, together with *Theodore*, the czar

of

of *Muſcovy*. The vaſt eccleſiaſtical influence in the *Poliſh* diet, favoured *Sigiſmund*, who had declared himſelf of the *Romiſh* religion, and had likewiſe on his ſide the intereſt of the *Porte*, the ſenate, and the *Poliſh* army, which was commanded by *Zamoſki*, a perſon of great abilities, both civil and military, and *Sigiſmund* was accordingly proclaimed on the 9th of *Auguſt* 1587. We have already mentioned the terms and views upon which *Sigiſmund* accepted of the *Poliſh* crown, and that he was oppoſed by *Maximilian*, prince of *Auſtria*. *Sigiſmund*'s agreeing, however, to all that was demanded of him by *Zamoſki* and the patriot *Poles*, gave him an undiſputed ſuperiority; and *Zamoſki* beat a *German* army, which was on its march to ſupport *Maximilian*'s claim. A ſecond engagement enſued, in which *Maximilian* was made priſoner; a victory which ſecured the crown to *Sigiſmund*, and covered *Zamoſki* with glory. All that the houſe of *Auſtria* could do, was to prevail with the pope to ſend cardinal *Aldobrandini* to ſollicit in behalf of *Maximilian*. The prelate made ſtrong efforts to prevail with *Sigiſmund* to ſuffer *Maximilian* to retain the title of king, even after he had renounced the crown, and a large ſum was offered for his ranſom. *Sigiſmund* magnanimouſly rejected both propoſals. He freely gave *Maximilian* his liberty, but forced him to renounce his title to royalty.

1588. p. 499. The *Auſtrian* defeated.

In 1590, *Sigiſmund*'s compromiſe with *Maximilian*, left him in tranquillity; and he was beginning to make ſome excellent regulations in the conſtitution of *Poland*, when he was forced to turn his arms againſt the *Turks* and *Tartars*, the latter of whom were defeated by *Zamoſki*, though their army under their khan conſiſted of a hundred thouſand men. This barbarous war was renewed for ſeveral years; but at laſt a peace was concluded with the *Turks*, under the mediation of the *Engliſh* embaſſador, which reſtored a ſhort tranquillity to *Poland*. We have already ſeen the events that followed upon *Sigiſmund*'s acceſſion to the throne of *Sweden* by his father's death, and how he viſited that kingdom in 1593. Upon his return to *Poland*, *Sigiſmund* loſt the crown of *Sweden*, on account of his religion, and was finally depoſed in 1604, when his uncle *Charles* was declared king of *Sweden*. This naturally brought on a war between the two nations, the events of which we have already related. The *Swedes* were every where beaten by *Zamoſki* and *Chaſkiewitz*, *Sigiſmund*'s generals, and obliged to evacuate *Livonia* and *Finland*. Thoſe vaſt acquiſitions encouraged *Sigiſmund* to become a candidate for the throne of *Ruſſia*, in oppoſition to the tyrant *Boris*. *Sigiſmund*, however, at firſt eſpouſed the intereſt of the ſuppoſed *Demetrius*, as we have ſeen in the hiſtory of *Ruſſia*: But, in 1611, he invaded *Ruſſia* in his own right, and began a moſt dreadful war, with ſuch ſucceſs, that he took *Smolenſko*, and was advancing to the capital, when a party of the *Ruſſians* agreed to raiſe his ſon, *Uladiſlaus*, to the throne of the czars. The hiſtory of *Ruſſia* will inform our readers of the conſequences of this war.

1590. A peace. p. 501. 1593. 1604. p. 504. ibid. & *ſeq.* 1611. War with *Ruſſia* renewed.

We

We are told that *Sigiſmund* reſolved to conquer *Ruſſia* for his ſon, rather than owe it to the election of its barbarous inconſtant inhabitants. It is certain that *Sigiſmund*, inſtead of ſending his ſon to take poſſeſſion of *Moſcow*, truſted the defence of it to a garriſon of ſeven thouſand *Poles*, who, after a brave defence, were obliged to ſurrender it to their enemies, he himſelf returning to *Poland*. This gave the finiſhing blow to all *Sigiſmund*'s towering hopes of conquering, not only *Ruſſia*, but his hereditary kingdom of *Sweden*, for neither he nor his ſon, *Uladiſlaus*, could ever after make any effectual attempt againſt the *Ruſſians*. Some writers have juſtified *Sigiſmund* in his conduct during this war, upon two principles; firſt, becauſe the *Ruſſians* united againſt him, and rendered his future ſucceſs impracticable. Secondly, becauſe his arms were diverted, by the preparations the *Turks* were making againſt his dominions. The reader, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, has already ſeen how well *Sigiſmund*'s apprehenſions were founded. In the year 1615, he made a truce for fourteen years with the *Ruſſians*, by which the *Poles* were, during that time, to keep poſſeſſion of the duchies of *Severia*, *Czernichew*, and *Novogrod*, which they had conquered.

Vol. VIII. p. 195, &c. *Seq.*

1615.

1620. War with the *Turks*. Ibid.

In 1620, *Bethlem Gabor*, who had made himſelf maſter of *Tranſylvania*, prevailed upon the *Turks* to make war upon *Sigiſmund*, for having joined the emperor of *Germany* againſt him. The *Poliſh* general, *Zolkieſki*, was defeated and killed, in attempting to ſuccour the prince of *Moldavia* againſt the infidels, but *Uladiſlaus* bravely oppoſed the immenſe troops of the *Othmans*, which were headed by their emperor, who, after loſing eighty thouſand men, was obliged to make peace. The *Swedes* took advantage of this war, and invaded *Poland*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Sigiſmund* loſt *Elbing*, *Memel*, *Braunſberg*, *Pillau*, with all *Livonia*, which were ceded to the *Swedes* by treaty, and *Sigiſmund* died in 1632. He was a prince of great ſpirit and conduct, but his ambition to become maſter of *Ruſſia*, to recover the crown of *Sweden*, and to eſtabliſh the catholic religion, rendered him the dupe of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and occaſioned infinite calamities to *Poland*. During his laſt moments, he conſidered his nephew, *Guſtavus Adolphus*, as being no other than the uſurper of the throne of *Sweden*, and he placed its crown on the head of his ſon, *Uladiſlaus*, but left the *Poles* to the free choice of his ſucceſſor.

1632. Death of *Sigiſmund*.

Uladiſlaus king.

Prince *John Caſimir*, the ſon of *Sigiſmund* the IIId, by his ſecond wife, inſtead of ſeconding the ambition of his mother, who endeavoured to raiſe him to the throne of *Poland*, headed a party which raiſed his elder brother, *Uladiſlaus*, to that dignity. In 1634, he defeated the *Ruſſians*, who had laid ſiege to *Smolenſko*; and the *Turks* having taken advantage of their irruption into *Poland*, by invading it in another quarter, were defeated likewiſe ſo completely, that the vizier ordered the baſha, who commanded the expedition, to be ſtrangled. Thoſe victories were glorious for *Poland*, and reſtored her to a ſtate

1634.

of

of tranquillity; but after the untimely death of *Guſtavus Adolphus*, *Uladiſlaus* laid hold of the defeat of the *Swedes* at *Nordlingen*, to oblige them to give up all that they held in *Pruſſia*, and to agree to a truce for twenty-nine years.

The *Coſſacs* take arms, and beat the *Poles*.

We have already mentioned the *Coſſacs* who lived in ſubjection to *Poland*, but with ſo full an enjoyment of their privileges, that many of the *Poles* who were oppreſſed by their tyrant lords, took refuge in the *Ukraine*, where they were gladly received by the *Coſſacs*. This gave a handle for many of the great *Poliſh* lords, who held eſtates from which they reaped but very little benefit in the *Ukraine*, to perſuade the king and the ſenate to reduce the *Coſſacs* to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery as the *Poliſh* peaſantry. A *Poliſh* general, *Koniekſpolſki*, was ſent to the *Ukraine*, where he erected the fort of *Hudac*, at the confluence of the *Zwamer* and the *Nieper*. The *Coſſacs* took arms, but *Koniekſpolſki* obliged them to deliver up their leader, *Baulauſki*, and many of their principal men, upon a ſolemn treaty, and a promiſe of pardon under the hand of *Uladiſlaus* himſelf; but all of them were infamouſly put to death; and a reſolution was taken in the diet of *Poland* to take from the *Coſſacs* their capital fort of *Techtemeravia*, to aboliſh their privileges, to reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery, and to bridle them with a ſtanding army. The *Poliſh* nobles, ſwelled with the mad notions of enſlaving all who had the misfortune to be under them, enforced their decrees by a powerful army, which invaded the *Ukraine*, and beſieged the fort of *Techtemeravia*, but were completely defeated by the *Coſſacs*. The latter retained ſtill ſo much of the barbarian ſimplicity and honeſty, that they offered to lay down their arms, and to behave as quiet ſubjects to *Poland*, provided they were reinſtated in their former privileges. This was agreed to, but the terms were again moſt perfidiouſly violated by the *Poliſh* lords.

Rebellion of *Kzmielniſki*.

One *Kzmielniſki*, a leading man among the *Coſſacs*, had obtained an eſtate, which he cultivated, and on which he built a houſe, but both were claimed and adjudged to *Jarinſki*, a *Poliſh* lord, who, not contented with ſtripping the *Ukrainer* of his eſtate and houſe, raviſhed his wife, and then murdered both her and his ſon. *Kzmielniſki* then put himſelf at the head of the *Coſſacs*, and a general revolt enſued; but in the mean while *Uladiſlaus* died, in 1648. He is ſaid to have been the beſt general in *Poland*, but we can have little idea of the ſpirit or virtue of a prince who can hold a ſceptre, and yet be obliged to become acceſſary to the moſt infamous violations of public faith. 1648.

John Caſimi king.

After many diſputes concerning the ſucceſſion, *John Caſimir*, brother to the late king, ſucceeded to the crown of *Poland*, in oppoſition to *Ragotzki*, prince of *Tranſylvania*, and the czar of *Muſcovy*. Though he was at the time of his election, a *Jeſuit* and a cardinal, yet his reputation was ſo great, that he was peaceably proclaimed on the 20th of *November*. During the intrigues for his election, *Kzmielniſki*, at the head of

of the *Coſſacs* and *Tartars*, carried his revenge againſt the *Poliſh* nobility to the moſt barbarous exceſſes. He entirely defeated three conſiderable *Poliſh* armies; he gave no quarter to the nobility or gentry; and his progreſs was ſuch, that not only *Cracow*, but *Warſaw* muſt have fallen into his hands, had it not been for a quarrel between the *Coſſacs* and the *Tartars*, about the immenſe plunder they had made, which induced the former to return to the *Ukraine*. The nobility thought this was a favourable opportunity for their new king to appear at the head of his army, but *Caſimir* obſtinately excuſed himſelf, becauſe he thought the grounds of the quarrel were indefenſible on the part of the *Poles*. The nobility finding the king inflexible, raiſed two other great armies, one of them ſaid to conſiſt of fifty thouſand men, which was in like manner defeated by the *Coſſacs* and *Tartars*, who took *Kiow*. At laſt their barbarities aroſe to a height, which conquered all the ſcruples of *Caſimir*. He put himſelf at the head of his troops, attacked and defeated the barbarians; but, in conſideration of their provocations, he granted them a peace, by which they were reſtored to their privileges, and the exerciſe of their religion, which was that of the *Greek* church. This peace neither ſquared with the haughtineſs of the *Poliſh* nobility, nor the ambition of *Kzmielniſki*, who had formed a ſcheme of erecting himſelf into a ſovereign of the *Ukraine*, under the protection of the *Porte*. The war, in ſhort, was renewed with additional fury, by the *Coſſacs* and *Tartars*.

His wars with the *Coſſacs*.

Caſimir raiſed an army of a hundred thouſand *Poles*, and at *Bereteſkow*, he defeated the *Tartar* army, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand men. The *Coſſacs*, upon this, retired precipitately to the *Ukraine*, and obtained pardon, upon promiſing to obſerve the terms of the late treaty. In the mean time, however, many of the great *Poliſh* lords, reſenting the peace that had been granted to the *Coſſacs*, attached themſelves to the *Ruſſians* and the *Swedes*, who were now the declared enemies of *Poland*. The former took *Smolenſko* and *Vilna*, and ravaged *Lithuania*; and we have, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, ſeen how near the *Swediſh* monarch was to making an entire conqueſt of *Poland*, the motives for attacking it, and the events which rendered his expedition fruitleſs. *Ragotzſki*, among others, ſought to make an advantage of the diſtreſſes and diviſions of *Poland*; but the *Swedes* withdrawing from thence, he was beat by the *Poles*, and obliged to accept of a diſhonourable peace. By the treaty of *Oliva*, which was concluded in 1660, the *Swedes* gave up moſt of their conqueſts in *Poland*, and *John Caſimir* renounced all his claims upon the crown of *Sweden*; and thus the tranquillity of *Poland* was re-eſtabliſhed, and *Caſimir* reigned with additional luſtre, ariſing from his own courage and prudence. But we are not to omit, that by the treaty of *Oliva*, the *Poles* ceded to the *Ruſſians* the duchy of *Severia*, *Smolenſko* and *Kiow*.

p. 522, &c. *ſeq.*

Peace of *Oliva*.

1660.

This

This dawn of proſperity to *Poland* was ſoon overcaſt. The *Poliſh* nobility, with *Lubomirſki*, the crown general, at their head, pretended to be jealous of *Caſimir*'s intentions, becauſe he had taken a body of *German* mercenaries into his pay; but, in reality, they hated him for his virtues, and for the humane conceſſions he had made to the *Coſſacs*. Matters ſoon came to extremity, and the royal party was defeated. Though even after this, the conquerors pretended great ſubmiſſion to the king, yet he diſtruſted them; and being obliged to diſmiſs his *German* mercenaries, he found his authority deſpiſed, upon which he voluntarily reſigned the crown, and retired to the abbey of *St. Germain*, in *France*, where he indulged the fine vein he had for *Latin* poetry, and where he died a few years after. Some have praiſed his reſignation as magnanimous, and others as mean. It partook, perhaps, of both characters. He ſcorned to be a king without power or reſpect, but rather than undergo the toils of aſſerting his prerogative, he gave too much way to his natural love of eaſe and retirement; for he never could ſuffer himſelf to be treated with the name of majeſty after his abdication. *Caſimir* reſigns the crown. 1669.

The great duke of *Ruſſia*, at the head of eighty thouſand men, lent him by the czar, his father, was a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, and actually renounced the *Greek* religion, that he might ſucceed. His rivals were the prince of *Conde*, the duke of *Neuburgh*, and prince *Charles* of *Lorrain*. It was diſcovered that the prince of *Conde* had gained his intereſt by corruption, and the diet obliged the primate to exclude him. Incredible were the intrigues and confuſion that followed, but at laſt the election fell upon a *Piaſt*, *Michael Coribut Wieſnowſki*, one of the moſt obſcure and pooreſt of the *Poliſh* nobility, and the great lords acquieſced in his election merely on account of his inſignificancy. His election happened on the 17th of *September* 1670. *Michael* king. 1670.

Michael married the daughter of the emperor *Ferdinand*, to whoſe ſon, *Leopold*, he had been a domeſtic. This gave umbrage to the *Poles*, as if their humble king, who had with tears refuſed his dignity, intended to render himſelf abſolute, by the aſſiſtance of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and his reign proved a continual ſeries of misfortunes to his country. The czar, in reſentment of his ſon's treatment, entered into a confederacy with the *Turks*, who took *Kaminieck*, the ſtrongeſt and moſt important bulwark of *Poland*, on the ſide of *Turkey*. This was the greateſt conqueſt the infidels had ever made over the *Poles*, and it was ſo unexpected, that it was thought to have been given up by the treachery of *Sobieſki*, and ſome great lords, who wanted to render their ſervices neceſſary to the republic. No meaſures being taken to oppoſe the progreſs of the *Turks*, *Michael* was obliged to make a ſhameful peace, by which he gave up *Podolia* to the *Coſſacs*, and to pay an annual tribute to the *Porte*, with other ſcandalous conditions, which we have already related, as we have the reaſons why the His unfortunate reign, Vol. VIII. p. 219. Ibid. p. 230.

the war broke out afreſh, and therefore ſhall not repeat them. It is ſufficient to ſay, that when the infidels were on the point of conquering all *Poland*, they ſuffered one of the greateſt defeats they had ever received from *Sobieſki*; but he was diſabled from purſuing his victory, by the diſbanding of the poſpolite, whoſe ſtated time of ſervice was now expired. In the mean while, king *Michael* died, and freſh intrigues were ſet on foot for a new election.

and death.

John Sobieſki elected king.

The ſecond ſon of the czar of *Muſcovy*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the prince of *Tranſylvania*, were the declared candidates at firſt, but ſeveral others ſoon appeared, particularly the prince of *Lorrain*, who had the intereſt of the queen dowager and the *Lithuanians*. *Sobieſki* had privately an eye upon the crown, but declared that he reſerved his intereſt for a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon*, whom he was not at liberty to name. *Paez*, the grand marſhal of *Lithuania*, had always been the rival of *Sobieſki*, and oppoſed him with great violence in the diet of election; but the aſſembly inclining ſtrongly to a *Piaſt*, it fell upon *John Sobieſki*, whoſe title was univerſally recognized.

His glorious reign

Sobieſki's birth was illuſtrious, and he had riſen through all the gradations of military honour, to the throne, where he found himſelf involved in a war with the *Turks* and the *Coſſacs*. His great qualities for government ſoon appeared, and gained him the confidence of all parties; but he found it difficult to draw out the poſpolite againſt the *Turks*, who were making a progreſs in *Poland*. Finding himſelf, at laſt, at the head of an army, he took the field, and diſpoſſeſſed *Dorozenſki*, the *Coſſac* general, of the greateſt part of the *Ukraine*. Upon this, the *Turks* offered terms of peace, which were rejected by *John*; but while he was in the career of victory, he was deſerted by his army, and diſabled from retaking *Kaminieck*. We have, in the hiſtory of the *Othman* empire, given the particulars of *Sobieſki*'s ſucceeding campaigns againſt the *Turks*, and the victories he obtained, with very unequal forces, till he obliged the infidels to agree to a peace, by which they renounced the *Ukraine*, and all their conqueſts, excepting *Kaminieck*, and likewiſe their claim of tribute.

Ibid. p. 233.

So glorious a peace rendered the republic of *Poland*, and its monarch, illuſtrious all over *Europe*. Being diſobliged by the haughty proceedings of the court of *Vienna*, he refuſed to join the emperor, *Leopold*, in a league againſt the infidels, but, at the ſollicitations of his queen, and the pope, he yielded, and in the year 1683, ſigned that alliance with *Leopold*, which, as we have already ſeen, delivered *Germany*, and probably all *Europe*, from the yoke of the *Othmans*. *Sobieſki* was, at that time, the moſt glorious monarch that had ever filled the throne of *Poland*; but, notwithſtanding his victories, *Leopold* ſeemed cold, inſenſible, and even ungrateful to his ſervices, and refuſed to treat him on the footing of equality with himſelf. He, perhaps, contracted too great a contempt for the *Turks*, and thereby

1683.

Ibid. p. 242, & ſeq. Vol. IX. p. 195, & ſeq. Vol. VII. p. 245.

thereby ſuffered a defeat at *Barkan*, through the ſuperiority of his enemy's numbers; but he ſoon had his revenge, by again defeating the infidels, and taking *Barkan*. Returning in triumph to *Poland*, the great lords began to ſuſpect that he intended to render the crown hereditary in his family. Their diſtruſt went ſo far, that they refuſed to ſupport him in ſeveral campaigns he afterwards made againſt the *Turks* in *Podolia* and *Moldavia*. Though he took *Gran*, yet his expeditions being chiefly made at his own expence, were far from being anſwerable to the former honour he had acquired, and ſome of them were unſucceſsful, though conducted with the greateſt abilities and courage.

is overcaſt by misfortunes.

While the praiſes of *John* were reſounding through all *Europe*, he was unhappy at home, where he found himſelf beſet with conſpiracies, even among his own relations; and, towards the latter end of his reign, it became unpopular. He was diſappointed by the powerful family of the *Sapiehas*, in his attempt to get his ſon, prince *James*, declared his ſucceſſor. *Poland* then became a ſcene of diviſions and diſtractions, and, perhaps, *Sobieſki* being now old, and diſappointed in his favourite view, took too little concern in the affairs of government, applied himſelf too much to amaſs money, and had ſhewn too great indulgence to his ambitious queen. His death happened by a fit of the apoplexy in 1696. To all the civil and military accompliſhments that could adorn a great monarch, *Sobieſki* added a conſiderable degree of learning and knowledge in the languages. He died in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and the twenty-ſecond of his reign. 1696.

Intrigues upon the death of *Sobieſki*, concerning his ſucceſſion,

Sobieſki, before his death, had reſigned the command of the army to the grand general, *Jablanowſki*; but his authority availed but little in preventing the horrid ſcenes of confuſion that followed in the diets, the particulars of which are trifling and immaterial. Some degree of reſpect, however, was paid to the queen dowager and her three ſons, the princes *James*, *Conſtantine* and *Alexander*; and prince *James* entertained ſanguine expectations of ſucceeding his father. His mother, againſt the advice of the nobles, arrived at *Cracow*, to manage the intrigues in his favour; and though the *Tartars* were ravaging *Podolia*, the army refuſed to obey any leader till its arrears were paid. The enemies of the *Sobieſki* family propoſed to lay hold of the treaſures amaſſed by the late king, and were with difficulty prevented from executing their intention. Matters were in this ſituation, when a confederacy of the nobility was formed for ſecuring a free election, the time of which was fixed to the 15th of *May* 1697; and, in order to exclude the family of the late king, the nomination of a *Piaſt* to the crown was declared to be an act of treaſon againſt the conſtitution. One *Baronowſki*, a worthleſs mean officer, had raiſed himſelf to be the head of the army, which he withdrew from its obedience to *Sapieha*, the crown general; and the *Lithuanians* united under *Oginſki*, who defeated *Sapieha*. 1697.

All *Poland* was then filled with anarchy, blood and commotion, owing to the money and intrigues of the queen mother and the *French* embaſſador. The latter had the addreſs to effect a kind of a reconciliation between *Oginſki* and *Sapieha*. *Baronowſki* raiſed pay for the army by putting the chief towns and the *Jews* of *Poland* under military contribution. Thoſe public evils were encreaſed by freſh irruptions of the *Turks* and *Tartars*. Had the intereſt of the *Sobieſki* family been properly directed, it might have reſtored tranquillity to *Poland*; but the queen mother was divided in her affections for her children, and even the primate was for raiſing her ſecond ſon, prince *Alexander*, to the throne, becauſe he was born after his father's acceſſion.

which terminate in the election of the elector of *Saxony*.

The artful *Polignac* converted every circumſtance to the advantage of the prince of *Conti*, whom he propoſed as a candidate for the crown. He was oppoſed by the imperial miniſter and the powers engaged in the grand alliance againſt *France*, but an order which the queen dowager received after ſhe had broken with *Polignac*, who ſhe complained had betrayed her, plainly evinced that the *French* intereſt prevailed among the dietines! In ſhort, the *French*, as well as the imperial party, agreed to the excluſion of the *Sobieſki* family, and every day added to the number of the candidates. *Livio Odeſchalchi*, the pope's nephew, the dukes of *Lorrain* and *Neuburgh*, the prince of *Baden*, and two or three *Piaſts* were of the number; but all of a ſudden *Frederic Auguſtus*, elector of *Saxony*, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed by his riches, by his liberality, his fine perſon, and uncommon ſtrength, declared himſelf a candidate, having previouſly renounced the proteſtant religion. The diſtribution of immenſe ſums of money ſoon gained him a party, and the only competition now lay between *Auguſtus* and the prince of *Conti*. By this time *Baronowſki* had loſt all credit with the ſoldiery. The *French* money was pretty much exhauſted in *Poland*, where tranquillity had been in ſome degree reſtored, when the final diet for the election was fixed. The diſputes were warm, and the corruption incredible, but the *Saxon* gold outweighed the *French* promiſes; for though the cardinal primate proclaimed the prince of *Conti* king, yet the biſhop of *Cujavia* did the ſame for the elector of *Saxony*, and adminiſtered the uſual oath to count *Fleming*, that prince's miniſter.

The prince of *Conti* leaves *Poland*.

This double return occaſioned vaſt intrigues, but beſides money, the elector had a ſtrong body of *Saxon* troops to ſecond his pretenſions, while the ambitious projects of *Lewis* the XIVth diſabled him from remitting money, the only means of the prince of *Conti*'s ſucceſs. *Auguſtus* receiving the notification of his election, advanced with the *Saxon* army, and had taken poſſeſſion of *Cracow*, a little before the prince of *Conti* arrived in *Poland* with a recruit of money for his party, and was actually crowned on the 15th of *September*. His intereſt was greatly ſtrengthened by the pope's declining to interfere

terfere in favour of the prince of *Conti*, and the citizens of *Dantzic* refuſing to receive the prince of *Conti* as king of *Poland*. In a few days the decline of the *French* intereſt, notwithſtanding all the ſupport given it by the primate, was viſible. The *Saxon* general, *Brandt*, advanced at the head of an army to *Oliva*, where he narrowly failed ſurprizing the perſons of the prince of *Conti* and *Polignac*, but he took *Marienburg*, and a number of other places. The prince plainly ſaw that his intereſt was ruined, and made as decent a retreat as he could back to *France*, upon which even the primate, as the pope had done before, recognized the election of *Auguſtus*.

Differences between the *Poles* and their king.

Notwithſtanding this recognition, the *Poles* were uneaſy at the continuance of the *Saxon* troops in their country, and they were ſent to be quartered towards the ſea coaſts and the frontiers. Upon which a general reconciliation among all parties took place, though great diſturbances ſtill prevailed in *Lithuania*, between the families of *Sapieha* and *Oginſki*. The latter was defeated, and *Auguſtus* declared that he intended to ſignalize the beginning of his reign by taking *Kaminiec* from the *Turks*. Before any thing of this kind could be effected, the famous confederacy, which we have already mentioned, took place between *Auguſtus* and the czar *Peter*, and the *Turks* and *Tartars* ravaged *Poland*. Both the *Poles* and *Lithuanians* reſumed their jealouſy of the *Saxon* troops, and alledged that the expedition againſt *Kaminiec* was no other than a pretence to detain them in *Poland*. Some temporary expedients were made uſe of to prevent bloodſhed, and the peace of *Carlowitz* was concluded with the *Turks*. In 1700, *Auguſtus* found himſelf at liberty to attack *Livonia*, as had been concerted between him and the czar; and we have, in the hiſtory of *Sweden*, given a detail of the progreſs of that war, which proved ſo unfortunate to *Poland*. After gaining a ſlight advantage over *Welling*, the *Swediſh* general, *Auguſtus* beſieged *Riga* in perſon, but the czar's defeat at *Narva* obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, after which *Poland* once more became a ſcene of confuſion, till *Charles* having entirely defeated the *Saxons* in repeated battles, gave the *Poles Staniſlaus* for their king, and he was crowned on the 4th of *October* 1705. The implacable *Charles* continued his victories over the *Saxons* and the *Poles*, in the intereſt of *Auguſtus*, till by the treaty of *Alt-Ranſtadt* the latter was obliged formally to renounce all pretenſions to the crown of *Poland*, to acknowledge *Staniſlaus*, and to content himſelf with retaining the title of king. For other particulars of this amazing revolution, the reader may conſult the hiſtory of *Sweden*. It is ſufficient to ſay, that after *Charles* had loſt the battle of *Pultowa*, *Auguſtus*, in 1709, re-entered *Poland*, and in his turn dethroned *Staniſlaus*, who was likewiſe obliged to take refuge in *Turkey*, where he was made priſoner. In 1712, *Auguſtus* found himſelf ſo firmly ſettled on the throne of *Poland*, that in a diet held at *Warſaw*, the election of *Staniſlaus*, and all that followed upon it, was declared to be void. Notwithſtanding

Vol. VIII. p. 317, 318. p. 532, & ſeq.

1705. 1709. 1712. The election of *Staniſlaus* declared to be void.

withſtanding this, freſh differences broke out between him and the *Poles*, but the prudent counſels of count *Fleming* prevented any rebellion. The quarrel at *Thorn*, between the *Jeſuit* ſtudents and the townſmen there, in 1724, threatened to kindle a freſh war in *Europe*. It began by the trifling refuſal of ſome proteſtant ſpectators to kneel at a proceſſion of the *Jeſuits*, which proceeding to blood, a party of ſoldiers interpoſed, and carried the *Jeſuit* ring-leader priſoner to their guard. The *Jeſuits* raiſed a ſecond tumult, and another ſcuffle enſued to their diſadvantage; but they had intereſt enough with the preſident of the city to procure the releaſe of the priſoner. Another priſoner ſtill remained in cuſtody, whoſe immediate releaſe was demanded by the *Jeſuits*, but refuſed by the preſident, and hoſtilities again commenced. The ſtudents wounded many of the *Lutheran* inhabitants (the proteſtant religion being eſtabliſhed in *Thorn* by the treaty of *Oliva)* and carried off a *German* ſcholar priſoner. The proteſtants inſiſted upon the releaſe of the ſcholar, and while the *Jeſuit* principal and the preſident were debating the matter, a freſh combat enſued between the *Jeſuits* and the townſmen, but they were parted by the town guard. Both parties were at laſt diſcharged; but this compromiſe was ſo far from appeaſing the *Jeſuit* ſtudents, that they again attacked the burghers with all kinds of weapons, and even with fire arms. This exaſperated the populace ſo greatly, that they broke into the *Jeſuits* college, demoliſhed all its contents, and burned its rich furniture in the market-place.

1724.

Hiſtory of the barbarous affair of *Thorn*,

The conſequences of this tumult prove the vaſt influence which the *Jeſuits* had at that time, not only in *Poland*, but over all *Europe*. The treaty of *Oliva* had been guarantied by the crowns of *Great Britain*, *Sweden* and other proteſtant powers; but though it had been thus groſsly violated by the *Jeſuits*, they prevailed upon the general diet of *Poland* to enter upon no other buſineſs till the order had received ſatisfaction. Commiſſioners were accordingly appointed to take examinations on the ſpot, and among them were prince *Lubomirſki*, and the biſhop of *Cujavia*, who had proſtituted their conſciences to the *Jeſuits*. Their violences drove from the examinations the more moderate part of the commiſſioners, the priſons of the city were filled with the moſt creditable citizens, and every ſtep of the examination was carried on againſt juſtice and the cleareſt evidence. The citizens were charged with raiſing a ſedition and tumult, on a very ſmall provocation, and laying impious and violent hands on perſons and places devoted to God's ſervice, with the manifeſt connivance of their rulers and magiſtrates, whoſe office and duty it was to prevent the ſame, and in open defiance and contempt of the conſtitutions of the republic of *Poland*, and of all laws human and divine. This indictment was preferred by the king of *Poland*'s ſolicitor general, before the royal aſſeſſorial tribunal, or high court of *Poliſh* chancery, and enforced with all the virulence and ſophiſtry

phiſtry of the proſecuting *Jeſuits*. The parties accuſed were not even ſuffered to be heard, and at laſt ſentence was pronounced. The preſident, *Roſner*, and the vice preſident, *Czernich*, were condemned to loſe their heads, and their eſtates were confiſcated, but *Czernich* was afterwards pardoned by his *Poliſh* majeſty; thirteen more citizens were condemned to be beheaded likewiſe. Four who threw the image of the *Virgin* into the fire, were to have their right hands cut off, and afterwards to be quartered and burnt. The ſixth article of the ſentence runs as follows, "The other infringers and invaders of the ecclesiaſtical immunities, mentioned in the ſentence, to be fined and impriſoned in the *Tower*, and the money ariſing from the mulcts, to be laid out in erecting a ſtone pillar, with the ſtatue of the *Bleſſed Virgin* on the top, upon the ſpot of ground where her ſacred image was defaced and burnt, to ſerve for an everlaſting memorial and atonement of that horrid impiety."

and the execution of the proteſtants.

The ſame ſentence contains many other penalties. One half of the magiſtrates of *Thorn* were to be *Roman* catholics; the *Lutheran* church of St. *Mary* was given up to the papiſts; the *Lutheran* churches were removed out of the city, and the *Romiſh* proceſſions admitted into it. The execution of the ſentence was committed to prince *Lubomirſki*, who carried it through with all the circumſtances of barbarity. One of the criminals ſaved his life by embracing popery. It was in vain for the friends of the condemned parties to endeavour to gain time for the interpoſition of the proteſtant powers in their favour, and to make their applications to his *Poliſh* majeſty's clemency, for prince *Lubomirſki* dreading the event, anticipated the execution of the ſentence by eight days. The kings of *Great Britain*, *Pruſſia*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, intereſted themſelves warmly in behalf of the proteſtants, but all was to no purpoſe. Even the pope's nuncio pleaded in favour of the condemned, but in vain; nor is it greatly for the credit of the proteſtant princes of that time, that they never could obtain the ſatisfaction which ſo notorious a breach of a ſolemn treaty required.

Prince *Ferdinand* of *Courland* was at this time living in an obſcure manner at *Dantzic*. He was uncle to that duke of *Courland* who was married to the princeſs *Anne* of *Ruſſia*, who died without iſſue; but though *Ferdinand* was the laſt of the *Kettler* family, the ducheſs ſeized upon his inheritance, and about the year 1726, almoſt all the powers in the north had formed ſeparate projects for diſpoſing of them. No regard was paid to the remonſtrances of *Ferdinand*, and the *Courland* nobility meeting, they pitched upon prince *Maurice* of *Saxony*, afterwards the famous marſhal *Saxe*, to be their duke on the demiſe of *Ferdinand*. *Maurice* was the natural ſon of his *Poliſh* majeſty, and had his father's intereſt to ſupport him; but the *Poles* conſidered *Courland* as a fief of their crown, to which they wanted it to be reannexed. They purſued this point

Auguſtus fails in his endeavours to procure *Courland* for his natural ſon.

point with such obstinacy, that *Augustus* was obliged to declare against his son, and to consent even to the abrogation of all that had been done in the diet of *Courland*, and he even went so far as to consent to summon the marshal of the diet and some of the senators to answer at *Warsaw* for their conduct. The czar *Peter* maintained the rights of his niece, who had a great claim upon the duchy, and disapproved of a match proposed by the *Courlanders*, between her and count *Maurice*. The *Courlanders* were devoted to the succession of the latter, in hopes that it would prevent their returning to their dependence upon *Poland*. The *Poles*, on the other hand, acted with such warmth, that they obliged *Augustus* to cancel his son's eventual succession, and to promise that he would force him to evacuate *Courland*; and upon *Maurice* refusing to comply, he was put to the ban of the republic. By this time the czarina of *Muscovy* had ordered some troops, under *Menzikof*, to defile towards *Courland*, which entirely altered the complexion of the affair. The *Courlanders* were overawed, and prince *Maurice*, after making a brave defence against the *Russians*, was obliged to withdraw out of the duchy. The *Poles*, though they had succeeded against *Maurice*, were exasperated at seeing the disposal of the duchy in the hands of the czarina. They grew jealous of *Augustus*, who was under an ill state of health, but labouring to secure the succession for his eldest son, the electoral prince. Their jealousy went so far, that no public business could be done at the diets that were summoned; nor did *Augustus* think himself safe in *Poland*, and therefore retired to *Saxony*. Matters were coming to extremities, when *Augustus* died of a fever, on the 31st of *January* 1733. He was at once brave and mean spirited, faithless and agreeable, designing but imprudent, ridiculously amorous, and prodigally generous.

Death and character of *Augustus* the IId.

1733. who is succeeded by his son, *Augustus* the IIId.

The death of *Augustus* happened at a time when the imperial court had taken umbrage at his connections with *France*, but the electoral prince declaring himself a candidate for the crown of *Poland*, soon explained himself to the emperor's satisfaction, and brought over the court of *Russia* likewise. We have had many opportunities in other parts of this work, of recounting the events that followed. King *Stanislaus*, whom we have so often mentioned, being removed from *Deux Ponts*, the revenues of which had been assigned him by *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden*, had the good fortune to see his daughter married to the *French* king, who was persuaded to endeavour to replace his father-in-law on the throne of *Poland*. We have already given the history of that election. *Stanislaus* was chosen, but fifty thousand *Russians* obliged him to fly to *Dantzic*, from whence, after suffering the greatest misery, he made a memorable, and almost miraculous escape in the habit of a peasant, while his rival, *Augustus* the IId, got possession of *Warsaw*, and was declared king, and afterwards recognized as such by the other powers of *Europe*. *Stanislaus* had afterwards

p. 72.

wards the revenues and government of *Lorrain* ſettled upon him by his ſon-in-law. *Auguſtus* in *Saxony* experienced the ſame fate from the king of *Pruſſia* as his father had met with from *Charles* the XIIth. By an extraordinary reverſe of ſentiments, when he was driven out of *Saxony*, he was received with kindneſs and affection by the *Poles*. The public commiſerated his fate, and that of his excellent queen, who is thought to have died of grief and indignation, at the barbarous treatment ſhe received at *Dreſden*, by order of her huſband's implacable enemy. *Auguſtus* remained an illuſtrious exile in *Poland*, when the peace of *Hubertſburg* reſtored him to his dominions. Notwithſtanding his great alliances, he failed in making one of his ſons duke of *Courland*, and another biſhop of *Liege*, and he died of a lethargic diſorder, on the 5th of *October* 1763. As the crown of *Poland* had for many years deſcended in one family, it was thought not impracticable to procure it for his ſon, who accordingly declared himſelf a candidate; but he dying on the 17th of *September* following, the *Ruſſians* favoured the election of a *Piaſt*, in the perſon of count *Poniatowſki*, who, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the great houſe of *Radzivil*, and count *Branitzki*, who pretended the election was overawed by the neighbourhood of the *Ruſſian* army, was choſen king on the 7th of *September* 1764, by the name and titles of *Staniſlaus Auguſtus*, king of *Poland*, and great duke of *Lithuania*.

His miſfortunes and death. Vol. IX. p. 246. 1763. 1764.

His preſent *Poliſh* majeſty is ſon to that count *Poniatowſki* who did ſuch eminent ſervices to *Charles* the XIIth, king of *Sweden*, and his election has ſince been acknowledged by almoſt all the great potentates of *Europe*. The commencement of his reign has created the higheſt expectations in the public, that he will prove himſelf worthy of the high dignity to which he was choſen; that he will aboliſh the barbarous cuſtoms of his ſubjects, that he will reform their conſtitution, and that he will raiſe them to a greater figure in *Europe* than they have enjoyed for ſome centuries paſt.

Concluſion of the hiſtory of *Poland*.

The END *of the* TWELFTH VOLUME.

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